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Elizabeth Ann McKinley
Linda Tuhiwai Smith
Editors

Handbook of Indigenous Education

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With 77 Figures and 24 Tables

 Springer

Editors

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We would like to dedicate this Handbook to the many people who have brought us to this point and made it all possible: first, to those educators, knowledge holders, and leaders of the past who have kept Indigenous knowledge alive, have nurtured and spoken Indigenous languages, struggled for Indigenous rights, and sought to encourage and sustain Indigenous educational aspirations through the darkest of times. Secondly, we dedicate the Handbook to those who work as Indigenous educators in our communities and schools, who hunger for literature that supports and gives evidence to their work. Finally, we dedicate this Handbook to our early research leaders who have broken through numerous barriers to clear the way for the work that is presented here.

Preface

Indigenous communities across the world traditionally had very sophisticated systems of education that were never static but developed as a result of reflection, collective deliberation, and experimentation. These education systems had no ending: each generation expanded the community's knowledge base. Traditionally, learning occurred as one participated in activities of everyday living and joining in life's ceremonies. While this form of education continues in current times, it is in addition to more structured and formal settings.

The academic field of Indigenous education is a continuation of this journey. Indigenous scholars have been working hard developing space in the academies and writing texts with an aim to expand Indigenous knowledge bases through research. The text draws attention to the fact that every chapter has been led, and largely entirely produced, by Indigenous academics – a feat that would not have been possible even a decade ago.

Over the last four or more decades, the education of Indigenous peoples has become an increasingly central preoccupation in many colonized countries across the globe and for international associations. With Indigenous education systems disrupted and often destroyed by colonial invasion and exploitation, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) has brought to the world's attention our right to teach our histories, languages, philosophies, and literature, to establish and control our own education systems and institutions, to teach in a manner appropriate to cultural methods of teaching and learning, to provide education in our own languages, and for all Indigenous children to have access to an education in their own culture and language. This book addresses all these issues for Indigenous peoples across the globe and in different contexts.

Indigenous education today is a complex, interdisciplinary field of research requiring its Indigenous researchers to straddle disciplines of the academy – a super subject – incorporating subjects such as linguistics, psychology, history, mathematics, astronomy, law, and philosophy, to name but a few, and subjects in the future we have yet to hear about. The Handbook brings together diverse views and strategies from across the world to provide a comprehensive overview of the complexities and nuances of Indigenous peoples' experiences. Indigenous peoples' positioning on education is largely driven by their colonial histories.

The purpose of the *Handbook of Indigenous Education* is to provide a state-of-the-art reference and a comprehensive map of the field to date. It is divided into six major sections based on debates and topics of interest to Indigenous communities, and each section has 10–12 chapters. Each of the six sections is introduced by two section editors who are internationally recognized in the field. All chapters are either led or entirely written by Indigenous academics. We attempted to recruit a wide spread of people from different countries and continents across the globe and achieved this to a large extent; however, we are cognizant there are “gaps.” These gaps present a challenge to all of us as we move forward.

The Handbook is available as a print edition and as a fully searchable online version.

Melbourne, Australia
Hamilton, New Zealand
March 2019

Elizabeth Ann McKinley
Linda Tuhiwai Smith

Acknowledgments

There were a number of challenges in putting together this large edited volume. We needed to access our networks, decide on the section editors, and ask them to choose authors. The entire process required negotiation skills. Communication between the section editors and the editors in chief involved suggestions of authors and topics. Some people approached were not available to write or did not respond to invitations. This is to be expected – Indigenous academics are often overcommitted, trying to satisfy both institutional demands and community obligations. However, books are always the result of a complex web of relationships. This book represents, first and foremost, networks within networks of Indigenous scholars and, secondly, another network of allies who have supported the work of Indigenous scholars in the academy.

We would like to thank those who accepted the challenge and responsibility for being section editors: Leonie Pihama (University of Waikato), Jenny Lee-Morgan (Unitec Institute of Technology), George Sefa Dei (University of Toronto), Jean Paul Restoule (University of Victoria, Canada), Margie Hohepa (University of Waikato), Carl Mika (University of Waikato), Graham Hingangaroa Smith (Massey University), Melinda Webber (University of Auckland), Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy (Arizona State University), Megan Bang (North Western University), Sharon Nelson-Barber (WestEd), and Zanette Johnson (Intrinsic Impact Consulting). Your knowledge, networks, and commitment to the project have been instrumental to the success of this work. We wish to thank those who opened this work up to Indigenous peoples networks across the globe.

We want to acknowledge the work of all of the authors who have contributed to this book. We wish to thank you all for writing the chapters and spending additional hours on making revisions. It is your contributions that have made this volume possible. The book is a celebration of our collective expertise and the relationships we have with each other. We hope further relationships can be built through this work.

We would like to express our gratitude to the chapter reviewers for both their expertise and their generosity in giving time to provide the feedback necessary to help make this book a quality contribution to education. The number of people required to review this text was extensive, and we are very pleased you shared our vision of the value in this book. We also wish to thank Lilly Brown, who worked

tirelessly as our research assistant. We, as editors in chief, were not always as organized as we could have been, but you managed to keep the threads together. And last, but not least, we wish to thank the team at Springer with the production of the book: Springer editor Nick Melchior, for your suggestion that it was timely for such a volume, and the Springer team we dealt with – Rashmi, Neha, and Mokshika and others too numerous to mention – many thanks for your guidance and assistance.

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Editor's Note

All the chapters in the *Handbook of Indigenous Education* have undergone double peer review. Chapters were not given to reviewers “blind” – some reviewers knew the authors, some were known to the reviewers through their work, and others were not known by the reviewers. All reviewers had expertise in the academic subject area. The reviews were returned to chapter authors with the names of their reviewers. We decided on this approach because the field is still small, and authors are well-known and often identifiable due to their topics and the contexts in which they write. Another reason was that because it was the first book of its kind, we wanted constructive feedback to assist authors to make their work stronger, and so we asked the reviewers to read for coverage of the issue, critique/argument or insight, international relevance, structure of the chapter, and readability.

That is, every chapter was independently evaluated by at least two reviewers. This applied to all authors, including section editors and editors in chief who were also chapter contributors. These were deliberately sent to senior academics who would not be intimidated by the seniority of the writers. The section introductions were reviewed by the editors in chief, and the overall introduction to the book was reviewed by section editors and a few senior academics who were chapter reviewers. All the reviewers were chosen for their expertise in the field. As you may note, most of the reviewers are a mix of Indigenous and non-Indigenous academics.

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Professor Elizabeth Ann McKinley is a Professor of Indigenous Education at the University of Melbourne. She is known for her work exploring the interaction between science, education, and Indigenous culture. She has a strong research and publication record in the field of Indigenous science education, curriculum, and the capability of mainstream education systems to meet the complex challenges of transforming educational outcomes for Indigenous and other students from under-served communities. Before moving to Melbourne in 2014, she was a Professor of Māori Education and Director of the Starpath Project for Tertiary Participation and Success at the University of Auckland. She is also well known for her capacity building and mentoring work with doctoral students and early career researchers. She has served on a number of panels and committees that have influenced public policy, including the Ministerial Cross Sector Forum on Raising Achievement, and that have assessed research proposals for funding, including New Zealand's Endeavour Fund Impact Panel and Science Challenges Review. She has also served on several panels for the New Zealand Universities Academic Audit Unit. She has received a New Zealand Honour as an Officer to the New Zealand Order of Merit.



Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith is Professor of Māori and Indigenous Studies at the University of Waikato. Professor Smith has a distinguished career as a researcher and educator who has led many of the developments in Māori and Indigenous research, establishing research centers, building networks, and mentoring researchers. She is known for her work on decolonizing and Indigenous Methodologies and Kaupapa Māori Research. Professor Smith was joint founding Director of Ngā Pae o Te Māramatanga, the Māori Centre of Research Excellence, and former President of the New Zealand Association for Research in Education. Professor Smith is a member of the Waitangi Tribunal. She has received a number of awards including a New Zealand Honor as Companion to the New Zealand Order of Merit. She is a fellow of the Royal Society of New Zealand and of the American Educational Research Association. In 2017, she received the Prime Minister's Lifetime Achievement Award in Education. In 2018, she recently received an Honorary Doctorate of Laws from the University of Winnipeg, Canada, and the Te Puawaitanga Research Excellence Award, the highest honor from the Royal Society of New Zealand for research in Māori and Indigenous knowledge.

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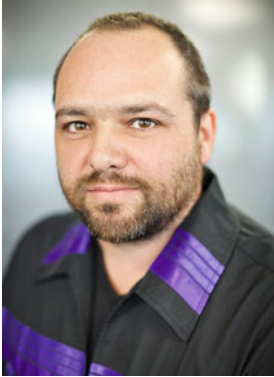
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Towards Self-Determination in Indigenous Education Research: An Introduction

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Elizabeth Ann McKinley and Linda Tuhiwai Smith

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Abstract

Indigenous education was not always marginalized. Indigenous communities have always maintained and developed complex education systems. However, colonial invasion and exploitation have shattered Indigenous knowledges and ways of knowing, and as a result, the pieces have become scattered – destroyed, hidden, and other parts just waiting to be reconstructed. More recently, Indigenous education has become a collaborative international project with ideas and methods, theories, and examples being drawn upon from diverse Indigenous situations. This chapter lays out the basis of how the editors view Indigenous

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education – derived from the work that predates the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) but is consistent with it. We explore what it means to become and be an Indigenous education researcher by providing an overview of the book. The six sections of the book contain chapters that examine subject matters in relation to a broader understanding of how these ideas resonate internationally. We explore each of the six sections and finally ask questions about the future of Indigenous education research.

Keywords

United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) · Being and becoming · Future of Indigenous education

When we, the editors, were approached to consider editing the *Handbook of Indigenous Education*, we were excited at the opportunity. We thought it was timely to produce the first large handbook by Indigenous people themselves, partly because for a long time, we have watched others write our story and as a result actively suppress Indigenous knowledges. As the number of Indigenous education academics and researchers increased over the years, largely due to the work of Indigenous academic “pioneers,” their allies, and programs established in tertiary institutions, we thought there were enough people who could provide an account of the Indigenous education research journey to date. We also thought it timely to highlight Indigenous education scholarship that is often hidden away in the non-mainstream journals being read only by others who know where to seek it out.

Indigenous education was not always marginalized. Indigenous communities have always maintained and developed complex education systems. For example, traditionally in Māori society in Aotearoa New Zealand, there were institutions of higher learning, students were especially chosen to fulfill special roles in their communities, children were developed, and their particular interests were noted. Learning was elevated above the ordinary pursuits of a community, had spiritual elements to it, and there were rituals and protocols to observe. Colonial invasion and exploitation have shattered Indigenous knowledges and ways of knowing, and as a result the pieces have become scattered – destroyed, hidden, and other parts just waiting to be reconstructed. This Handbook explores the ways in which this has happened to Indigenous communities throughout the world and how the traditions of Indigenous systems of knowledge are now being recovered and remade within the context of their critical engagement with western traditions. However, the Handbook is not only concerned with “recovering” the broken pieces. As educators and researchers, we seek to put the recovered pieces into new places, embrace new technologies, gather new information, and try to make sense of a rapidly changing world with the same confidence as our ancestors had as thinkers and knowledge creators. Indigenous knowledges are not, as Mead (2003) reminds us, “an archive of information” but tools for thinking, organizing information, considering the ethics of knowledge, and informing us about our world and our place in it. These attempts are now “coming of age” in this work.

No matter what the context, Indigenous Peoples have articulated a deep relationship to mother earth, to her lands and waterways, and with that interconnection diverse and relational paradigms of knowing and being. Being of the land gives each of us a unique understanding of the lands in which our ancestors made our homes, enabling us to share a deep sense of place brought about when we live and breathe the land – a land that gives life, shapes our stories, and defines who we are. The relationship to land has also defined the Indigenous experiences of being forcibly removed from land and of being displaced and denied the rights and responsibilities that hold worldviews, meanings, and identities together. It defines the work and the journeys that have gone into putting down ancestral stories and bones into new lands, reservations, and margins where Indigenous Peoples have had to survive. As editors of the Handbook, we wanted to tap into this rich vein of culture, knowledge, and understandings that inform Indigenous approaches to knowledge and education. We have sought to do this by embracing the rich diversity of Indigenous research and by keeping the scope of the sections wide and open and reducing any sense that there is either a homogenous or unitary approach to Indigenous education or indeed a singular definition of education or research.

The United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), adopted by the General Assembly in 2007 by the majority of 144 members, sets out the internationally agreed-upon rights of Indigenous Peoples to education. While the UNDRIP expresses Indigenous Peoples' historical grievances, contemporary challenges, and socioeconomic, political, and cultural aspirations, Article 14 expresses the keys to the realization of these through education, stating:

1. Indigenous Peoples have the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning.
2. Indigenous individuals, particularly children, have the right to all levels and forms of education of the State without discrimination.
3. States shall, in conjunction with Indigenous Peoples, take effective measures, in order for Indigenous individuals, particularly children, including those living outside their communities, to have access, when possible, to an education in their own culture and provided in their own language.

While the UNDRIP enshrines Indigenous education in a rights framework, much of the work in Indigenous education predates the signing of the Declaration and represents decades of education development across different contexts working within the constitutional arrangements of different nation states. The rights to education, schooling, and access to a free primary school education for citizens are recognized in most national constitutions although the recognition of citizenship and entitlements of citizenship for Indigenous Peoples as Indigenous Peoples rather than as an ethnic minority is not always a given. The variable and often marginalized status of Indigenous Peoples and their relationships to the nation-state within which they reside is one of the reasons that the UNDRIP is an important part of the human rights framework as it sets out basic rights and

freedoms for Indigenous Peoples. It is also important to recognize that many Indigenous communities are struggling to survive; many Indigenous activists have been assassinated or disappeared, Indigenous LGBTIQ communities are harassed and marginalized, Indigenous women and girls are often the victims of abuse and sexual violence, and Indigenous boys and men are more likely to end up in criminal justice systems. In many situations, identifying as an Indigenous person is still life-threatening. Constitutions and declarations may recognize the rights of Indigenous Peoples, but states and governments must implement policies and infrastructure that protect those rights. Education plays a fundamental role in the survival, security, safety, and well-being of Indigenous communities and ways of knowing and being.

Indigenous educators have advanced Indigenous agendas under all political conditions. While the educational landscape is forever changing, policies for the education of Indigenous Peoples have often remained stuck in old assimilationist frameworks informed by paternalistic ideologies or stymied by a lack of imagination and political will to address the rights of Indigenous Peoples to an education that supports their language, culture, and knowledge. It is often at the local level or with the support of a single forward-thinking official that Indigenous educational initiatives are implemented. These kinds of initiatives can sometimes develop into systemic change (e.g., the Language Nest Kohanga Reo from Aotearoa New Zealand which gave flight to a Māori language education pathway in the Aotearoa New Zealand school system). Too frequently, however, they remain contingent on support and fly under the radar with little official recognition and minimal resourcing. It is still rare to have Indigenous knowledge included in curriculum, to have Indigenous experiences of colonization fully recognized in history, or to have Indigenous perspectives included across curriculum. It is rare to have the full engagement of Indigenous communities in public or private schools, to have governance roles, or to be principals and educational leaders. It is rare to have a critical mass of Indigenous educationalists and researchers, policymakers, and thought leaders operating in one context or jurisdiction. The Handbook brings together an international network of Indigenous researchers who, for the most part, work in quite isolated contexts in their own settings.

Indigenous educators and researchers walk along the interface of multiple knowledge systems, including official and conventional systems, institutions, histories and discourses, communities and knowledge systems, expectations, and accountabilities. For many of the first generation of Indigenous individuals who were well educated, the public or civil service was an immediate career option, while others may have trained for teaching, health-related professions, or the military. Indigenous people “making it” in the system was seen as a successful strategy for assimilation policies – a measure of the system’s worth. Following generations have moved beyond public administration of education to leadership roles such as school principals and into specialist areas including teacher education and research. Other successful individuals have become community activists leading educational programs that exist outside official structures and advancing Indigenous knowledge within communities and developing community advocacy for Indigenous focused education. The diverse trajectories for Indigenous educators and researchers are reflected in the varying

approaches to Indigenous language revitalization, alternative schooling models, research approaches, and leadership.

There are genuine tensions in this diversity; these are theoretical, political, cultural, disciplinary, and intergenerational. Some of the tensions can be understood best as the politics of decolonization and internal colonization and of differences between those who work for and in communities and those who may be seen as working for and in state structures. Internal colonization acts as an internal control for maintaining the hegemony of colonialism and serves to constantly reinforce the mythologies of Indigenous Peoples being “not good enough,” “not intelligent,” and “not able to govern themselves.” These tensions include the real challenges of choosing priorities, for example, language revitalization priorities, in contexts where there are hundreds of Indigenous languages at risk of extinction. In some contexts, failing to choose is resulting in all the languages disappearing. Other tensions can be understood as cultural-structural approaches that position people along different points of a continuum of change, which engages with how that change can best be effected and how explicit theories of transformation and Indigenous self-determination can be practiced/utilized/executed/employed. For example, some might argue that the only way to attain real transformation is to overturn economic and power structures, and everything else is a waste of effort. Others argue that people have agency to make changes themselves and that culture is a context in which Indigenous Peoples can exercise agency and create transformation. Many tensions are not about opposing political positions but are disciplinary worries about the focus and approach to research, the ontological dimensions of research, the methodologies and theories being used, and the frame and scope of research. Unlike the simplistic binary of qualitative and quantitative methodologies, Indigenous research methodologies tend to grapple with undoing dominant language and definitions, finding ways to use the colonizer’s language for decolonial analyses and drawing insights from Indigenous knowledge and values. All these tensions are represented in some way by the work in the Handbook. What holds it together is a basic commitment of authors to the very idea of Indigenous Peoples, to the rights of Indigenous Peoples, and to research by Indigenous people that affirms Indigenous identities and aspirations for self-determination.

There have been too many examples of education policies for Indigenous Peoples by states and governments that have acted in regressive, culturally and socially destructive ways, for example, Residential Schools in Canada, the forced removal of Indigenous children under various welfare provisions, policies that suppress or deny Indigenous knowledge, and language and culture and policies that focus on the presumed deficits of communities and parents. The politics and agenda of dominant non-Indigenous interests which hold sway over education systems where Indigenous Peoples are minorities are always contestable, especially when purported to be “in our best interests.” The multidisciplinary, long view of Indigenous education research is concerned with the intergenerational impact of past, current, and future education policies and practices for Indigenous Peoples. The work in this volume builds upon generations of documented Indigenous experiences across multiple education jurisdictions that give testimony to

the systematic efforts made by governments to assimilate Indigenous Peoples and by definition destroy their languages, cultures, values, social systems, and practices. More fundamentally, however, the work in this volume provides evidence for the powerful resistance and motivation of Indigenous Peoples to harness the promise and potential of education to advance our aspirations for self-determination and revitalize and strengthen our cultures and languages and our families and communities.

The chapters in the Handbook provide numerous examples of Indigenous educational research being undertaken across the world. Collectively they address system-wide issues, challenges, and opportunities of education, and they span the following diverse themes: from the relationship between societal issues to schooling, from the impact of colonialism to an Indigenous teacher education program, from governance issues to mathematics and the arts curriculum, and from research methodologies to understanding pipelines from school to prison and from prison back to an Indigenous identity. The scope of Indigenous education research is expansive and deep. It is concerned with what happens in formal and informal settings. It is concerned with outcomes and the strategies, policies, pedagogies, and curricula that produce educational outcomes. It questions the taken-for-granted western-centric assumptions, philosophies, discourses, and principles of education and schooling; it challenges what counts, what matters, and how each dimension is defined. For example, Indigenous worldviews value the interconnected relationships of humans within the environment, and so, how does that worldview imagine an education, pedagogically, in curricula, assessment, and teacher education? Indigenous education research is interested in the impact of education on Indigenous well-being and on the survival of Indigenous languages, cultures, and knowledges. Indigenous education research involves building narratives and bodies of knowledge and new terminology about Indigenous education that address the experiences of Indigenous Peoples while simultaneously rewriting the narratives of the nation-state about its identity, history, and relationship to Indigenous Peoples. It is about establishing evidence frameworks that incorporate Indigenous knowledge and paradigms and speak to the practices and challenges of educators working in schools and communities. Indigenous education research maintains a critical gaze on the wider context of education and seeks to identify and address barriers to achieving Indigenous aspirations as well as innovative ways to educate the wider society. Indigenous education research is interested in what works best, how to save a language from extinction, how to nurture an Indigenous child for the future, how to transform higher education institutions, and how to strengthen Indigenous families and young people. And while all these concerns are at play, there is a constant questioning of the role of western knowledge and its tools, of Indigenous knowledge and practices, and of the ethical dimensions and relational principles of being Indigenous while doing Indigenous work. In time this expansive scope may narrow, but at present the energy of Indigenous education research is on rewriting and re-righting the historic archives of Indigenous education that were erased by colonization and on incorporating learnings from the hard-won lessons of Indigenous resistance and survivance. The Handbook represents a state-of-the-art text on

Indigenous education seen through the research lens of Indigenous researchers, but by no means does it represent the entire field of Indigenous educational research.

Being and Becoming a Community of Indigenous Researchers in Education

The Handbook is a reflection of a growing community of Indigenous researchers in education from different places and contexts, trained in diverse disciplines, working with different theories and methodologies, in different languages, and all focusing their attention on the broad field of Indigenous education. This is not an accidental convergence of individual scholars working in isolation but a reflection of the political resurgence of Indigenous Peoples more broadly and of the shared vision for education as a fundamental means, as well as a fundamental right, for self-determination. Indigenous Peoples are critically interested in education and have visions of education as a way to achieve their social, cultural, linguistic, economic, and political well-being as Indigenous nations. Colonial and nation-state education systems, however, were designed, quite deliberately, as a mode for completely assimilating Indigenous Peoples so that they no longer existed. The work of Indigenous researchers in and about education grapples with that tension between transforming education systems designed to destroy and innovating systems that will make things right.

What does it mean to be an Indigenous education researcher? This may seem a self-evident question which naively gestures at Indigenous research in education as if it is just one more approach within the vast multidisciplinary traditions of education research that can be submerged, for example, within quantitative or qualitative research, or from different disciplinary outlooks or from a focus on the big questions being asked about the state of schools in society. It is this sort of simplistic/reductive thinking that casts the identity of the Indigenous researcher in the same category as that of the feminist or that attempts to corral the Indigenous researcher's identity as an ethnic one. Indigenous researchers draw upon a completely different "worldedness" (Mika, 2017) and understandings that situate education in a relational, intergenerational, colonial, and decolonial context. Indigenous concepts and priorities about education may not necessarily be generated from the concerns of our colleagues. The Big Questions about education that often vex researchers often appeal to apparently universal ideas of the dominant group that may not be the big questions from an Indigenous perspective. In fact, even the defining terminology that appeals to ideas of universal application – for example, the term "public education" and the oppositional categories of public/private – has been experienced by Indigenous Peoples as one of the main agencies of colonization. Furthermore, legislative practices reinforced that Indigenous students did not belong in such "public" places. They were not considered full citizens, they were not tax payers, and they still had to undergo prior assimilation by the state before they were deemed ready for school. Indigenous research, not confined to those hegemonies, draws within it understandings about humanness, relationships, ancestors, and

metaphysical dynamics; different understandings of the roles of teachers and learners, curriculum, and pedagogy; and a different sense of urgency around language and culture, expectations for governance and leadership, values and ethics, and theories for transforming the way education is conceptualized and organized.

The idea of being and becoming a community of Indigenous researchers in education is deeply entwined with ideas about being Indigenous, being both self-defined and recognized by relations as an Indigenous human being who is part of a collective whose histories and philosophies are connected to place. In one sense being is a constant act of becoming, of constant interaction with the world; at the same time, being is also about just sitting, being still and immersed in a world without trying to act upon it. Being Indigenous is a process and a concept of living in relation to other human and nonhuman beings. It turns on having intimate connections to the earth and the metaphysical elements of the world. But being Indigenous also engages with experiencing the sustained efforts of imperial and colonial powers to deny and redefine the humanness of our being. Being Indigenous in the twenty-first century is political. It is living, it is acting, it is claiming, it is honoring, it is remembering, and it draws upon the genealogies, dreams, lives, histories, creations, and ideas of ancient legacies and ways of being that existed long before European modernity. Being is not only relational but past, present, and future. It is a way to be, a way of being, that crosses time.

Becoming a community of Indigenous researchers of education illuminates the purposeful act of bringing Indigenous researchers from diverse places together to create what Toni Morrison has said is “a shareable language” (Morrison, 1992) for conceptualizing, organizing, practicing, researching, and evaluating the education of Indigenous Peoples. One important vehicle for becoming an Indigenous research community has been the formation of Special Interest Groups and caucuses that have emerged in Education Research Associations. Professor Margie Maaka and Dr. Sharon Nelson Barber played an important role in bringing the two Special Interest Groups of Indigenous Peoples (of the Americas and of the Pacific) together in a preconference to the Annual Meeting of the American Education Research Association. This regular event has facilitated shared conversations about research. Professor Maaka also instigated the Special Interest Group for Indigenous Peoples of the Pacific. These fora have connected researchers, introduced emerging researchers, and fostered collaborations and networks. Other scholars, such as Professor Graham Hingangaroa Smith from Aotearoa New Zealand, Professor Verna Kirkness from Canada, Professor Ray Barnhart and the late Dr. Oscar Kawagley from Alaska, as well as scholars from Sami countries or the Pacific, have traveled afar and introduced young scholars and research to different Indigenous contexts. The World Indigenous Peoples Conferences on Education (“WIPCE”) has provided for community and institutional researchers to gather every 2 or 3 years to share knowledge. These are large community hosted conferences that attract Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers from across the globe. Networks have formed that support collaborations, and educational and research ideas have circulated internationally. New specialist journals have been established or reinvigorated with a consciousness about broadening research to wider Indigenous audience. This in turn has helped create Indigenous Studies as a broad umbrella for studies that focus on Indigenous

knowledge and knowledge for Indigenous Peoples that is committed to the sovereignty and self-determination of Indigenous Peoples.

Overview of the Book

In this Handbook, we are trying to address Indigenous approaches to education rather than being directed by the standard disciplinary “gaze” and responding to non-Indigenous Peoples’ agendas about what is important in Indigenous education. While many of us as academics are “squeezed” into disciplines, such as anthropology, Indigenous studies, educational psychology, and so on, we decided the book needed to be constructed in a way that reflected Indigenous education issues. Of course, it is nigh impossible to separate our lives in the academy from our lives outside it. All the chapters show our everyday lives are inextricably entwined with our past colonial masters. One of the criteria for the authors was that all chapters needed to be written in English (or at least translated into English). The book is dominated by writers from former colonies of the British Empire (particularly Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and the USA) as well as other countries which have a legacy of English, particularly African countries and the Pacific Islands. One of the chapters was translated from Spanish, and some other authors (not from British colonial countries) had help with their English grammar. There remain a number of challenges for books of this nature. For example, the book only includes Indigenous people who have access to the academy – yet there are many Indigenous Peoples who still remain outside it. Furthermore, another challenge is to become more inclusive of a wider range of Indigenous Peoples from other language groups.

We made the decision to model our Indigenous capacity building ethos by encouraging co-editors for every section – a senior editor with a junior colleague. We tried to make the Editorial teams international, but for very pragmatic reasons, our Section Editors needed to have a close working relationship, and so some of our Section Editors worked in the same institution, and all worked with an editor from their own country. We also encouraged multi-authored chapters led by an Indigenous principal author. It was very important to us that the Handbook became a vehicle for telling our research stories from our Indigenous perspectives and frameworks. There is a vast tract of literature about Indigenous education, authored mostly by non-Indigenous researchers, that is already available, and we wanted to demonstrate the capacity that now exists for Indigenous researchers to be authorities and take leadership of the agenda for Indigenous education research. Many of the teams of collaborating authors, however, are a mix of Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers.

This book presents a body of research knowledge written by Indigenous scholars about Indigenous education. We have attempted to set a different frame of reference in terms of what has mattered around Indigenous Peoples. The six sections we decided on are the platforms that have enabled us to make sense of our experiences and, simultaneously, to realize the potential to be transformed and meet Indigenous aspirations. However, not all sections were obvious. We debated whether we should have a section on colonialism. The challenge of this section is that the inclusion of colonial

histories can come to define Indigenous Peoples, but we realized from the feedback we gathered that we needed to include something. We chose to craft a section that framed colonialism differently by having some commentary by respected elders included to set the section apart from other books. Our sections include:

Section 1: Colonialism

Section editors Leonie Pihama and Jenny Lee-Morgan (both Waikato University, Aotearoa New Zealand) set the scene for Indigenous education in relation to colonialism. This section shows the diversity and similarities in the colonial experiences of Indigenous Peoples as colonizers imported systems of schooling. As the Section Editors say in their Introduction, “While our shared experiences of colonialism have left many of our societies scattered and impoverished, the colonial experience has also been a point of connection for our collective solidarity in survival.” While the mechanisms through which schooling contributed to the colonial agendas differed across Indigenous nations, it is evident schooling expedited them – from civilizing the natives through residential schools to supporting the dispossession of lands. In addition to showcasing the multiplicity and complexity of colonial processes and practices, this section also features three respected and well-known decolonizing scholars and activists in their own countries as guest authors to broaden the discussion and provide some insightful analysis.

Section 2: Indigenous Governance

In this section George Dei (University of Toronto, Canada) and Jean-Paul Restoule (University of Victoria, Canada) assert that Indigenous groups had their own systems of governance prior to colonialism. With Indigenous governance, a major topic for Indigenous Peoples from the multi-levels of societal institutions – legal-jurisdictional, political, and economics – to educational institutions, this section explores the conceptualization of Indigenous governance and how such governance is manifested in Indigenous and alternative educational sites. Contributions in the section also examine how such Indigenous Governance offers lessons for re-visioning schooling and education in multiple global and transnational contexts. In their introductory remarks the Section Editors that “Global governance of Indigenous rights is an urgent matter.” They have approached the challenge conceptually by “drawing a link between Indigenous Governance and global governance.”

Section 3: Language and Culture

Education plays a pivotal role in the regeneration and reconstruction of Indigenous language, culture, and knowledges. This section explores the intricacy of the relationship between language, culture, and education. They argue that neither language

nor culture is being “revived/revitalized” as items but is deeply implicated through each other and constitutes Indigenous selves. The Section Editors Margie Hohepa and Carl Mika (both University of Waikato, Aotearoa New Zealand) introduce the authors in this section as ones who “are from communities that are affected by a language-culture-education problem or potential. On their own, any of these separate elements of language, culture, and education complicate a theoretical description of life; in pairs, they produce even more inconsistencies and complexities.” Chapters in this section include themes engaging with Indigenous language and cultural knowledge in the curriculum, Indigenous pedagogy inside and outside of colonial-developed institutions, policy leverages for language learning opportunities, the place of Indigenous language and culture in teacher and higher education, and the politics and/or philosophies of language use, translation, and expansion.

Section 4: Societal Issues

Societal issues can impact significantly on the education of Indigenous Peoples. This section presents the reader with a wide range of current, and ongoing, challenges across a variety of Indigenous contexts, including school-prison-community trajectories, human rights violations, and the engagement and support of Indigenous families. The Section Editors, Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy (Arizona State University, USA) and Megan Bang (Northwestern University, USA), put forward a framework through which to view the narratives of this section that focuses on empowerment, enactment, engage, envision, and enhancement. The Section Editors posit the five Es framework as concepts that “do not place us as ‘victims’ regarding the impact of wider societal structures but provide a sense of agency (both individual and community) and hope about how to re-capture, re-establish, re-instantiate our nations of peoples.” Indigenous communities have dealt with and survived major events and changes in their circumstances and that experience is continuing. It is not accidental that societal issues impact powerfully on Indigenous communities and thereby on educational education. Schools may shield or shelter students from society but can also reproduce the injustices and unfairness of society. Indigenous education has responsibilities to provide safety through knowledge and resiliency through sustaining Indigenous values and agency.

Section 5: Transforming Education

This section, co-edited by Graham Hingangaroa Smith (Te Whare Wānanga o Āwanuiārangi, Aotearoa New Zealand) and Melinda Webber (University of Auckland, Aotearoa New Zealand), focuses on “transforming” both the processes and outcomes of education and schooling to more effectively meet the learning and sociocultural aspirations of Indigenous peoples. The section interrogates the dual concerns related to how education and schooling structures in colonized societies function to reproduce dominant social, cultural, and economic interests on the one

hand and in turn maintain outcomes of persisting social, economic, cultural, and learning underdevelopment and marginalization on the other. The dual work covered in this section engages with the need to critically unpack the functioning of schooling in colonized settings and, secondly, with ways to improve schooling and educational outcomes for Indigenous students. The Section Editors view transforming education and schooling as “an important pre-condition to the broader struggle of transforming the social, economic, cultural, and political under-development that reflects the colonized positioning of many Indigenous populations.”

Section 6: Case Studies

This final section examines Indigenous experiences across formal and informal learning contexts through case studies. Sharon Nelson-Barber (WestEd, USA) and Zanette Johnson (Intrinsic Impact Consulting, USA) offer the reader a diversity of accounts that First Nations and Indigenous communities have faced – many of them parallel challenges, such as the effects of land loss, colonization, aggressive assimilation, and navigating collective and personal journeys through cultural trauma. The Section Editors ask, “Are our efforts getting results that matter? Are we doing things in ways that reflect our values deeply? Are we relating to one another in the ways our ancestors would have understood and respected? Are our children becoming a next generation who we can trust to carry our cultures forward?” In today’s historical moment, this section advances how Indigenous Peoples strategize to meet the challenges of modern local/global Indigenous life. These accounts provide ideas about how to adapt rapidly and survive as peoples and show how our collective efforts can inspire one another to creative solution-building that brings about positive changes.

Indigenous academics, who largely make up this work, are sometimes living and working far from their communities they are writing about. Every chapter is led by an Indigenous author. Again this openly political stand was not without controversy and debate from our writers. But in privileging Indigenous voices, we were not prepared to have one Indigenous person in a writing team named at the end of the line of non-Indigenous writers, nor were we willing to privilege young non-Indigenous academics as part of larger research teams even with an interest and commitment to Indigenous education. This was not what this book was about. Furthermore, we requested our Section Editors, who were involved with choosing authors for their section, to select senior Indigenous academics who would be willing to write alongside junior Indigenous academics, to build the capacity of our community, and many authors responded in kind. More than 40 chapters are written with 2 or more authors.

Cross Themes of the Handbook

It will be clear to readers that, while the Handbook is in sections, there are chapters that could fit in more than one section. There are interrelated and cross-cutting themes, blurred boundaries, and a layering of knowledge and insight across chapters and sections. We want to highlight some of those cross themes here.

Indigenous research in education addresses *a range of contexts* in highly nuanced ways. Attention to context is driven by the specificities of historical, geographical, and political experiences and by the stories that Indigenous communities want to retell and revitalize. Indigenous knowledge and relationships predate colonization, and Indigenous Peoples are more than the story of colonization and devastation. Critically describing contexts is important for reinstalling Indigenous ideas of context into the frame and positioning Indigenous ideas as offering solutions and hope. Indigenous Peoples do not seek to be the perpetual victims of their own stories.

Some of the chapters illustrate a *deep knowledge base* that has been developed over highly specialized Indigenous education areas, such as language revitalization and the inclusion of cultural ideas in curriculum and pedagogy. This expert knowledge is often subsumed in general educational literature as interesting case studies rather than as theory defining examples of the field of language revitalization. Indigenous educators and researchers of language revitalization have profound knowledge of what it means to re-embed Indigenous languages back into communities, families, and cultures.

The chapters examine subject matters in relation to a broader understanding of how these ideas resonate *internationally*. Indigenous education research is an international field with a distinctive literature and networks of knowledge that are shared across borders. In many contexts, Indigenous Peoples are still regarded as being deficient about their own context, let alone the context of others. However, Indigenous education has become a collaborative international project with ideas and methods, theories, and examples being drawn upon from diverse Indigenous situations. Some areas such as research ethics, working in institutions, and culturally informed pedagogies have a rich literature from diverse contexts. Other specific contexts are cited consistently as examples of deep practice informed by 30–40 years of work.

The Handbook provides a rich source for the *diversity of Indigenous methodologies and analyses* for educational research. The chapters demonstrate seamlessly the thoughtful framing of research, attention to what matters from an Indigenous perspective, the critical use of a broad range of education research methodologies, and the incorporation of Indigenous knowledge, languages, and cultural ideas. Indigenous writers have for the most part stopped explaining their cultural frameworks and paradigms for others and have developed diverse ways for generating and applying Indigenous ideas to educational questions.

And finally, the chapters and sections speak to the challenges of *education for marginalized peoples* and have much to contribute to wider educational directions and understandings. Education is seen by Indigenous Peoples as having a powerful potential for the healing and resurgence of Indigenous communities and families. Language is seen as healing, Indigenous knowledge is seen as healing, and Indigenous engagement is seen as healing. Schools and other educational settings should be healing places rather than places of trauma and exclusion. This is a fundamentally different view of education in the twenty-first century that Indigenous Peoples held hundreds of years ago and an equally fundamentally different philosophical understanding of the purpose of education from standard mainstream views of education.

What Is the Future of Indigenous Education Research?

In closing this introductory piece to the Handbook, we wish to ponder on the future. In a recent speech, one of our esteemed elders and author in this book, Dr. Moana Jackson, recounted a story about his granddaughter that sums up the aspirations of Indigenous Peoples:

I have an eight-year-old granddaughter who is the most beautiful granddaughter in the world, of course. Her first language was our language – the first language learned to speak to read in and to write was Māori and then she began to learn English because it's all around her. We were sitting on the couch one day and she had a book that had a list of English words and she was reading out the words and sometimes she would ask me what they meant. Then at one point she paused for quite a while and then she said to me “[Granddad], what's this word?” and she spelt it to me F - U - T - U - R - E. I said, “That's future” and she said, “What's a future?” Do you know how hard it is to explain to an eight-year-old what a future is? But I did my best and I told a story and then I said, “so the future is when we take all the times of our past, bring them into today, and then we carry them into all of our tomorrows, and the carrying into all of our tomorrows, this is future.” She seemed satisfied with that and carried on going through her wordlist.

The next morning I was sitting in the kitchen quite early and she came bustling in, got out the little lunch box that she takes to school and started putting some food in and filled up a water bottle, then bustled outside and stuffed them into the saddlebag on her little bike. While she was doing that, the little Pākehā boy, the little white boy from next door who's two years younger than her - my family called him her shadow because he follows her everywhere - he came through the fence and he said, “What are you doing?” And with that wonderful non-response which children have and which politicians never lose, she said, “Nothing.”

Then she got on her bike and started to pedal up the drive and he said, “Where are you going?” She said, “to look for a future.” He said, “Can I come?” and she looked over her shoulder and said, “Can you keep up?”

The challenge that faces all countries that have been colonised is that Indigenous Peoples are forging a journey and asking the others in that country, “Will you come with us? Can you keep up?” (Jackson, 2018, pp. 2–3)

The Handbook is an example of some of the current research available in Indigenous education. What is presented here is a significant body of research produced by Indigenous researchers working across diverse contexts. Where does this research take us? Research provides knowledge and insights that help identify the limits and possibilities of education. The challenge for Indigenous research is to have impact at the level of system and structural change. Indigenous education is political and subject to relations of power and the dominant views of nation states. Influencing how education systems should be improved, how schools could be reformed, or how preservice teachers should be educated are challenges for Indigenous education research. Likewise being able to deliver well-being to our communities through the healing and educative powers of an Indigenous education system is a significant aspiration.

In this *Handbook of Indigenous Education*, we too ask the questions Dr. Jackson's granddaughter asks: Will you come with us on this journey to frame our educational institutions in a way that relates to strong Indigenous communities? Can you keep up

with us as we forge our paths toward strong and healthy Indigenous communities and families that will benefit everyone?

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Part I

Colonialism

Leonie Pihama and Jenny Lee-Morgan



Colonization, Education, and Indigenous Peoples

2

Leonie Pihama and Jenny Lee-Morgan

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Abstract

The devastation of colonialism has shaped our shared, but different, experiences as Indigenous people. From our natural environment and relational structures that enabled collective wellbeing to our cultural knowledge systems to our languages, and ceremonial practices, colonialism has disrupted and fragmented our ways of being. Education was both a target and tool of colonialism, destroying and diminishing the validity and legitimacy of Indigenous education, while simultaneously replacing and reshaping it with an ‘education’ complicit with the colonial endeavour. Schooling as a formalised colonial structure served as a vehicle for wider imperialist ideological objectives. This chapter provides a context for understanding the deep connections between colonisation, education and Indigenous peoples, and introduces the chapters in this section that exemplify the ways colonisation has played out in Aotearoa New Zealand, Australia, Canada, Hawaii, Chile and Africa. Subsequently, the diversity and the similarities in the colonial experiences of Indigenous communities is evident, as imported systems of schooling were deliberately and purposefully imposed upon Indigenous lands and Peoples.

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Introduction

Imperialism, through the destructive reach of colonialism, has had a devastating impact on Indigenous peoples throughout the world. Colonial violence, key to the act of colonialism, has murdered, dehumanized, enslaved, subjugated, and oppressed Indigenous lives, families, and communities, in some cases, for many generations (Dunbar-Oritz 2015; Smith 1999). Each colonial invasion ensured the establishment of power and maximum exploitation of people and resources (Newcomb 2008). Colonial processes, underpinned by an unfettered arrogance and self-asserted superiority, have shaped our shared, but different, experiences as Indigenous people. From our natural environment and relational structures that enabled collective well-being to our cultural knowledge systems to our languages and ceremonial practices, colonialism has sought to explicitly and implicitly disrupt and fragment our ways of being (Walker 1990). Education was both a target and tool of colonialism, destroying and diminishing the validity and legitimacy of Indigenous education, while simultaneously replacing it with an “education” complicit with the colonial endeavor (Hutchings and Lee-Morgan 2016; Smith 1999).

The purpose of this section of the handbook is to set the scene for Indigenous education in relation to colonialism. Here in Aotearoa New Zealand, colonial schooling was established in 1816; however the foundations were set for the imposition of colonial systems of education well before the first mission school opened its doors in Rangihoua in the north (Simon and Smith 2001). This is the case across Indigenous territories. Schooling as a formalized colonial structure served as a vehicle for wider imperialist ideological objectives. What we see in this section is both the diversity and the similarities in the colonial experiences of Indigenous communities as imported systems of schooling were imposed upon Indigenous lands and peoples.

Colonial Ideologies and Schooling

The mechanisms through which schooling contributed to the broader colonial agenda differed across Indigenous nations that ranged from the facilitation of the civilizing intent through the forced removal of Native and Aboriginal children from their nations and their placement into residential boarding schools to the establishment of mission or Native schooling systems in tribal territories (Child 1998; Simon and Smith 2001). Colonial schooling is also seen as a vehicle through which to support the dispossession of Indigenous nations from our lands. It was first and foremost Indigenous lands and resources that imperialism sought to possess (Coulthard 2014; Grande 2015). Indigenous nations living about and caring for

those lands were, and continue to be, seen as an impediment to colonial expansionism (Jackson 2007).

Schooling was one vehicle that could expedite the colonial civilization agenda, and in particular the individualization, of Indigenous peoples to enable a deconstruction of collective understandings that informed and maintained tribal resistance to land confiscations and the denial of the sovereignty of Indigenous nations. In America, the residential schools were premised on the ideology advanced by Capt. Richard H. Pratt who established the Carlisle school in 1879. Reflecting on the underpinning ideology of the residential schools system in 1892, he stated:

A great general has said that the only good Indian is a dead one, and that high sanction of his destruction has been an enormous factor in promoting Indian massacres. In a sense, I agree with the sentiment, but only in this: that all the Indian there is in the race should be dead. Kill the Indian in him, and save the man. (Pratt 1892, p. 46)

Pratt advanced the notion that in order for Native Americans to be fully assimilated into white American colonial society, schools such as Carlisle needed to focus on removing all parts of what it meant to be Indian. Pratt argues, “we make our greatest mistake in feeding our civilization to the Indians instead of feeding the Indians to our civilization” (ibid).

The residential schooling system in Canada not only aligned to the “kill the Indian in him [sic]” ideology they have also been directly implicated in the deaths of many First Nations children and the extreme and inhumane conditions within which many generations of First Nations children resided within. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada Summary report “Honour The Truth, reconciling for the Future” (2015) documents the genocidal nature of Canadian residential schools stating:

For the students, education and technical training too often gave way to the drudgery of doing the chores necessary to make the schools self-sustaining. Child neglect was institutionalized, and the lack of supervision created situations where students were prey to sexual and physical abusers. (p. 45)

In Aotearoa New Zealand, Linda Smith (1986) has referred to Native schools system that was located within these communities as a “Trojan horse.” Designed to embed assimilatory practices within Indigenous communities, these schools aimed to civilize from within and permeate colonizing ideologies via the children, their families, and tribal communities. The success of imperialist expansion relied upon schooling to fulfill the colonial intentions of Christianizing, civilizing, and the assimilation of Indigenous peoples into roles as domestic laborers. It is clear that the drivers of the historical development of residential and mission schooling systems globally were, at one end of the spectrum, the denial of collective Indigenous identity to enable a full process of assimilation and civilization to be realized and, at the other end, genocidal and ethnocidal practices that sort to exterminate Indigenous nations.

“Colonisation and the importation of ideologies of race, gender and class in Aotearoa” addresses the colonial processes of assimilation employed in the invasion

of Indigenous lands and imposed upon Indigenous peoples which are grounded upon the dominant ideologies related to race, class, and gender. This piece by Leonie Pihama examines the underpinning belief systems that provided the rationale for colonization. She argues that these beliefs systems were embedded in the dogma of the Doctrine of Discovery, which provided justification for colonial invasion globally. The imposition of colonial structures of race, gender, and class served to validate acts of oppression and subjugation of Indigenous peoples. These systems of classification, all constructed and imposed by colonial forces, were in essence ways through which colonizers self-legitimized their tyranny over and domination of Indigenous peoples.

In “Mapuchezugun Ka Mapuche Kimün: Confronting Colonisation In Chile (Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries),” we move closer to the latter end of the spectrum where colonial violence is clearly evident in the case of the Mapuche people the indigenous inhabitants of south-central Chile and southwestern Argentina, including parts of present-day Patagonia. Written by Hector Nahuelpan and Jaime Antimil, and thoughtfully translated from Spanish to English by Kathryn Lehman, this chapter analyzes the process of colonization of the Mapuche as they were forced into the Chilean State and capitalist political economy in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The authors utilize archival sources and oral history, to detail the colonial project of dispossession and genocide against the Mapuche people that impacted their language, ontology, and epistemology as well as the political and territorial sovereignty. This included reducing the Mapuche to a minority; the obliteration, eradication, and persecution of the use of Mapuzugun (language of the Mapuche people) and Mapuche kimün (Mapuche knowledge); and racial subordination within the social interactions of subsequent generations, in what they term the “civilizing spaces.” Schooling was one of the key “civilizing spaces” that denigrated, in particular, the Mapuche language and knowledge with devastating consequences for the lives of their people. However, Hector Nahuelpan and Jaime Antimil argue that far from being passive subjects, the Mapuche people have displayed diverse forms of resistance, negotiation, and response – a struggle for life facing a project of death represented by colonization.

In ► [Chap. 6, “Truth and Reconciliation in Canada: Indigenous Peoples as Modern Subjects,”](#) Lyn Daniels, who is Cree of the Kawacatoose First Nation in southern Saskatchewan, explores ways in which the Indian Residential schooling are remembered by survivors and the intergenerational impact of those schools. Exploring the role of photographs to record historical narrative related to Residential Schools, Daniels highlights the political intent of these forms of representation to further embed the colonial gaze and in doing so to affirm the wider colonial assimilatory intention of these schooling systems. She argues that “*how educational policies are experienced inter-generationally by the descendants of survivors reveals another dimension of Canadian colonialism*” and draws upon work by fiction writer, W.G. Sebald to ways through which we come to remember and come to know ourselves. Drawing on a range of works of fiction Daniels highlights the centrality of issues of representation and the need for Indigenous Peoples to frame the ways in which histories such as Indian Residential Schools are re-presented. The chapter

asserts that moving beyond silence is a process of decolonization. Remembrance is critical to ensuring that current and future generations have a understanding of the history that has impacted upon their ancestors and therefore on their lives. In doing so this chapter considers how the traumatic history of Indian residential schools might be remembered, in particular by inter-generational survivors.

The contribution from Nalani Wilson-Hokowhitu and Noelani Goodyear, “Colonization, Education and Kanaka ‘Ōiwi Survivance,” provides the reader with an overview of the sustained connection between traditional and contemporary Hawaiian education while traversing a vast expanse of colonial history within Hawaii. It is organized into three main sections that focus on traditional Hawaiian knowledge and learning practices, contact, and the early educational institutions that developed during the nineteenth century, Kamehameha Schools, annexation, and statehood. Kānaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians) from time immemorial have embraced and nourished a deep and growing ontology, epistemology, and axiology. Ka ‘imi loa, reaching back through time, our ancestors mapped evolutionary biology extending from the natural world into the spiritual and metaphysical realms with the epic Kumulipo, our most acclaimed creation chant. From the beginnings of creation to the many hālau, or schools, our intellectual capacities encompassed a visual and tactile literacy of reading waves, currents, winds, clouds, weather, animal migration patterns, and celestial bodies. Kanaka developed ahupua’a or land divisions from the mountains to the sea comprising of elaborate hydroponic systems for feeding a nation with kalo (taro) from the land and fishponds at the base of the estuaries. Traditional and contemporary Hawaiian education values aloha ‘āina, love and care of our land and waters, as well as the interconnectedness of humans and the natural world, our ‘ohana (families), kūpuna (elders and ancestors), and ākua (the spirit realm).

During the nineteenth century, Kanaka faced the multifold threats of European and American imperialism, land alienation, and a dramatic population decline from introduced diseases. In this context the ali’i (chiefly leaders) founded innovative ways to carry out their traditional obligations to care for the well-being of the people. One way they did so was to give their lands in perpetual charitable trusts to support new institutions of care: hospitals, schools, elderly care homes, and service programs for orphaned and destitute children and their communities. The largest of these trusts established and maintains the Kamehameha Schools, founded by Ke Ali’i (the Chief) Bernice Pauahi Bishop. The last section discusses the impact of annexation and statehood while returning the reader to the sustained relationship between traditional and contemporary values for cultural integrity and sovereignty, and the reader is left with the theme of continuity in celebration of the strength and resiliency of the Native Hawaiian people.

While the aforementioned chapters deepen our understanding of the multiplicity, complexity, and diversity of colonial processes and practices in relation to specific countries or ideologies such as race and gender, a feature of this section are three further pieces that speak more broadly to the idea of colonialism. Understanding colonialism is foundational to understanding and being able to work in the context of Indigenous education, in so far that decolonization is a critical part of our

reclamation, our regeneration, and, indeed, our survival. Well-respected Indigenous elders in their respective fields, communities, and countries have authored the last part of this section. They are Professor Bob Morgan, a highly respected Indigenous educator from Walgett Western New South Wales (NSW) in Australia; Dr. Moana Jackson who hails from the tribes of Ngāti Porou, Rongomaiwahine, and Ngāti Kahungunu in Aotearoa New Zealand is an Indigenous rights legal scholar and Māori leader; and Kenyan novelist and theorist Professor Ngugi wa Thiong’o, most well-known to us for his work “Decolonising the mind” (1986) where he advocates for linguistic decolonization. All three guest authors are well-respected decolonization scholars and activists in their own countries and well-regarded internationally. Each broadens the discussion about the processes and impact of colonialism, as well as some responses with insightful and inspiring analysis while also grounded in their own contexts, areas of expertise, and experiences.

Professor Morgan is a Gumilaroi man and a highly respected and acknowledged Aboriginal educator/researcher who has worked extensively throughout Australia and internationally in the field of Aboriginal knowledge and learning for over 40 years. In recognition of his commitment and contributions to international Indigenous education rights and freedoms, Professor Morgan has served on numerous Government Commissions and Community Boards and Committees including serving as part of the World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium (WINHEC). In 2007 Professor Morgan was invited to be a keynote speaker to the National Indian Education Association hosted in Hawaii in October 2007. He has also presented at various other international Aboriginal/Indigenous education seminars and conferences. In November 2015, Professor Morgan was honored by being appointed a Distinguished Visiting Professor with Minzu University, School of Education, Beijing, China. Professor Morgan is currently the Managing Director of Bob Morgan Consulting and Chair of the Board of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, Education and Training (BATSJET) with Newcastle University. Professor Morgan also serves as a Professor with the Wollotuka Institute at Newcastle University.

In “Beyond the Guest Paradigm – Colonialism, Cultural Contamination and Eurocentric Education and its impact on Aboriginal Education,” Professor Bob Morgan explores early attempts to “educate” Aboriginal students located in and around the new British settlement at Port Jackson (NSW) and how the early education practices and programs remain embedded in contemporary Aboriginal education policies and experiences. The chapter defines core elements of the “Guest Paradigm” that characterizes current Aboriginal education policies and programs and utilizes principles of Aboriginal self-determination, cultural survival, and affirmation to challenge the assimilation and culturally contaminating influences of Eurocentric education on Aboriginal cultural values and traditions and knowledge systems. It concludes with a call to move beyond the guest paradigm by citing examples of scholarly enrichment for Aboriginal peoples, without the sacrifice of culture and traditions, by advocating a strategic disengagement for Aboriginal peoples with Eurocentric education and the development of an authentic model of Aboriginal education.

Dr. Moana Jackson is a highly regarded lawyer, a Treaty of Waitangi expert, an Indigenous rights legal scholar, and a well-respected Māori activist and outspoken leader. Formerly a Director of the Māori Law Commission, in 1993 he was appointed judge on the International Peoples' Tribunal and sat on hearings in Hawaii, Canada, and Mexico. He was appointed Visiting Fellow at the Victoria University Law School in 1995 and was elected Chair of the Indigenous Peoples' Caucus of the United Nations Working Group on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. In 1988, his analysis of Māori and the criminal justice system in the report *He Whaipanga Hou* (Jackson 1988) was pivotal in reframing thinking about Māori law. Since 2011, Dr. Moana Jackson co-chaired a major Working Group on Constitutional Transformation that involved holding more than 300 gatherings throughout Aotearoa New Zealand about the development of a new constitution based on the Treaty of Waitangi. Recognized for his outstanding scholarly contribution to progressing indigenous legal rights and his influential thinking and critical analysis, he has been highly significant for generations of jurists, policymakers, researchers, educators, activists, and Indigenous communities alike. In 2017, Jackson was awarded an Honorary Doctorate of Laws from Victoria University, Wellington.

Dr. Moana Jackson's chapter entitled ▶ [Chap. 7, "In the End "The Hope of Decolonization"™](#) eloquently argues that to embark on the journey of decolonization, it begins with a clear understanding and identification of the work of colonialism. Describing the colonizers as "myhtakers," Jackson creates this term to depict the ways in which untruths were purposefully created to justify processes that enabled the violent theft, rape, and pillage of Indigenous lands, resources, knowledge systems, and of Indigenous peoples themselves. Not limited to a particular region, the devastation of colonialism on Indigenous peoples has maneuvered across the world and has spanned many centuries. Reliant on manufactured myths of racial superiority and doctrines of discovery, Jackson calls out the unwarranted deliberate violence and systematic destruction on Indigenous peoples as the "first global war of terror." He discusses three key dimensions of colonization which continues to form the basis of the colonized legacy in which we still live: the privileging of the colonizers' lives, power as the definitive hunger of colonization, and the colonizers' law as the pretence to reason. In the tradition of many of our elders, Jackson's adept skill in storytelling combined with a wide knowledge and expertise base grounded in lived experience at a tribal community, national and international level, offers a powerful piece that is both deeply troubling as well as encouraging. This chapter is foundational in preparing for any decolonization work, but for those engaging in education as a site of cultural, economic, social, political, and/or spiritual reclamation and development, a commitment to the hope of decolonization is critical.

Lastly, Professor Ngugi wa Thiong'o is an acclaimed Kenyan author, one of the foremost African novelists with a reputation of being a writer of supreme political commitment and who as an adult replaced his Western name with his current Bantu name emphasizing his cultural pride. In 1977, Ngugi publicly announced that he would no longer write in English and campaigned for other African writers to do the same. Since then, he has published most of his novels in Gikuyu, his Native language, before translating them himself for English-speaking audiences abroad.

In 1977 he was imprisoned without trial for a year after the co-authored play with Ngugi wa Mirii, "I Will Marry When I Want," was first performed. The play was highly critical of the inequalities and injustices of Kenyan society. In recent years, he has been considered a front-runner to win the Nobel Prize for Literature. Ngugi currently holds a post as Distinguished Professor in Comparative Literature and English at the University of California, Irvine, USA. In 2004 after a long exile, Ngugi returned to Kenya with his wife. His books have been translated into more than 30 languages and continue to be the subject of further books, critical monographs, and dissertations.

In "Liberate the Base: Thoughts Towards an African Language Policy," Thiong'o begins by drawing attention to the tactical maneuvers of war that centers on protecting one's own base and/or infiltrating the other's through stealth or the willing defectors. Language, of course, is a critical part of the base. He argues that the delegitimization of African languages as credible sources of knowledge, whereby English is presented as the enabler to progress and modernity, is a guise of colonialism. Whereas colonialism was previously articulated through military intervention as a way to pacify African tribal groups, Thiong'o describes this imposition in his chapter as "the linguistic pacification of languages of anarchy and blood." The fundamentalism of monolingualism is premised on the idea that English provides a way of solving the multiplicity of African languages and uniting the continent. Alongside other rationalizations such as globalization, barriers to an effective national African language policy stand in the way to securing African languages. This piece offers ways to think about the concept of relationships of languages, innovative policies that would support that each community has a right to their own language, and inspires visions of our whole and healthy selves with our own languages at the heart.

Conclusion

While our shared experiences of colonialism have left many of our societies scattered and impoverished, the colonial experience has also been a point of connection for our collective solidarity in survival. Similar cultural values and aspirations converge as Indigenous peoples hold hopeful visions for both decolonization and the regeneration of Indigenous knowledge, languages, and cultural ways. Past and present Indigenous scholars (and allies) contribute to a reclaiming, recreation, and reconstruction of knowledge that often extends beyond local communities to an Indigenous academic arena that is not only a "safe" but a reinvigorating place to go. All the chapters in this section focus on providing broad overviews of the ideologies, systems, structures, policies, and practices that have been embedded upon Indigenous lands through colonization as deliberate strategies of colonial imperialist acts of dispossession. What is clear is that in order to challenge, struggle against, and move beyond colonial imperialism, we need to understand its machinery and the ways in which education has systematically been employed to serve the interests of colonial invasion. It is also clear that each of the authors in this section

has clear and purposeful aspirations and visions for the future, whereby Indigenous education can be positioned as central to the well-being of our people. To confront and understand the nature of colonialism is a critical part of a decolonizing agenda that posits Indigenous education on the frontline. Indigenous educators are reemerging with colonial critiques and educative frameworks that draw on our own traditions, philosophies, worldviews, rules and rigor, and colonial critiques that bring to the fore issues of self-determination and sovereignty. Our analysis of colonialism reminds us that we are part of a broader political struggle where Indigenous education is a strategic goal.

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Colonization and the Importation of Ideologies of Race, Gender, and Class in Aotearoa

3

Leonie Pihama

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Abstract

The chapter provides a brief discussion of underpinning belief systems of race, gender, and class ideologies that provided the rationale for colonization within Aotearoa. She argues that these belief systems were embedded in the dogma of colonial supremacy, which provided justification for colonial invasion globally. The imposition of colonial structures of race, gender, and class served to validate acts of oppression and subjugation of Indigenous peoples, for the dispossession of Indigenous lands and for the subjugation of the position of women within Indigenous societies. These systems of classification, all constructed and imposed by colonial forces, were in essence ways through which colonizers self-legitimized their tyranny over and domination of Indigenous peoples.

Keywords

Colonial Ideologies · Race · Gender · Class · Indigenous

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Introduction

Within Aotearoa (known in colonial terms as New Zealand), prior to colonial invasion, whānau (extended family grouping), hapū, and iwi (subtribal and tribal groupings) had established a range of educational systems that enabled the intergenerational transmission of knowledge. Learning and teaching within Māori pedagogical processes focused on the well-being of the collective, and the support of individuals within collective relationships, obligations, accountabilities, and responsibilities (Nepe 1991). Many of these relationships and arrangements have been interrupted through our experiences of colonization (Pihama et al. 2014). This chapter explores ideological importations that have contributed to those interruptions; the ideologies of race, gender, and class; and the impact of these colonial ideologies upon Māori as Indigenous Peoples. The definitions explored are those that were imported through a colonial process and, as with all acts of colonial imperialism, such ideologies have no regard for Indigenous knowledge or epistemologies. Rather the ideologies of race, class, and gender that arrived on the shores in Aotearoa were not only alien to our people but were also deliberately intended to ensure our alienation. Colonization has had a traumatic impact upon Indigenous Nations globally through the imposition of colonial power as a dominating and oppressive force (Walker 1990; Smith 1999; Grande 2004). Examining colonial-settler relationships, Coulthard (2014) provides a definition that is of particular relevance to this chapter in that it highlights the centrality, and intersection, of dominant power relations, which are central to the colonizing agenda and process.

A settler-colonial relationship is one characterized by a particular form of domination; that is, it is a relationship where power – in this case interrelated discursive and non-discursive facets of economic, gendered, racial, and state power – has been structured into a relatively secure or sedimented set of hierarchical social relations that continue to facilitate the dispossession of Indigenous peoples of their lands and self-determining authority. (p. 7)

Acts of colonial invasion have been justified through colonial fictions such as the Doctrine of Discovery, race hierarchies embedded through Darwinian based notions of the “survival of the fittest,” class oppression through the imposition of capitalist systems of production, and more recently neoliberal economics. Each of these oppressive acts have been developed, maintained, and reproduced as means for the justification and the ongoing perpetuation of oppressive systems (Jackson 2007). Pākehā (white people) or white men have been instrumental in the instigation and maintenance of power structures in regard to gender with a range of reasoning utilized to justify the positioning of women both as inferior and to be controlled by men (Warner 1976; Davis 1991; Johnston and Pihama 1995). White nations more generally sought to position themselves as superior races and ensure genocide, enslavement, and holocaustic actions against Indigenous, Black, and People of Color around the world. The white bourgeoisie have been at the forefront in the global assertion of capitalist systems of abuse and exploitation (Davis 1991).

This chapter looks specifically at the ideological construction of race, gender, and class as imposed upon Māori through colonization and the ways in which those ideologies manifested in the oppression of our people across our lands. The categorization of race as locating white men, followed closely by white women, at the pinnacle of racial hierarchies is not a surprise to those of us who were positioned in dominant ideologies as being further “down the ladder” in the colonial practices of societal organization. Just as forms of Christianity were used to validate the position of white men in gendered order so to do have they been utilized to legitimize white peoples place in the hierarchy just next to a white male god (Mikaere 2016). In discourses of race it is the “barbaric” “savage” “inferior” “Other” that is racialized, being white is not engaged, rather being white is viewed as the standard from which all other peoples are measured and defined. Adding class to the mix has provided the fundamental economic justification for the foundation and continuance of processes of capitalism that maintain processes of commodification of all things. When value is located solely in terms of capital, those who have been unable to accumulate value take their place in the inferior ranks by virtue of an ideology that is based within monetary systems of greed and exploitation.

Writings related to the history of Māori and schooling have tended toward general discussions of the ways in which the colonial powers established schooling as a vehicle for the “civilizing,” and social control, of Māori people, and the complex ways in which these have impacted upon wider societal issues for Māori (Smith 2016). Much of the documentation of the role of colonization in the establishment of British models of schooling has been descriptive, and while providing invaluable description it has tended to be limited in regard to analysis of the wider intersection of colonial ideologies (Barrington and Beaglehole 1974). The complexities of the intersection of colonial invasion, race, and gendered ideologies require investigation for any discussion of the role of Pākehā imposed schooling in Aotearoa. Identifying the construction of race, gender, and class within colonial discourses is a means of understanding underpinning ideologies that exist in the maintenance of unequal power relationships. The importation of these ideologies that are based within Western colonial paradigms has meant the disruption of some fundamental beliefs. This chapter provides a brief overview of historical beliefs related to those constructions in order that we are able to more deeply understand the complexities of the dominant discourses that pervade Māori society. Colonial ideologies encompass those beliefs and ideas that are constituted through the worldviews and knowledge of the colonizer. Blauner (1994) argues that a product of Western colonialism is the development of other means of categorization, which ideologies of race contribute to. Race as a social phenomenon cannot be separated from issues of gender, class, or indigenous struggles.

Constructing a Mythology: Race as a Defining Notion

The concept of race is a colonial importation. Prior to contact between Māori and Pākehā, race did not exist for Māori, rather social organization for whānau, hapū, and iwi was mediated through whakapapa (genealogical connections). Those constructions were based within culturally defined structures. The western notion of race is

constructed to ensure colonial interests are served and presented as a taken for granted way of being or considered as a part of a “natural” order. Racially based hierarchies, as they exist in present day Aotearoa, are a historical outcome of colonization. Colonization as a process has been significantly influenced by the ways in which race has been constructed and the embedding of racial discrimination and its contrasting system of white privilege. Race and the development of racial hierarchies have been the justification for, and maintenance of, colonial imperialism around the world (Gould 1981). As Harris (1993) states “*the racialization of identity and the racial subordination of Blacks and Native Americans provided the ideological basis for slavery and conquest*” (p. 1715).

In Aotearoa, there is little talk in wider society about race, even though racial ideologies are a part of the structural arrangements of this country, Māori educationalist, Penetito (2010) states “*New Zealanders are not comfortable talking about race and racism and nowhere is this more obvious than in official educational discourses*” (p. 63). An avoidance of racial issues is a part of maintaining the dominant myth that Aotearoa has “good race relations” (Barnes et al. 2013). There are many organizations that work to maintain a “we are one people” mythology in order to continue the marginalization of Māori (Bell 1996). This idea is not new to Aotearoa. It is in fact a mythology that is perpetuated daily through a colonially imposed system. Barnes et al. (2013) highlight that the colonizing agenda is reproduced in Aotearoa through the “*normalisation of racialised framing and negative stereotypes*” (p. 65). Johnston (1998) states that critical colonial race discussion is imperative in any analysis of Māori issues as race has been a defining notion since early contact. This involves engagement with and critique of the myths that found notions of racial superiority that contribute to the promotion of white supremacist practices (Walker 2016).

Blauner (1994) notes that the term race is problematic because there is such a variance between scientific and commonsense definitions. Goldberg (1990) notes that although the term race has become a contestable notion, most still agree that it continues to impact upon contemporary society. For Davis (1991), race is a key defining element in the stratification of societal hierarchies. Likewise, Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992) note that where race as criteria for designation has been widely discredited, it remains and continues to impact and therefore cannot be denied. As such the term race cannot be dismissed, as it has a particular place in the way that differences and inequalities have been constructed (Barnes et al. 2013). Added to this is the recognition that racism exists and is experienced painfully by many of our people daily (Harris et al. 2006). What is clear is that race is predominantly defined in ways that legitimate unequal power relations that are based upon dominant notions of race. Race has been presented to us through dominant discourse as biological with the hierarchical structuring of race being presented as inevitable because of the dominant assumption of the “naturalness” of biology (Gould 1981). Western sciences have contributed significantly to the development and maintenance of such ideologies. In Aotearoa, as is the case globally, racial hierarchies were validated through positivist, reductionist approaches to western science that were determined by white men as a means by which to justify their own self-defined “superiority.” For example, Century Arthur Thomson, an early medical observer of the Māori, noted

It was ascertained, by weighing the quantity of millet seed skulls contained and by measurements with tapes and compasses, that New Zealanders [Māori] heads are smaller than the heads of Englishmen, consequently the New Zealanders are inferior to the English in mental capacity. This comparative smallness of the brain is produced by neglecting to exercise the higher faculties of the mind, for as muscles shrunk from want of use, it is only natural that generations of mental indolence should lessen the size of the brains. (Thomson 1859, p. 81)

Outlaw (cited in Goldberg 1990) notes that the notion of race first appeared as a form of categorization in a poem by William Dunbar in 1508. However, we see a range of mechanisms of colonizing classifications within documents such as the Papal Bulls of 1452 and the Doctrine of Discovery of 1493, where Indigenous nations were located as non-Christian and as such provided a broader framework within which race classifications could be positioned. The impact of which is highlighted by Steve Newcomb (1992)

Under various theological and legal doctrines formulated during and after the Crusades, non-Christians were considered enemies of the Catholic faith and, as such, less than human. Accordingly, in the bull of 1452, Pope Nicholas directed King Alfonso to “capture, vanquish, and subdue the saracens, pagans, and other enemies of Christ,” to “put them into perpetual slavery,” and “to take all their possessions and property.” [Davenport: 20–26] Acting on this papal privilege, Portugal continued to traffic in African slaves, and expanded its royal dominions by making “discoveries” along the western coast of Africa, claiming those lands as Portuguese territory. (p. 18)

Onondaga Nation Faithkeeper Oren Lyons (2009) highlights the Doctrine of Discovery defined Indigenous people as “non-people” through which

Christopher Columbus kicked off a frenzy of transatlantic voyages, native lands “discovered” by European explorers were considered “unoccupied” because the people in those uncharted lands were not Christian. (p. B1)

Race as a classification gained increasing authority through the eighteenth century with works that Outlaw describes as “typological thinking,” that is, the defining of people as being of certain “types” (Goldberg 1990). This lay a foundation for the next step into classificatory systems of race. Drawing on these western “scientific” explanations, race became quickly legitimated as a colonial tool by which to classify peoples and place groups in relationship to each other through the construction of a “natural” hierarchy. This then legitimated the idea that groups’ behaviors could be determined by their positioning in the racial hierarchy. The movement to a hierarchical construction was not, however, immediate but was developed throughout the early nineteenth century. It was in the nineteenth century the term race gained more specific definition related to a process of signifying groups on the basis of biology. The development of this definition of race is linked to a greater need, of Europeans, to classify peoples, particularly given the increased encounters with other peoples.

Jahoda (1999) looking firstly at Western notions of race from within Western societies identifies the construction of the “wild man” as being key in subsequent

developments in regard to race. He argues that the images of the “Other” as strange, exotic, and feared have been a constant feature in European history and have its ideological foundations in early Greco-Roman traditions. The conceptualization of difference as foreign and fearful may be seen in ideas about the “monstrous races.” The “monstrous races” he argues were believed to have been located in Asia, Africa (then referred to as Ethiopia), and remote parts of Europe. Relating writings by Adam of Breman in the eleventh-century *Jahoda* (1999, pp. 1–2) identifies clearly that the construction of the “monstrous races” was located very much in notions of the “ferocious barbarian” who were often recorded as being physically misshapen and more often than not referred to as “flesh eaters.” What we see in the early writings is the establishment of way in which physicality and beliefs in cannibalism became defining characteristics of the “Other.” These were to become increasingly prevalent in the definitions and discourses that developed in relation to Indigenous peoples, where discourses about the “Other” include ideas about physique, sexuality, gender, cannibalistic tendencies, barbarianism, and aggression (*Jahoda* 1999).

Constructing Colonial “Scientific” Justification

A prominent area of debate throughout the development of race theories was that of the origins of races, in particular surrounding the concepts of monogenesis and polygenesis. Monogenesisists believed that all race groups came from a single origin and therefore were also able to reproduce across races. The basis of monogenesis belief was Christianity with the origins deriving from Adam and Eve and a firm belief in eugenesis, of the fertility of people with each other (*Bolt* 1971; *Gould* 1981). The polygenesis argument was that races had multiple origins. *Gould* (1981) notes that the polygenesist debate was considered part of the “American School” of Anthropology, which was not surprising, he advances, given that it was a nation that was practicing slavery and actively dispossessing Native peoples from their lands. Polygenesisists argued that sexual relations across races would be unable to reproduce “offspring” and if they did, it would mean a deterioration of the superior race (*Benedict* 1942; *Bolt* 1971; *Gould* 1981). There was a solid belief that any interracial mixing would inevitably mean the deterioration of the superior race, producing what was viewed, by polygenesisists, as a “*vicious type of half-breed, useless alike to himself and the world*” (*Bolt* 1971, p. 10). Sexual relations between races was explained as being an outcome of the “overeager” sexual desires of young white men and the “sexual receptiveness” of Black women.

Monogenesisists argued all languages derived from three primary sources, Indo-European, Semitic, and Malay, which then traced to a singular language that had, conveniently, disappeared. Dismissal of this argument was not difficult, particularly given the many varied languages that were supposed to belong to each category. The plurality of languages was more conducive to the idea of plurality of “races,” the polygenesis belief. The Darwinian process of evolution was important to the development of ideas regarding race, especially the notion of “species.” There is some contention as to how Darwin himself saw the relationship of his studies, of

animal and plant species, to people. Lucius Outlaw (cited in Goldberg 1990) notes that Social Darwinism grew from some attempting to relate Darwin's work from the "Origin of the Species" to people. In *The Origin of the Species*, Darwin (1910) consistently infers the inferiority of the "natives." In his observations, on the H.M.S. Beagle, Darwin (1910) refers to the "Indians" as immoral, "*like wild beasts*" (p. 208) and described one group of "Fuegians" as follows:

These poor wretches were stunted in their growth, their hideous faces bedaubed with white paint, their skins filthy and greasy, their hair entangled, their voices discordant, and their gestures violent. Viewing such men, one can hardly make one's self believe that they are fellow creatures, and inhabitants of the same world. (Darwin 1910, p. 203)

Benedict (1942) contends that there is no doubt that the categorization of people through groupings such as Caucasoid, Mongoloid, and Negroid represent a history of anatomical specialization; however, she argues that people cannot be assigned to a singular category on the basis of biological characteristics. Moreover, she is clear that no one characteristic can determine categorization and that any emphasis on the superiority of one race that is justified through such categorization is highly flawed. Where Benedict (1942) is attempting to place a challenge to the racial superiority notion she continues to accept, if not maintain, the fundamental typologies and has been criticized for that (Anthias and Yubal-Davis 1992).

The movement to identify physical differences between races as a means of determining positioning in the order of things was highlighted even further through processes such as craniometry. Craniometry was utilized in Europe and America as a means by which to determine physical differences as a basis for classification. Gould (1981) challenges the fundamentals that underpin these forms of "science." He provides a depth analysis of a range of measuring tools and their theoretical explanations regarding intelligence. What is most useful is the careful deconstruction of a range of racially based theories in order to reveal both the inadequacies of much of what has been present as valid science and whose interests have been served. As such he has given considerable analysis to reveal the inadequacies of much of what was presented as "pure" science and drawn the connections between works that asserted the racial superiority of white people to acts of oppression and colonization. Research supporting the notion of racial hierarchy have been consistently found to be shaped by a priori racial prejudices and conclusions which influence findings through incorrect calculations or conscious manipulation of data (Gould 1981).

Bolt (1971) argues that the danger of the term race came when it was located beyond a biological concept to one where race and culture were directly linked, and cultural characteristics were used as a means by which to classify divisions of races. This highlights the connection between expressions of the existence of biological race and ideologies of superiority as based on notions of cultural supremacy. The biological sciences pertaining to race gave justification to supremacist ideologies, which in turn spawned the need for the further development of the "sciences" of race. In essence they became one in the same, "science" confirmed the stratification of peoples that in turn legitimated its own existence. There can be no artificial

separation as has been indicated by those themselves who participate in such “science,” just as there can be no separation of the cultural and political interests of those who control and drive such “sciences.” The legitimization of unequal power relationships through the “scientific” premise that some “races” are determined to be inferior and the assertion of white supremacy and colonial dominance continue to justify and reproduce the privilege of colonizing nations (Smith 1999; Newcomb 2008). Such hierarchical assertions also underpin the colonial patriarchal gender relations imported to Aotearoa.

Constructing Gender: The Myth of a God-Given Order

Gender and gender relations are pertinent to this discussion in understanding the ways in which race, class, and gender as forms of social relations and dominant worldviews intersect within the colonizing process. A key process of colonialism is the undermining and fragmentation of existing Indigenous structures and ways of relating including the reconstruction of gender relations (Irwin 1992; Smith 1992; Maracle 1996; Pihama 2001; Bear 2016). As noted in the introduction to this chapter, gender is social constructed and defined within social and cultural contexts. James and Saville-Smith (1989) note the following definition of gender as a social construction:

The concept of gender refers to qualities, traits and activities collectively deemed to be masculine or feminine in any given society. Although ‘things feminine’ are associated with females, and ‘things masculine’ are associated with males, sex and gender are quite distinct. The content of masculinity and femininity does not have an immediate biological foundation, despite the fact that gender defines what it means to be a male or female in a social sense. Gender is a categorization based not on physiological but on social attributes. Sex, that is the categories of ‘female’ and ‘male’ is purely physiological. (p. 10)

Conservative notions of gender emphasize that these relations are “ordained by god” and therefore are not only “natural” but is the way “god” planned it. Such arguments are concerned with the conservation of dominant relations between women and men, in order to maintain “traditional” gender relations, e.g., that women’s roles are as mothers, wives, and nurturers and men as breadwinners, public figures, and leaders. Conservative explanations also view biological difference as “proof” that traditional gender relations are expected and necessary in order to maintain stability in society. The construction and maintenance of gender hierarchies are dependent upon the acceptance of such ideological assertions as “natural” and necessary. The impact on Indigenous nations, and Indigenous women in particular, has been wide-ranging and extremely destructive (Mikaere 1995; Maracle 1996; Pihama 2001; Bear 2016). Understanding and contextualizing the ways in which gender ideologies maintain oppressive structures is critical, as Bear (2016) states,

To dismantle and deterritorialize the colonial power structure of racist heteropatriarchy, we must first understand its insidious influence and nature. (p. 164)

Daly (1973) relates the symbolism of “Father God” within Judaeo-Christian beliefs as spawning in the “human imagination” the validity of patriarchy. Simultaneously, societal mechanisms of oppressing women were viewed as “fitting” (Daly 1973, p. 13). Quite simply it is the colonial construction of God as male, God as ruling, God as natural. To which I add, God as white. God as male functions to maintain the subordination of women by man/God, God as white functions to justify the oppression of Indigenous nations. The entrenched notion of male as superior and, in particular, the conceptualization of God as male (and therefore male as God) within Judaeo-Christian beliefs is highlighted by the resistance of any attempt to shift that paradigm. In a system of male monotheism there is an established hierarchical order through which women relate to men as men relate to God (Ruether 1983). The hierarchical God-man-woman ordering then serves to ensure the maintenance and reproduction of processes that subordinate women (Ruether 1983). Gender relations as determined through Christian ideologies provide the justification for the creation of dualisms that reinforce women as inferior to men. Furthermore, male monotheism serves to reinforce patriarchal rule and that women are connected to God not directly but only through men. This order is further intensified with the notion of “evil.” Evil is spoken of as “sin.” Sin “*implies a perversion or corruption of human nature*” (Ruether 1983, p. 160). The oppositional arrangement of good–evil is directly related to notions of inferior–superior. The notion of “sin” mediates these dualisms in that it provides mechanisms for recognizing “perversion” and imposing judgment. The hierarchical ordering of gender in Judeo-Christianity leads to notions of evil and sin being more directly related to women. This is not to ignore the belief that “sin” is expressed as being a part of “human nature” but recognizes that the patriarchal hierarchy of Christianity has directly associated origins of sin with women. This reinforces the idea that the oppression of women is an outcome of “primordial sin” (Ruether 1983, p. 169). It is through Christianity that Eve was elevated to the status of being the “cause” of the fall of Adam. It was not only Eve’s supposed “sin,” but it was her mere existence that represented the “fall” of “man” (p. 169).

Gender in the Victorian Era

The notion of the “Victorian” woman comes from an idea that certain values, practices, expectations, and roles of women were derived from the Victorian era. This era relates to the rule of Queen Victoria spanning from 1837 to 1901. This is a particularly relevant period to our history as Māori as within this timeframe colonial invasion was deemed to be in the name of the Crown, who was Queen Victoria. It was also in 1840 that Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Māori Language version of The Treaty of Waitangi) was signed between our people and representatives of the Crown. The Victorian era included the beginning of major expansionism that was a part of the Industrial Revolution.

Prior to the Victorian era, the “domestic industry” incorporated the idea of the family as a productive unit and as “*the unit of production*” (Oakley 1974).

The production process was an integral part of the family operations, with production for family use being a part of the wider goal of production for sale or exchange. Marriage in the seventeenth century was viewed as a taken for granted means of ensuring the well-being of the wider extended family unit. In this marriage form women were expected to contribute economically, there was no idea that women would be dependent on husbands. Such realities in the life of the seventeenth-century English woman was in sharp contrast to the Christian ethic espoused. For example, in Ephesians it was stated “*Wives, submit yourselves unto your husbands . . . for the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church*” (Ephesians 5:23–24 cited in Daly 1973, p. 132). The subjugation of women as preached by the church was legitimated in western “Common law”; however, it has been argued that the impact of this on women’s lived realities was minimal up to the Industrial Revolution as economics and production for the family determined relationships (Oakley 1974).

What is clear is that family relationships were altered considerably through industrialization. With industrialization came a shift in the dynamics between work and family. Work became located separate from the family, from the domestic unit. The industry movement outside of the home and the growth of large-scale factory production had brought a “new order” that emphasized not production for the survival of the family unit, but work as a separate activity that was then measured by its monetary return. The family was soon redefined within which there rose the position of “husband as breadwinner,” on whom all in the family depended. This was not a rapid change but was a shift that took place between the mid-seventeenth to mid-eighteenth century. Within the Victorian era, industrialization was a critical event that contributed to changes in the roles of English women and the assertion of colonial views of women that were imported to our lands, with the subordination of women as linked directly to Christian doctrine and the subjugation of women by men through the denial of access to an education equal to men (Wollenstonecraft 1985). What is significant in the construction of the Victorian-defined woman is that those ideologies were not limited to expression within that era but extended beyond to reach into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, creating major changes in the roles of women both in Britain and in the lands colonized by the British (Wollenstonecraft 1985). These shifts are a consequence of patriarchy and capitalism adjusting to each other in the creation of sets of hierarchy that enables domination. The practice of patriarchy in collusion with capitalism, in a British/Victorian context, is a critical point to note.

It may be argued that the influence of the economic shifts through industrialization, combined with Christian discourses, became a potent force in the oppression of women. In order to ensure societies adherence to the dependency of women in the home, the Christian ethic, which was previously marginal because of the economic need for women to produce, gained favor. This was supported by the notions of privatization and domestication. The idea of privatization grew as the separation between work and family increased. Work became identified with the public sphere and home as the private sphere. Because of its separation from the public sphere and the realm of “work,” the home became a site within which the various ideologies

could be reproduced. The “ideal” Victorian woman was deemed a self-less woman. Her role as “the angel of the house” was maintained through the Christian ethic of woman as virtuous (Coney 1993). To be virtuous was to be a “good” wife and to be following the “naturally ordained” order (Coney 1993, p. 14). These combined ideologies were soon to be imported to Aotearoa as the colonization of this country began to take full force in the late eighteenth century as colonizing countries were seeking expansion to both release their own internal pressures and also to facilitate the expansion of capitalist intentions into the colonies.

Colonial ideologies located women as chattels, the property of men and therefore inferior to them. The espousal of Christian doctrine and biological theories, rather than debunking each other, became a combined force. Women were now both spiritual and biologically devoid. All that remained was the positioning of women as intellectually devoid in order to ensure an holistic argument for the continued subjugation of women. This is further expanded by Fry (1985) who highlights the debate surrounding what was considered as different levels of intelligence of women and men. This development was connected directly to the biological assertions of Darwinism and much of the argument for the intellectual inferiority of women was grounded firmly in a mind-body relationship. That is, biological arguments became the foundation for ideals of intellectual inferiority.

For many years, there had been fascination with theories concerning the different mental capacities of men and women. The ‘cranium theory’ which had, through elaborate measurements, set out to prove that women’s brains were smaller, lighter and less convoluted than men’s were now [1880s] out of date. More fashionable were the gynaecological theories which dwelt on the dangers of upsetting bodily functions in adolescence. (Fry 1985, p. 33)

The broader impact comes through the focus of gender, not solely upon women but in regard to how we come to understand our roles and identities within our societies as Indigenous peoples. Dominant gender definitions based entirely within colonial heteronormative constructions deny the multiple ways that Indigenous nations identify ourselves (Hutchings and Aspin 2007; Bear 2016; Hunt 2016). The undermining of Indigenous knowledge and relationships was systematic and intentional as a part of the process of imposing domesticated units of the nuclear family in order to destroy the fundamental societal building blocks of Māori society (Simmonds and Gabel 2016).

Capitalist Oppression: Structuring Class

Class structures, like the ordering of race and gender, came to Aotearoa as yet another unwelcomed element of Western ideology. This was to be achieved not solely through the expansion of British capitalism but also through “physically transplanting a vertical slice of British Society – economics, politics and ideology” (Bedgood 1980, p. 24). Like other colonizer beliefs, the notion of class and the Western organization of capitalism has assumed a universality that is reflective of the

fundamental imperialist belief espoused by colonizing nations that they exist as a superior form. In defining class in relation to the mode of production, Kettle (1963) writes:

The capitalist class is a class because all who belong to it are owners of productive enterprises who live by exploiting the labour of those they employ. What makes a person a member of the working class is not that he [sic] works or that he is comparatively poor. . . what makes a worker a worker is that he sells his labour-power for wages. (p. 54)

Social class is related to the economic and social relationships that exist for differing groups in relation to the economic system, the mode of production with the construction of class relations and the notion of class struggle are central (Blackledge and Hunt 1985, Giddens 1986). The capitalist system establishes and maintains itself through the fundamental exploitation of labor-power in order to gain surplus-value or profit (Marx 1971). The mechanisms of capitalistic manipulation have been imposed on Indigenous peoples, as a part of the colonial process, and have their origins not in Aotearoa but in the struggles that have been engaged in Europe. In order to understand the origins of capitalism, and the internal opposing forces of the bourgeoisie and proletariat, Marx and Engels (1913) emphasize that bourgeoisie society grew from the “ruins” of feudalism establishing new classes, new forms of oppressive order, and new forms of struggle.

By bourgeoisie is meant the class of modern Capitalists, owners of the means of social production and employers of wage-labour. By proletariat, the class of modern wage-labourers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labour-power in order to live. (Marx and Engels 1913, p. 12)

Marx and Engels (1913) identify the fundamental premise of capitalism in its intention to exploit through a process of controlling the means of production and reducing all people to a source of wage labor. The control of the means of production is essential to an ability to control social relations. They state:

The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionizing the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society. (p. 16)

The proletariat in this equation is thereby reduced to a commodity in the market, which is a critical contribution to the bourgeoisie condition that is the formation and augmentation of capital. Marx (1967a Volume 1) identifies key tenets of capitalist systems, beginning with a discussion of commodity, Marx identifies a commodity as that which value is determined by use, consumption, and through exchange. A commodity therefore has both use-value (that the article fulfills some need or want) and exchange-value, the exchange value being a quantitative relation in value of one article for another. He outlines that exchange value must be able to be expressed in terms of something common, between those things being exchanged, which may be expressed in greater or lesser quantities. It is noted that there are exceptions whereby articles can have use-value and not exchange-value and

therefore not be a commodity, also something can be the product of labor and not be a commodity, i.e., if it is for own use. Further to this the exchange-value is reliant upon labor-time or labor-power. The value then of a commodity is determined; Marx (1967a Volume I) writes by “*the amount of labour socially necessary or the labour-time socially necessary for its production*” (p. 35).

Therefore, in simple terms those things that require more labor, for example, by virtue of production or because they are scarce, are considered more valuable. Hence, the social division of labor is constructed through differential value being accorded to differing forms of what is viewed as “useful labor.” Marx (1967a Volume I) describes this process of differentiation as including both value of the commodity and use-value:

All labour is ‘expenditure of labour-power’ and in its character of identical abstract human labour, it creates and forms the value of commodities. On the other hand, all labour is the expenditure of human labour-power in a special form and with a definite aim and in this, its character of concrete useful labour, it produces ‘use-value.’ (p. 46)

Full discussion of Marxist theories of class is beyond this chapter; however, the importance of this discussion is to identify the complexities through which capitalism expresses notions of value. What is fundamental to the expression of value, in particular when in search of surplus-value, or profit, is the role of labor-power. Marx argues that in a capitalist system the labor-power of the laborer is exploited in order for the bourgeoisie to gain profit or surplus-value, which is the fundamental intention of a capitalist system in the accumulation of capital (Marx 1967a Volume I, Marx 1971).

In regard to the value of a commodity, there is a process of establishing relative form and equivalent form in determining exchange value, that is, the value of a commodity can be established in its relativity to a commodity of a different kind or in its exchange value to a commodity of a similar kind. Important to this discussion is that it is not money that gives commodities value but it is labor-power that gives value, both use-value and exchange value, which is represented in the form of money. Central to this is the exploitation of labor-power through which commodities, money and capital are accumulated and circulated in particular ways to ensure the interests of the capitalist system are achieved. The fundamental being the accumulation of profit, surplus-value by the capitalist. Bedgood (1980) outlines the notion of class and the complex relationships between value and labor in relation to social relations as follows:

Class is used in no other sense than to mean relations of production. This is the economic base or infrastructure with a mode of production. It is the base because it is production which creates the material means of subsistence and therefore determines all other forms of social life. It is the base because class relations organise and develop the forces of production and therefore the whole ‘progress’ of human social evolution. In other words, human labour alone is capable of producing use-values, and the control of the labour process is the basis of the distribution of wealth, power and status. He [sic] who controls labour-power controls the use values of surplus labour and can expropriate the value produced. (p. 11)

Labor power is bought and controlled by the capitalist who it is argued has no care or meaningful relationship with the laborer outside of that which they produce. The need for, and exploitation of, labor-power is a key point of contradiction in the capitalist system of social relations. The contradictory nature of capitalist systems produces the possibility for crisis through which the proletariat can engage in struggle for change. The struggle for change will be driven by the proletariat in becoming conscious of the exploitation of their labor. Class then is both a definition in terms of social relations and how groups are positioned in terms of labor-power and is a potential movement in terms of the potential for class struggle (Thatcher 1998; Wilks-Heeg 1998). The argument being that once the working class identifies the contradictions inherent within, and the exploitative nature of, a capitalist system then class struggle is inevitable. Class struggle is a political struggle, therefore there is always possibility for change, hence the reference to the bourgeoisie as being their own “gravediggers” whereby the victory of the proletariat is deemed inevitable (Marx and Engels 1913).

In seeing class struggles as political acts, the political context as critical in the understanding of class oppression and exploitation. However, fundamental racist and sexist assumptions that dominated the political context are evident through the texts of the *Communist Manifesto* and the volumes of *Capital*. Statements regarding “primitive” societies, references to the “discovery” of the Americas (Marx and Engels 1913, p. 13); descriptions of China and Eastern nations as “barbaric” (p. 17); “half-savage hunting tribes” (Marx 1967b Volume II, p. 110). Kettle (1963) writes that Marx viewed “primitive societies” as not having developed to produce much more than needed, therefore there is no commodity exchange, this is however located as a form of inadequacy in “tribal” communities. In Kettles (1963) interpretation of Marx, there is a “lack” in the “primitive” tribal societies in terms of production, the outcome of which is the need for class-based systems of exploitation which are not a necessity in such societies. The extension of that into racist descriptions of societal structures differs from those of Western capitalist societies. The basis for interpretation of comparison is that of Western understandings, which indicate a eurocentrism that assumes a superiority of the West as argued within social Darwinism and racial ideologies of Western nations.

It is not only issues of race and colonial supremacist constructions within Marxism that gain critical attention. The issue of the gendered nature of the working class is also avoided and therefore falls short of identifying the act of the feminization of labor-power (Game 1998). As such the working classes are constructed as male, when the dominant participants in the working class were in fact European women. The construction of the proletariat as male meant that there was not the interrogation of the role of industrialization in the changing roles and exploitation of women. Where the notion of class systems was evident prior to the invention of capitalism, a particular organization of class is manifested under capitalism that differs from earlier feudal structures. It is this construction of class that was imported and transplanted or immigrated to Aotearoa and had a destructive impact upon the collective nature of Māori society (Bedgood 1980). The intention to destroy Māori societal structures is highlighted in the approach taken by Native Minister C.W. Richmond in regard to the dispossession of lands in Waitara, Sinclair (1990) states:

Richmond wanted to destroy what he called the ‘bestly communism’ of Māori society by introducing private property in land. ‘Chastity, decency, and thrift cannot exist amidst the waste, filth, and moral contamination of the Pahs’. Richmond knew almost nothing about Māori culture or land tenure. He simply believed that it was necessary to ‘civilise’ the Māori, that is, to lead them to adopt British habits and practices. He had no sympathy for Māori society. He objected to the land purchase officer, Robert Parris, ‘hanging about’ Māori settlements and wrote, ‘It rather lowers the Government to have its Officers running after a pack of contumacious savages’. While Richmond had lived in Taranaki there had been fighting between Māori wishing to sell land and those wishing to keep it. Richmond sympathised completely with the former. Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake, the leading anti-land-seller was, Richmond considered, ‘the bad genius of Taranaki’. Richmond wrote of Kingi, who was living on his tribal land at Waitara, that his attitude was one ‘of pure hostility to the interests of the settlement of which he has been occupying a part of the destined site’. A more specifically settler point of view would be hard to conceive. (www.teara.govt.nz)

The confiscation of lands and the reconstruction of lands as commodity, as property and exploitable resource is central to the colonizing capitalist project and is widely documented by Indigenous nations (Waitangi Tribunal 1996; Jackson 2007; Waziyatawin 2008; Dunbar-Ortiz 2014; Manuel and Derrickson 2015). Coulthard (2014) argues that understanding the implications of the birth of capitalist systems in relation to colonial acts of violence and dispossession is critical for Indigenous peoples. In particular, he notes.

Marx’s historical excavation of the birth of the capitalist mode of production identifies a host of colonial-like state practices that served to violently strip – through conquest, enslavement, robbery and murder – noncapitalist producers, communities, and societies from their means of production and subsistence. In Capital these formative acts of violent dispossession set the stage for the emergence of capitalist accumulation and the reproduction of capitalist relations of production by tearing Indigenous societies, peasants, and other small-scale self-sufficient agricultural producers from the source of their livelihood – the land. (Coulthard 2014, p. 7)

Such an analysis highlights the insidious ways in which colonization and capitalism collude in the violent invasion of Indigenous lands in order to embed and sustain complex power relationships that construct and maintain oppressive social relations.

Conclusion

This chapter provides a brief overview of some underpinning beliefs in regard to the ideologies of race, gender, and class that were transported to Aotearoa through the act of colonization. An exploration of race, gender, and class explanations prior to colonization is important to understanding the imposition of colonial schooling as they provide the basis for how structures have been developed here by our colonizers. In order to understand more fully the existence of unequal power relationships in education within Aotearoa, there is a need to understand the ideological underpinning those inequalities and the source of the ideologies. It is evident that just as the assertion of the inferiority of some groups is necessary to the maintenance of

societal inequalities, so too is there a need to ensure that the privilege of dominant groups, those who benefit, whose interests are served, are concealed. In these paradigms women are measured as inferior to men; Indigenous, Black, and Peoples of Color are positioned as inferior to white; working classes as inferior to the middle and upper classes. These positions of inferiority are not explained in relation to the benefits accrued to the dominant groups but are located within the idea that such inequalities are part of either [white] “god-given forms” or as part of a “natural” order.

The categorization of race as locating white men, followed closely by white women, at the pinnacle of racial hierarchies is not a surprise to those of us located further “down the ladder” in such a process of societal organization. Just as forms of Christianity were used to validate the position of white men in gendered order so to do have they been utilized to legitimize white peoples place in the hierarchy just next to a white male god. In discourses of race it is the “barbaric” “savage” “inferior” “Other” that is racialized, being white is not engaged, rather being white is viewed as the standard from which all other peoples are measured and defined. Adding class to the mix has provided the fundamental economic justification for the foundation and continuance of processes of capitalism that maintain processes of commodification of all things. When value is located solely in terms of capital those who have been unable to accumulate value take their place in the inferior ranks by virtue of an ideology that is based within monetary systems of greed and exploitation.

The importation of such beliefs was a part of the “vertical slice” of British society that was transplanted to Aotearoa (Bedgood 1980). That vertical slice included ideologies that would serve to benefit the colonizing forces and justify their means of operation on Indigenous peoples’ lands. In Aotearoa the impact of that ideological transplantation has had immeasurable effect on Māori people and served to provide the foundation for ongoing acts of colonial oppression that continue to this day. The establishment of Mission schooling in 1816 and the legislative change to Native Schooling in 1847 was founded upon the need to entrench these ideological constructions, as a part of the practices of the colonization, assimilation, and christianizing, of our ancestors as “natives.”

Historical ethnographic and Native Schools documentation highlights the ways in which colonial impositions came to bear on Māori communities both in the ways in which schooling was constructed as a key vehicle of assimilation and in the ways in which te reo Māori was subjugated, tikanga Māori was marginalized, and Māori knowledge was invalidated upon our own lands (Walker 2016). Schooling is a site where the colonial beliefs pertaining to Māori have been entrenched. The domestication agenda of early schooling was a deliberate move to relocate Māori from positions of rangatiratanga (Māori sovereignty/self-determination) to those of the “subservient native” and was instrumental in the embedding of class structures that form the basis of capitalist complicity with colonialism to ensure the dispossession of Indigenous peoples of our cultural structures and economic base (Newcomb 2008; Mikaere 2016).

Native schooling has been described as a trojan horse of colonization (Smith 1986). Located in the center of Māori communities the modeling of the

colonial heteronormative patriarchal nuclear family was a central project of the Native School. The impact of that has been a fundamental disruption to cultural relationships and a reorganization of the basis of Māori society, the whānau. The restructuring of whānau was to work in ways where Māori women were expected to take on board the role of the colonial wife and mother, as well as provide domestic service to Pākehā in their communities. The marginalization of Māori women in Native Schooling occurred at both legislative and curriculum levels and highlights one example of the gendered nature of colonization where the colonial settler government determined that men would provide leadership and decision-making. In terms of the structural developments it was Pākehā men that were deemed in control, at the community level it was deemed, by Pākehā men, that it would be Māori men who would be in control. The misogyny of the colonizers was an inherent value underpinning the curriculum and structures of the Native Schooling system. The importance of a discussion of Native Schools is located in its clear and undisputable presentation of colonial agendas of assimilation as a means of further dispossession. The contribution of Native Schools to a process of individualization is by no means accidental rather it corresponds with the Native Lands Acts that had individualization of land title as a priority. The Native Schools system provided an institutional framework that ensured the colonial agendas of dispossession, erasure of Māori language and culture, undermining whānau, hapū, and iwi structures through reconstructing gender relations, and the positioning of Māori as “barbaric” “uncivilized” and therefore inherently “inferior” were not only realized but were actively pursued.

It is clear that all colonial informed schooling in Aotearoa is driven by these practices and the ideologies that underpin them. Domestication, assimilatory, civilizing beliefs and practices within schooling reflect the intersection of race, gender, and class ideologies and their direct impact upon whānau, hapū, and iwi. Each of the ideological constructions discussed here have clearly been developed, maintained, and reproduced as means for the justification and ongoing perpetuation of oppressive systems. Those systems have been based within constructed categories that have been defined by those most likely to be served by such categorizations. In Western thought, white men have been instrumental in the instigation and maintenance of power structures in regard to gender with a range of reasoning utilized to justify the positioning of women both as inferior, as property and to be controlled by men. White colonizing nations more generally position themselves as superior races and ensure enslavement, genocide, and holocaustic acts around the world. They have also been instrumental in the global assertion of capitalist systems of abuse and exploitation that impact directly upon Indigenous nations. As Arvin et al. (2013, p. 14) remind us it is necessary “*to problematize and theorize the intersections of settler colonialism, heteropatriarchy, and heteropaternalism.*” As the neoliberal colonial agenda continues to embed itself within the education system in Aotearoa, it is essential that we maintain an understanding of the constructions of race, gender, class, and the ways that they intersect to maintain dominance over Indigenous peoples. This analysis is critical to our ongoing challenge and disruption of the systemic racism, sexism, homophobia, and classism that continues to be reproduced in the state-driven education system today.

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Colonization, Education, and Kanaka ‘Ōiwi Survivance

4

Nālani Wilson-Hokowhitu and Noelani Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua

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Abstract

This chapter illuminates Kanaka ‘Ōiwi resistance and survivance that has prevailed in the face of colonization and Americanization in the Hawaiian Islands. Despite imperialistic invasions, introduced foreign diseases and the aggressive ideological dominance of eurocentrism to our shores, we have remained steadfast. The chapter discusses survivance and futurity in relation to settler colonialism, erasure, and elimination; thus, contextualizing the historical emergence of schooling in Hawai‘i, which reveals the complexities of partnerships that evolved between Kānaka, European, and American colonists. Traversing a vast expanse of history in a short space, the purpose of this chapter is to articulate the sustained connection between traditional and contemporary Hawaiian education movements that nurture our futurities, or our ways of thinking about and relating to our futures.

Keywords

Kānaka ‘Ōiwi · Colonization · Hawaiian education · Survivance

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Introduction

I ulu ka lālā i ke kumu. A branch grows from and because of the tree trunk (Pukui 1983, p. 137). This 'ōlelo no'eau (Hawaiian proverb) uses the word kumu to employ multiple meanings, such as teacher, source, and tree trunk. We use the analogy of a kumu to frame our discussion of education, particularly schooling, and the cultural and political functions it has played over the last few centuries in Hawai'i. We intentionally open with the mana'o (wisdom) of our ancestors as a methodological assertion of our perspectives as Kānaka 'Ōiwi. In particular, we highlight the endemic koa tree (acacia koa) as symbolic of our bravery, fierce survivance, and futurity. The koa has deep taproots to the beginning of Kānaka Maoli existence in our homeland. Like the koa, Kānaka 'Ōiwi are indigenous and genealogically connected to Ka Pae 'Āina 'o Hawai'i (the Hawaiian archipelago).

Koa trees sustain an equilibrium in Hawaiian rainforests. In relation to this chapter, koa as bravery is what was needed to survive postcontact European invasion to our shores. Survivance is an appropriate term to utilize for Kanaka 'Ōiwi who, in the face of disease, *dis*-ease, and the trauma of having witnessed the extreme loss of life, continue as a people and nation (Silva 2004; Kauanui 2008b). Despite land dispossession and continued forces that work to dislocate our people from their ancestral ahupua'a, we have persevered and endured. Regardless of attempts by foreigners to eliminate Kānaka, whether by force at a gunpoint, with "law" that displaced our peoples, or via education and assimilation policies forbidding our language, epistemologies, ontologies, and priorities, we have continued to persist and exist (Kame'eleihiwa 1992). This is why the metaphor of koa is so befitting. The koa stands strong. The koa is the kumu, the tree, the teacher, and source, from which this branch grows.

Reaching back through time our ancestors mapped evolutionary biology extending from the natural world into the spiritual and metaphysical realms with the epic Kumulipo, our most acclaimed creation chant (Beckwith 1972). From the beginnings of creation to the many hālau, or schools, our intellectual capacities encompassed a visual and tactile literacy of reading waves, currents, winds, clouds, weather, animal migration patterns, and celestial bodies. Kānaka developed an elaborate system of land divisions that included resources from the mountains to the sea, and that utilized sustainable irrigation systems for feeding a nation with kalo (taro), 'uala (sweet potato) and 'ulu (breadfruit) from the land. Fishponds of various types and sizes enhanced the coastal and nearshore environments, taking advantage of the productivity of estuaries for nurturing fish. Traditional and contemporary Hawaiian education values aloha 'āina, respect, love, and care of our land and waters, as well as the interconnectedness of humans and the natural world, our 'ohana (families), kūpuna (elders and ancestors), nā 'aumākua (ancestral guardians), and nā ākua (deities and elements).

Documentation and the importance of education within Kānaka 'Ōiwi culture is exemplified in 'ōlelo no'eau (proverbs), mo'olelo (narratives), mo'okū'auhau (genealogies), and mele (songs), which represent merely a few examples of our intellectual heritage. We open and centralize the chapter using 'ōlelo no'eau, the words of

our ancestors, as a political statement of our continuity. Throughout the chapter we perpetuate our intellectual heritage and outline our survivance by integrating ʻōlelo noʻeau, employing moʻolelo to deconstruct dominant discourses and to offer counternarratives of colonization and education in Hawaiʻi from the late 1700s and Western contact to the late 1800s and United States' purported annexation. We present the chapter in honor of our moʻokūʻauhau as Kānaka ʻŌiwi and the mele, songs of past, present, and future.

“Education” as conceived by non-Indigenous peoples ignites epistemologically differing ideologies. Shifting from a predominantly Western worldview and centering Kānaka Maoli ideology of ʻōlelo noʻeau, moʻolelo, moʻokūʻauhau, and mele reveal enormous material preserved and perpetuated for multiple generations of our people. For example, upon visiting Kānaka scholarly texts such as *Aloha Betrayed* by Noenoe K. Silva (2004), the work of Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau employs the format of moʻokūʻauhau (genealogies) that chronologically order the Polynesian migrations and multiple arrivals to the Hawaiian Islands prior to Captain James Cook on January 18, 1778. Within the following sections, we traverse over a century of contact between Kānaka and foreigners to our islands, which has severely transmuted Kānaka Maoli culture and life-ways.

Throughout the chapter, we will return to the analogy of Kānaka as koa, referring to bravery, as well as referring to the endangered native tree. Like the use of ʻōlelo noʻeau to open the chapter, our use of metaphor is also epistemologically and methodologically intentional. It is vital to express the complexity and beauty of our survivance as Kānaka ʻŌiwi. Like Kānaka, the koa tree is endemic to the Hawaiian archipelago and thrives in the face of adversity. The seeds of the koa can remain viable in the soil for more than 25 years and to germinate the seeds often need to crack or scar. For Kānaka ʻŌiwi, the seeds of our culture, epistemologies, and ontologies have also experienced a time of existing “underground” waiting for the moment to break through dominant colonial powers to crack and sprout, flourishing into a forest of koa once again. The roots of the koa grow deep into the soil and the branches stretch to the sky connecting Papahānaumoku (Earth) and Wākea (Sky). The koa tree reaches heights of 15–25 m and is instrumental in perpetuating and restoring the native Hawaiian forest. Its canopy protects the growth of other species of trees such as the ʻōhiʻa lehua tree and hāpuʻu ferns. The native forests of Hawaiʻi evolved in symbiosis, where plants, trees, and animals worked together ensuring ecological balance. The word koa in ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi can also mean bold, fearless, and warrior. In alignment with Byran Kamaoli Kuwada's (2015) transformative essay, *We are not warriors, We are a grove of trees*, within the chapter we envisage koa groves as analogous to Kānaka Maoli resistance and survivance from colonization to present.

Colonization and Americanization in the Hawaiian Islands have had devastating effects upon our land and people; yet, Kanaka resistance and survivance have prevailed. Despite imperialistic invasions, introduced foreign diseases and the aggressive ideological dominance of eurocentrism to our shores, we have remained steadfast (Osorio 2002; Silva 2004; Kauanui 2008b). This chapter will offer an overview of colonization by first discussing survivance and futurity in relation to settler colonialism, erasure, and elimination. The following section will examine

three central examples of elimination, loss of life, land, and language. It will present dominant discourses surrounding introduced diseases, dislocation, and assimilation in juxtaposition with counternarratives of survivance. This will set the scene for the historical emergence of schooling in Hawai'i, revealing the complexities of partnerships that evolved between Kānaka, European, and American colonists. Contrary to earlier dominant discourses of schooling in Hawai'i, in which scholars have characterized schools as foreign impositions of essentially American design, we argue that the achievements of literacy and the establishment of a public school system in the Hawaiian Kingdom resulted from negotiations between Kānaka and haole (foreigners). By examining this previously misinterpreted historical context we can more fully comprehend the consequences of exclusive haole control over the education system in Hawai'i, as well as Kamehameha Schools, beginning in the 1880s and extending well past the mid-twentieth century. The chapter addresses how a central technique of settler colonial rule was to reframe relationships that have worked to gloss over the ascendance of white businessmen to power over the public education system, Kamehameha Schools and its lands, legitimating the extension of United States empire to the Hawaiian islands.

Despite traversing a vast expanse of history in a short space, the purpose of this chapter is to illuminate the sustained connection between traditional and contemporary Hawaiian education movements that nurture our futurities, or our ways of thinking about and relating to our futures (Recollet 2016; Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernandez 2013). Kānaka Maoli from time immemorial has embraced and nourished our deep and growing ontology, epistemology, and axiology. Schools were not the first educational institutions in the islands. Native educational institutions based on apprenticeship, mastery, and community predated and survived the advent of Western-styled schooling in Hawai'i (Beniamina 2010). When we look deeper into the past in front of us, we extend our reach into futures of our own making. We enhance our capacity to "unsettle" settler colonialisms and ensure space for our futurities, our ways of imagining and producing knowledge about our futures. Indigenous futurities can include forms of knowing and performance, such as sonics, smells, ceremonies, embodied movement, and other ways of jumping settler scales (Recollet 2016, p. 94). Learning and experience are integral aspects of life extending from our origins to our presents and futures, and education has the potential to connect us to or disconnect us from these realms.

Life, Land, and Language: Kanaka 'Ōiwi Survivance and Settler Colonialism

The theoretical framework of this section utilizes the late Patrick Wolfe's (2006) settler colonial analytic and the logic of elimination to better understand Kanaka 'Ōiwi survivance and endurance. The section engages settler colonialism by offering critical counter-narratives in relation to depopulation, land dispossession, and assimilation. Anishinaabe scholar Gerald Robert Vizenor (2008) asserts that Indigenous peoples survivance stories are the renunciations of dominance. To better understand

Indigeneity and survivance as an active sense of presence and continuance, it is important to discuss theories of settler colonialism, erasure, and the logic of elimination in relation to colonization in the Hawaiian Islands prior to discussing education.

The nineteenth century was an era in which our people witnessed the near demise of our nation. Beyond the historical and ongoing processes of colonization that have consisted of exploration, exploitation, imperialist militarization, mission schools, and settler colonialism, Kānaka of the nineteenth century simultaneously contended with the diseases that foreigners brought to our islands. European nations fueled and funded exploration in search of natural resources and new lands in which to exploit. European and Euro-American colonists rendered native peoples as inferior to justify their invasion, presumed dominance, and spreading of diseases. Kānaka contended with and negotiated the establishment of political and educational policies in the Hawaiian Islands amongst a debilitating force, disease.

Captain James Cook conservatively estimated that there were approximately 400,000 Native Hawaiians inhabiting the Hawaiian Islands when his crew arrived in 1778, although modern estimates are as high as 800,000 at the time of European contact (Stannard 1989). By 1893, the population of Native Hawaiians was 40,000; meaning that after a century of contact with Europeans 760,000 Hawaiians had died due to the introduction of diseases, such as influenza, sexually transmitted diseases, and small poxes. That is a demise of approximately 90% of the population over 70 years. Depopulation of Kānaka Maoli from foreign diseases meant that the activities of foreigners to our islands, including missionaries in churches and schools, and Christianity took hold of our people at an incredibly vulnerable time (Osorio 2002; Kameʻeleihiwa 1992; Trask 1984).

J. Kēhaulani Kauanui in her book *Hawaiian Blood, Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity* (2008b) analyzes the statistics of depopulation and demise, focusing on life and survivance, rather than death. Dominant discourses of Indigenous demise and depopulation are problematic, not only because they secure a misconception of settler colonial eradication of the first peoples to the lands that European and American European settlers sought to acquire, but also because in the context of Hawaiʻi, the documentation only accounted for full-blooded Hawaiians (Stannard 1989). Kauanui writes, “What is missing in this assessment of the state of the Hawaiian population, which reads like a romantic desire for extinction, is the *increasing* number of Kanaka Maoli (when one accounts for the racially mixed Kānaka Maoli) who make up the vast majority of the Hawaiian population today—all part of the legacy of mass depopulation” (2008b, p. 16). Kauanui (2016) considers the operative logic of settler colonialism articulated by Patrick Wolfe to “eliminate the native” and emphasizes “enduring indigeneity” focusing on existence, persistence, and resistance.

Kanaka Maoli epistemologies and ontologies prioritize moʻokūʻauhau, our genealogies, as expansive and inclusive, extending across Oceania into the cosmos, and are directly connected and rooted to ʻāina (land and that which feeds). Our ideologies of our relationship with place and our cultural identities as Kanaka ʻŌiwi have been severely challenged by European xenophobia and settler colonial racialization.

Kauanui (2008b) addresses the racialization of Kanaka based upon blood quantum and percentage quantification by the United States Congress to undermine Kanaka Maoli sovereignty. She reveals how the exclusionary logic of blood quantum has had legal and cultural effects that have limited land provisions and negated collective entitlement for Kanaka in our homeland. As Wolfe (2006) contends, the settler-colonial logic of elimination is inherently eliminatory, which has also manifested as genocidal. Loss of life in the nineteenth century and racialization is directly related to land dispossession and settler colonialism, which Wolfe (2006) stated “destroys to replace” (Kauanui 2016).

Historian, Jonathan Osorio, argues that “the single most critical dismemberment of Hawaiian society was the Māhele or division of lands and the consequent transformation of ‘āina into private property between 1845 and 1850” (2002, p. 44). Rapid depopulation and migration to urban centers led to the abandonment of thriving lo‘i (taro fields) and the agricultural communities reliant upon the collective food source. The seemingly unstoppable decline of the Hawaiian population weakened the traditional land tenure system that had sustained our nation for centuries prior to Western contact. The subsistence economy relied on extensive taro cultivation of the upland valleys and labor of the maka‘āinana (people of the land). According to Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa (1992), Western histories define māhele as “to divide,” which refers to the shift from communal and collective rights to individual portioning of land. Ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (the Hawaiian language) is so vital to understanding Kanaka ‘Ōiwi worldview. Kame‘eleihiwa notes that māhele has another connotation in Hawaiian, which is “to share” (Ibid., p. 9). Until the 1848 Māhele, land “ownership” was not a part of our vocabulary or understanding of our relationship to ‘āina. The modern expression for “owner” in Hawaiian is a transliteration, ‘ona.

Within a Kanaka worldview, the earth is Papahānaumoku, an Akua (ancestor and god) so the land is regarded with utmost respect. The series of laws that privatized land in Hawai‘i not only divided the land into individual allotments for settler colonial acquisition, it also strained the relationship between Papahānaumoku (our first mother) and nā Kānaka o ka ‘āina (the people of the land). As Wolfe (2006) contends, settler colonialism dissolves native societies while erecting a new colonial society on expropriated lands. Wolfe states that “settler colonizers come to stay: invasion is a structure not an event” (p. 388).

Among the new colonial structures, language and literacy in both Hawaiian and English became a strategic tool for Kanaka ‘Ōiwi resistance to American colonization throughout the nineteenth century. Print media and newspapers, in particular, served as a medium for broad social communication and political organization (Silva 2004). The Hawaiian language newspapers remain, from then until now, a source of our native language and culture, a tangible connection to the wisdom, thoughts, and experiences of our ancestors. Colonization and Americanization in the Hawaiian Islands have had devastating effects upon our land and people; and, yet, the establishment of literacy and Hawaiian language newspapers document the conscious resistance that continues today to strengthen and fuel lāhui Hawai‘i (the Hawaiian nation).

In the wake of American Protestant missionary arrival in 1820, early schooling projects were closely tied to developing literacy among Kānaka so that they could be

more easily converted to Christianity. The Calvinist missionaries brought imperialistic intentions to civilize and educate our people; thus, their early quest was ideological. Whereas, the first wave of missionaries intended to assimilate and convert Kānaka to Christianity, then leave; many of them and their children found monetary “salvation” through permanent settlement in the islands (Benham and Heck 1998). To this day missionary descendants claim long-term “kamaʻāina” connections to Hawaiʻi (Trask 1999). Returning to the opening ʻōlelo noʻeau, *i ulu ka lālā i ke kumu*, we might liken these missionary families and the networks of economic and political power they developed to the introduced banyan tree, whose pervasive aerial roots consume and entwine the host tree, spreading laterally across the forest until the native koa is consumed and decomposes. In fact, the first banyan tree to take root in Hawaiʻi was planted on the island of Maui in 1873 to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Protestant mission in Lāhaina, the former capitol of the islands.

American missionaries arrived at the Hawaiian Islands bringing with them Western and Christian values, foreign ontologies, and non-Native epistemologies, that came to influence their early educational institutions and practices in the islands from 1820 to 1840. The missionary schools’ intention to civilize the Indigenous peoples of the islands led to the next historical parallel in which social control led to political control. Over the next several decades, this network of missionary families and businessmen generated a growing white supremacist tide. They received backing from the United States in 1898 and usurped control of the lawful Hawaiian government from Queen Liliʻuokalani.

As settler colonialism took fuller root under the US occupation, regimes of the race were imposed upon Kānaka Maoli and other people of color in the islands. Assimilation of Kānaka Maoli via social and political control provided access to land ownership and resource exploitation, yet examples of Indigenous resistance are prevalent in Hawaiian language newspapers (Silva 2004). Kānaka Maoli not only embraced the introduction of written language as a means of extending and communicating their knowledge base and maintaining sovereignty in the Hawaiian language, Kanaka scholars and teachers were active participants in the quest to empower lāhui, which will be discussed further in the following section. Again, this is exemplified in the vast archives of Hawaiian newspapers written in Hawaiian for Hawaiians (Ibid.). In the next section, we turn to the ways that a Kānaka-led school system under the independent Hawaiian Kingdom provides contemporary koa with roots for our survivance.

Colonization and Schools of an Independent Kingdom

Kānaka Maoli are among the few aboriginal nations living under US empire who built a national school system under the laws of a Native-led government in the nineteenth century. Until the end of the 1800s, ʻŌiwi Hawaiʻi also made up a majority of the teachers in the Kingdom. This history has been largely overlooked. Existing histories of schooling in Hawaiʻi have focused almost exclusively on the

role of foreigners in teaching Kānaka Maoli and in developing the educational system. These accounts not only suggest public education in Hawai'i was made in the image of American public schooling, but they also ignore the role of Kānaka leaders and teachers in establishing literacy and schooling in the Hawaiian Kingdom. While Americans did influence the Hawaiian Kingdom's school system, missionaries did not simply import and impose schooling upon Hawaiians. Rather, the achievements of literacy and the establishment of a public school system resulted from negotiations between Kānaka and haole, often in struggle, as *hoa* (colleagues or peers) or *hoa paio* (competitors or opponents). Seeing this *hoa* or *hoa paio* relationship destabilizes and provides an alternative to the model that becomes prominent as Americans sought to extinguish Native government.

Kānaka were enamored with the technologies of the printed word. While American missionaries are largely credited with establishing a written form of the indigenous language and then teaching Hawaiians to read, it is clear that the achievements of printing and literacy were a result of the joint efforts of Native Hawaiians and foreigners. The first company of American missionaries who arrived in Hawai'i in 1820 was accompanied by four Kānaka Maoli who had made their way to the east coast of the United States years earlier. These men helped teach the missionaries elements of the Hawaiian language and translated for them upon arrival in the islands. Schutz notes that one of them, Thomas Hopu, was writing letters utilizing spelling that more closely mirrors the modern, standardized Hawaiian orthography well before the American Calvinist mission established its official orthography (Schutz 1994).

Mission station schools became points of access to the new skills of reading and writing, and enrolments grew at an incredibly rapid pace with Kānaka quickly taking on the majority of the teaching roles. Wist (1940) writes that for Hawaiians, "going to school" was a form of recreation." He recounts that from the mid-1820s-early 1830s, nearly the whole adult population went to schools to learn to read, but he downplays the role of Kānaka in this literacy boom. However, the numbers clearly indicate that it would have been impossible for missionaries alone to have taught all or even most of the Kānaka pupils counted. Only 140 American Protestant missionaries came to Hawai'i between 1820 and 1848. At the height of school enrolments in 1832, when there were more than 53,000 pupils in 900 schools, only 4 missionary companies had arrived in the islands, including just over 50 American men and women, plus 11 Native Hawaiians and Tahitians. Additionally, some missionaries did not stay, so all 52 would not have been in the islands at the same time (Hawaiian Mission Children's Society 1969). They could not have possibly overseen 900 schools or managed a ratio of 1,000 Native students to each missionary. The vast majority of teachers in these schools were 'Ōiwi.

Adult Kānaka came to schools for what they wanted, to learn to read and write, and then they left. Kuykendall writes, "as soon as a bright pupil (and there were many such) had acquired a little facility in reading, he was sent out, or went out on his own initiative, to teach a school of his own" (1938a, p. 106). Only 5 years after the high enrollment of 1832, the number of pupils was down to about 2,000 (Wist 1940). However, Kānaka maintained their passion for reading, writing, and

publishing in the following decades, when literacy was used not only as a tool for accessing or creating social capital but also as an important tool of resistance. Within the next two decades, the corpus of Hawaiian schoolbooks and literature amounted to over 80,000,000 pages, as reported by the Hawaiian Kingdom's President of the Board of Education in 1852.

As the number of willing adult pupils in missionary schools waned through the 1830s, the focus shifted toward schooling children as proper national subjects for an evolving nation-state. The codification and institutionalization of public schooling in 1840 was adjunct to the creation of the first Hawaiian constitution under King Kamehameha III, Kauikeaouli, who declared, "He aupuni palapala ko'u." (Mine is a kingdom of education and documents.) Thus, King Kamehameha III established the Kingdom as a constitutional monarchy, transformed by the trappings of modern states including an emergent national public school system. Hawaiian leaders made schooling part of a self-modernizing project, in tension but sometimes articulating with the continuing missionary project of "civilizing" Kānaka. By 1842, elementary level education in reading, writing, geography, and arithmetic was required for anyone to be married or hold high office (Benham and Heck 1998). Hawaiian was the predominant language of instruction in schools, and any attempts to teach English were within the context of a robust literacy within the indigenous language.

For the ali'i class, King Kamehameha III passed a 1840 law establishing a school for chiefly children, in which they would learn English, history, geography, higher level math, and philosophy, among other things. The government did not begin any broader allocation of funds to English-medium schooling until 1851. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, the struggle between Hawaiian and English language in government schools and in the law reflected the struggles for power in the Kingdom between ʻŌiwi statesmen and haole businessmen.

ʻŌiwi leaders used compulsory schooling as an indispensable part of the production of modern, Hawaiian national subjects, but the two comprehensive historical accounts of public education in the Hawaiian Kingdom overlooked those Kānaka who led the Kingdom's public education system, so it is worth summarizing their contributions here. The Hawaiian Kingdom legislature appointed Hawaiian scholar, author, and ordained minister, David Malo, as the first luna (superintendent) of public instruction for the Kingdom – a post he held for 4 years. Under Malo, they also appointed five kahu kula (school agents or inspectors) who oversaw all government schools on each of the five major islands. All five appointees were Kānaka: John Ii for O'ahu, Papohaku for Kaua'i; Kanakaokai for Moloka'i, David Malo for Maui, and Kanakaahuahu for Hawai'i. They had the power to grant teaching certificates and oversee teachers, to monitor the progress of students, to be the judges of the school law, and to provide for teachers salaries. Malo was a staunch advocate for Native teachers and their adequate compensation.

The educational leadership of Mataio Kekūānāo'a, who led the Kingdom's public school system for 8 years as President of the Board of Education from 1860 until his death in 1868 is similarly overlooked in existing histories. Descended from high chiefs of O'ahu and Hawai'i islands, Kekūānāo'a was an experienced statesman who accompanied King Kamehameha II to London in 1823–1824 to strengthen

diplomatic ties between Hawai'i and Britain, and he served as the governor of O'ahu from 1839 to 1863. Kekūanāo'a's predecessor as head of public education, the American Protestant Rev. Richard Armstrong is often credited as bringing stability and developing the "public" character of the educational system, abolishing sectarian schools and introducing a tax-supported economic base. However, the reports of various heads of the Kingdom's Board of Education made to the legislature throughout the Kingdom era (1840–1893) show that it was Kekūanāo'a who articulated the most explicit concern for distancing government schools from church powers and providing an adequate appropriation of public funds to support that separation. For example, in Kekūanāo'a's report of 1866, he spent a significant amount of time talking about his concern for the lack of adequate school facilities resulting from insufficient funding. He advocated moving schools out of churches and mission stations, thus strengthening an inclusive national character, stating "It is necessary to provide as far as possible for *all* the people the advantage of a common school education. . .the common schools should come to be regarded as strictly neutral ground in religious matters" (Hawaiian Kingdom 1866). Kekūanāo'a further expressed concern with the fact that the poll tax was not providing adequate funding for the common schools and called for increased funding of the schools serving the common people. In addressing the problems of inadequate facilities, Kekūanāo'a proposed that the national Board of Education match the funds of local districts in which parents wanted to build or thoroughly renovate a schoolhouse. This enabled independence from mission and church.

In the debates over language in the schools, Kekūanāo'a firmly articulated the importance of the Hawaiian language in affirming Hawaiian national identity. While advocates for an English-language system of education and government pushed to reduce the status of the Hawaiian language, Kekūanāo'a asserted the importance of government support for Hawaiian-medium education:

The theory of substituting the English language for the Hawaiian, in order to educate our people, is as dangerous to Hawaiian nationality, as it is useless in promoting the general education of the people. If we wish to preserve the Kingdom of Hawaii for Hawaiians, and to educate our people, we must insist that the Hawaiian language shall be the language of all our National Schools, and the English shall be taught whenever practicable, but only as an important branch of Hawaiian education. (Hawaiian Kingdom 1864)

He urged the legislature to increase funding for schools taught in Hawaiian. It was not until after his administration that enrolment in English-medium schools grew significantly vis a vis the Hawaiian-medium schools.

Unlike Kekūanāo'a, Charles R. Bishop, who served as president of the Board of Education (BOE) throughout the 1870s and early 1880s, significantly increased funding for English-language schools while cutting from Hawaiian-language common schools. In 1876, government funding for the select schools, some of which were also privately supported, amounted to \$38,000 for 2,678 pupils, while funding for the common schools was only \$13,000 for 4,313 pupils (Hawaiian Kingdom 1878). By the end of Bishop's term in 1883, the select, English-medium schools were receiving more than seven times the funding of the common schools, even

though they had far fewer students. Teachers' salaries at English schools – positions filled by non-Natives – were markedly higher, and the availability of teachers in Hawaiian language was curtailed when the courses of study at Lahainaluna Seminary and Hilo Boarding School, which trained many of the native teachers, were changed from Hawaiian to English. While some English-advocates argued that rising enrolments demonstrated that Kānaka wanted to embrace English and move away from their own mother tongue, it is clear that this was no simple matter of abandoning one language for another. As Benham and Heck point out, the choices became unequal as the government increased funding support for English select schools over Hawaiian common schools. For instance, “most of the teacher professional development was conducted for English-speaking education, and many of the texts and materials brought from the United States were not translated for usage in the common schools” (Benham and Heck 1998, p. 93). By 1883, just before Bishop's forced resignation by King Kalākaua, the difference in appropriation was \$75,000 for the select schools and \$10,000 for the common schools (Hawaiian Kingdom 1884).

This brief history of public education in the Hawaiian Kingdom shows that schooling was not simply a colonial imposition. Kānaka and Haole together engaged in building popular literacy and a national school system. Ali'i and foreigners both folded visions for schooling into competing projects of Hawaiian modernization and nation-building. Sometimes they worked in collaboration as *hoa*, partners and interlocutors embedded in complicated relations of power. At other times, they were clearly *hoa paio*, political opponents articulating and acting on very different visions of how education for Hawaiians should look.

Like the banyan tree that tries to consume its host tree, the colonial patriarchal belief in the inherent superiority of white, Anglo-Saxon Protestants would come to structure the public and private sectors of education in Hawai'i. By the mid-1880s, haole businessmen aimed to usurp governing power and use schools to build a hierarchical plantation society. As previously noted, King Kalākaua was forced to sign an illegitimate Constitution in 1887, which came to be known as the “Bayonet Constitution” because of the armed militia's role in promulgating it. The Bayonet Constitution stripped all Asian people of the right to vote and it disenfranchised Kānaka Maoli through property requirements, while it also severely curtailed the monarch's power.

Queen Lili'uokalani succeeded King Kalākaua, with the intent to replace the Bayonet Constitution. In a coup d'état on January 17, 1893, a small group of white men claimed to establish a provisional government in place of the Queen's. The United States Marines supported the coup and landed troops, which marched directly to the seat of the Kingdom government. Fearing further loss of life of Kānaka Maoli, Queen Lili'uokalani ordered her forces to stand down, as she would pursue diplomatic rather than military means to seek justice and restitution.

After the illegal overthrow of the Native rule, the white supremacist oligarchy took full control of the government school system, they cut *all* funding for Hawaiian-language education, leaving the vast majority of Kānaka teachers without teaching positions and keiki ʻŌiwi (Native children) without schooling in their ancestral

language. Schutz reports that the number of Hawaiian-language medium schools took a dramatic decline, from 150 schools in 1880 to zero in 1902, whereas English-medium schools increased from 60 to 203 in the same period (Schutz 1994, p. 352). This was a direct result of the takeover by white businessmen backed by the US government. Some of them were Kingdom subjects. For instance, Lorrin A. Thurston, a missionary descendant, drafted the Bayonet Constitution and led the 1893 coup d'état. Sanford B. Dole, another missionary descendent and a cousin of James Dole of Dole Pineapple Company, appointed himself President of the Republic of Hawai'i on July 4, 1894. He had been a *hoa*, "friend," advisor, and attorney of King David Kalākaua and Queen Lili'uōkalani advocating for Westernisation. The sugar oligarchy's and the US federal government's suppression of education in the Hawaiian language and culture stifled the collective 'Ōiwi ability to define themselves as a nation and people. Dole, Thurston, and their gang eagerly sought to turn Hawai'i into part of the USA through a proposed annexation treaty.

Kānaka, on the other hand, fiercely protested and organized against US annexation of Hawai'i. Noenoe Silva (2004) uncovered the 1897 anti-annexation petitions buried in the United States National Archives and signed by a majority of the Native Hawaiian population at the time. The recovery of these petitions challenges the myth that Kānaka Maoli passively accepted American annexation and affirms the truth that our ancestors stood to demonstrate their opposition to United States political control over our islands and people (Silva 2004). Their efforts were successful in that the US Congress was never able to pass a treaty and to this day, no annexation treaty between the USA and Hawai'i exists. Once the United States entered the Spanish-American and Philippine-American wars in 1898 and 1899 respectively, the USA unilaterally seized Hawai'i for its strategic location for military use. However, the uncovering of our history of competent self-governance and vigorous resistance to colonization sustains a growing independence movement in the islands in the present.

Conclusion

I ulu ka lālā i ke kumu. Returning to our opening 'ōlelo no'eau, a branch grows from and because of its tree trunk, throughout the chapter we have sought to offer an overview of colonization and education in the Hawaiian Islands with special attention to highlighting nā koa aloha 'āina. Bryan Kamaoli Kuwada's essay, *We are not warriors, We are a grove of trees*, honors the continuity and connection between the Kānaka that petitioned against annexation at the turn of the nineteenth century alongside the brave protectors of Mauna a Wākea in 2015, who have gathered together to stand against the development of a 30 m telescope on top of our sacred mountain. Upon considering the colonization of the Hawaiian Islands, resistance and decolonization efforts have happened simultaneously. This is the branch that grows forth from the koa tree, the tree of nā koa aloha 'āina. Contemporary reforestation

efforts have shown that if you clear space around a single “mama koa,” she will seed and her seedlings will flourish. Likewise, Kānaka remain dedicated to cultural perpetuation and the future health and wellbeing of our islands and people.

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Mapuchezugun Ka Mapuche Kimün: Confronting Colonization in Chile (Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries)

5

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Abstract

This chapter analyzes the process of colonization of the Mapuche people as they were forced into the Chilean State and capitalist political economy in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Through a critical reading of archival sources and oral history, we review in detail the effects that colonization produced in the context of the political and territorial sovereignty of the Mapuche people, which includes converting them into minorities, the obliteration, eradication, and persecution of the

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use of Mapuchezugun (language of the Mapuche people) and Mapuche kimün (Mapuche knowledge), linked to racial subordination within the social interactions of subsequent generations in what we term “civilizing spaces.”

The argument developed in this chapter is that colonial violence against the Mapuche people, their language, ontology, and epistemology is part of the historical project of dispossession and genocide against indigenous peoples. Far from being passive subjects, the Mapuche people have displayed diverse forms of resistance, negotiation and response, and a struggle for life facing a project of death represented by colonization.

Keywords

Mapuche people · Chile · Colonialism · Knowledge · Education

Introduction

The region known today as Latin America was divided into nation-states in the nineteenth century following independence from Spain. Although there were many indigenous peoples who lived in their own autonomous territories, the Mapuche people were unique in having their political and territorial sovereignty officially recognized through more than 40 treaties or *parlamentos* with the Spanish colonial government. They exercised sovereignty over an extensive territory located in the American Southern Cone, called Wallmapu (the Mapuche nation), which encompassed two enormous land masses situated on either side of the Andes Mountains: Güllumapu (western lands, now Chile) and Puelmapu (eastern lands, now Argentina).

Despite sovereignty and formal recognition by the Spanish Crown, during the second half of the nineteenth century, the Mapuche people experienced radical change following military campaigns by the Argentinean and Chilean States, grotesquely called “The Pacification of Araucanía” and the “The Conquest of the Desert,” respectively. The consequences of both military occupations were enormous because they created colonial relations that continue to the present. Among the greatest repercussions of military invasion have been the loss of most of the territory they controlled until the mid-nineteenth century; the progressive occupation of these lands by Chilean and European settlers who confiscated their lands and plundered resources (currently carried out by national and transnational corporations); the racial subordination of the Mapuche population, their impoverishment, and demographic dispersal through the reduction and forced displacement of their communities; and the creation of a set of civilizing institutions (missions, schools, large landed estates, the army), whose sole purpose has been to “regenerate” Mapuche survivors of these acts of genocide.

In this context, this chapter analyzes the colonization process that forced the Mapuche people to become integrated into both the Chilean State and the capitalist political economy throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The study of archival sources and oral history enables us to address how Chilean colonial violence and structural racism reduced the Mapuche language (Mapuchezugun) and Mapuche

knowledge (Kimün) to minority status, destroying its social network through persecution and subordination of the social interaction of people and families in what we call “civilizing spaces.” The latter are the institutions and spaces of social interaction (schools, missions, large landed estates, the army, etc.) introduced through the racial-colonial design and development of the state and society of Chile.

Writing this text has given us a deeper understanding of specific acts of Chilean colonial violence that introduced hierarchies into Mapuche territory, designed to create a world that would replace our own ways of conceiving life and existence. We propose that these strategies were not accidental and instead obeyed a colonial logic and genocidal design that sought to subdue, suppress, and dispossess a territory, its people, and their ways of living.

Pacification as Genocide and Dispossession

When the Chilean Creole elite first moved toward independence from the Spanish Crown in the First National Assembly of 1810, the emerging republic had no control over the enormous territory of the Mapuche people. It required military conquest, initiated in the mid-nineteenth century to occupy and incorporate this land into the state of Chile. Political parties, intellectuals, merchants, and Chilean landowners won the debate over the legitimacy of militarily occupying Mapuche territory south of the Bío Bío River because they saw an opportunity to develop lucrative business and obtain benefits through the appropriation of Mapuche lands, timber, cattle, natural resources, and manual labor. This profoundly colonial project was justified by resorting to a rhetorical discourse on civilization and progress as pathways to eradicate barbarism and savagery, represented by the Mapuche people. This narrative appeared not only in official sources but also in the press, as this quotation from the influential newspaper *El Mercurio* in 1859 suggests:

The Indian is absolutely incapable of being civilized: nature has spent everything on developing his body, but his intelligence has remained at the level of beasts of prey, whose qualities he possesses in abundance, having never once experienced moral emotion . . . How shall men safely approach these wild beasts, how does the peaceful and industrious population enter the forest where ferocity and barbarism find shelter? . . . an association of barbarians as barbarous as the Pampas or Araucano Indians is nothing more than a hoard of beasts which urgently begs to be enslaved or destroyed in the interest of humanity and the greater good of civilization. (*El Mercurio de Valparaiso* 1859)

An influential nineteenth-century Chilean politician gave a similar speech before the House of Representatives on August 10, 1868, in which he stated that:

Some call upon civilization to benefit the Indian, but what does he do for our progress, for civilization itself? Nothing but act as a contagion of barbarism that has infected our frontier communities, because the conquest of the Indian is essentially what it has been in the United States, the conquest of civilization. It is true that the Indian stands his ground; but he defends it because he hates civilization, he hates the law, the priesthood and education. (Vicuña 1868, 7)

By the mid-nineteenth century, the Chilean elites were united in representing Mapuche territory as an island that divided Chile into two parts, and its inhabitants as barbarism embedded in the middle of the nation that they wanted to build: “on our soil, the Indians form a parenthesis, an interruption, in the midst of civilization’s territory” (El Ferrocarril de Santiago 1858). Diverse political, economic, and ideological factors merged to set off a campaign of military invasion into Güllumapu, in official historiography described as the conquest or pacification of the Araucanía (*Araucano Land*). The ideological basis of this genocidal military campaign is found in the colonialist discourse and fantasy of positivism and social Darwinism, which represented the Mapuche people as an *inferior race* who created obstacles for the future of the state and the nation that the Creoles planned to build. The administrative confiscation of Mapuche territory took place through the creation of Arauco Province in 1852, following that was the need to extend the surface of production to escape an economic crisis in 1857. The final cause was the desire for revenge against Mapuche groups who had participated in the revolutions of 1851 and 1859 (Bengoa 1985; Leiva 1984; Pinto 2003).

Two Spanish colonial settlements that had been razed to the ground in a Mapuche uprising in 1598 were “refounded” as Chilean cities in the late nineteenth century: Angol in 1862 and Villarica in 1883. This period marks a rupture in the historical development of Mapuche as a sovereign people when Chilean conquest and military occupation had devastating impacts. Although these events were located geographically in American Southern Cone, they were part of a new historical cycle of global colonialism. This new process forced indigenous territories and peoples to integrate into the nation-state, to consolidate the states’ internal frontiers to serve the imperial practices of colonial powers, and to link the production from indigenous territories to the economic centers of the North Atlantic. This economic cycle was generated by the demand for products, spurred by demographic growth, the industrial revolution, and the development of the capitalist mode of production (Nahuelpan 2012). This larger productive enterprise was supported by the ideological influence of positivism and evolutionism that emphasized the existence of “superior races” and “inferior races,” which justified colonization, violence, genocide, and the reduction of indigenous peoples as a civilizing act.

Among the episodes of extreme violence unleashed by military troops were the acts that the Chilean colonial government called a war of resources or war of extermination. The strategy was described in an official government document entitled “Discussion of a Plan for the Campaign and Reduction of the Araucanía,” which detailed its main objectives:

Harass the enemy in all areas, pursue them without allowing them any place to plant crops, raise animals or build housing, continue in this way for two consecutive years without listening to promises of peace, and then, if the war is not over, it will be near its end. Then and only then, forced by hunger, illness, poverty and the rigors of war and impotence will they finally be forced to change behavior and offer as many guaranties of safety as are demanded of them. (Ministry of War 1870, 53–54)

The war of resources or extermination employed sporadic incursions by soldiers into lands where the Mapuche people resisted the advance of the army. These armed forces were accompanied by civilians, Chilean settlers, and foreigners clustered into

civil squadrons which entered to burn forests, *ruka* (Mapuche houses), sown fields, and to steal large numbers of cattle, textiles, and silver as the spoils of war, and they assassinated and took men hostage, raping women, boys, and girls. In some cases, the children were taken north of the Bío Bío River to serve as manual labor on large landed estates and as domestic service in the landlord's mansions at the border and in the central region of Chile. The destruction and dispossession that the "pacification" produced were not limited to lands, resources, and goods such as cattle, textiles, and silver but included persons, as happened to Mapuche children. These practices were not new: the abduction of boys and girls took place repeatedly during the Spanish colonial cycle, and it returned in the years just before the formal beginning of the pacification campaigns. Mapuche families used forests and mountains as zones of refuge from extermination and abduction, graphically depicted in the words of *Mangil Wenu*, one of the greatest Mapuche resistance leaders of that era, who addressed the following words to the President of the Chilean Republic in 1860:

Your Provincial Governor (Intendente) Villalón, together with Salbo, ended up with an abundance of animals; but they were not happy with this because they have big bellies; all they did was burn houses and fields, and take families hostage, tearing children away from their mothers' breasts as they ran to hide in the hills, and they commanded that burial grounds be dug up to rob the silver articles buried with the dead according to Indian rituals, murdering even Christian women, as they did with two they caught who went looking for food for their children. . . Right now, I have a leader, a *cacique* who left the coast because they are fighting him; again, the *caciques* tell me that the first act that the Governor of Arauco carried out was to slit the throat of two Indians and their two little 8 year old daughters, and that they have done the same thing there that they did here. (Mangil Wenu 2008, 319–325)

Along with military invasion, there were other forms of violence such as the expropriation of lands, the creation of a state bureaucracy, the imposition of a new nation-state sociopolitical and juridical structure, and the foundation of forts progressively transformed into intermediary cities. Transportation and communication networks were constructed to exercise control and integrate the territory economically with the rest of the country. Importantly, schools and missions were created as civilizing spaces to lead to the "regeneration" of Mapuche and convert them into productive citizens for the new colonial and racial order.

As soon as the conquest of Güllumapu ended in 1883 with the refounding of Villarica, the historical development of Mapuche society proceeded with a forced transition from political and territorial independence to living under an internal colonialism within the nation-state. One of the most important aspects of this radical change, which forms the context of current conflicts, was the loss of an extensive territory belonging to Mapuche people that became integrated as "federal lands." These were lands that were auctioned off, given as concessions, or assigned to companies and private owners with the intention of establishing private agrarian property. During this time, the Mapuche population was condemned to live in small parcels of land, the so-called reservations or the more familiar Spanish term "reductions" (capitalized to indicate its institutional specificity).

In 1883, the Indigenous Settlement Commission (Comisión Radicadora de Indígenas) was created, and Chilean or foreign settlers recently arriving from Europe acquired a considerable portion of Mapuche lands, while indigenous resettlement was carried out on reservations or reductions, parceled out as “charitable land grants.” (The Spanish term *Títulos de Merced* refers to a Christian “grant or title of charity” based on mercy, *merced*.) The demarcation of lands designated as indigenous began in 1884, with areas significantly smaller than those that formed part of their socio-territorial jurisdiction. In order to distribute these land grants, the Mapuche had to prove their effective and continuous possession for at least 1 year, a nonsensical procedure, since the occupation of these lands dated back for centuries. Finally, once the lands were demarcated, the Settlement Commission passed a law that issued a land grant in the name of the republic “for the benefit” of the Mapuche people.

The resettlement process was an eminently colonial practice. As such, it is no coincidence that its terms (Título de Merced, Reducción, Cacique) were the same as those used by the Spanish colonial government in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to refer to the reorganization and relocation of the indigenous population in its colonies (Mallon 2009, 157). The state coined the terms “Reservation, Reduction and Charitable Land Grant” because the lands recognized as Mapuche were those that were left over and were reserved after the majority, and best lands were handed over to settlers. Therefore, the notion of reduction denotes the character of agrarian property, which is the territorial dispossession to which Mapuche people were subjected. Likewise, the notion of a charitable land grant expresses an absurd logic as though the process of granting a title was a kind of “gift of charity” granted by the state to the Mapuche people, not the acknowledgment of an older historical occupation (Correa and Mella 2010, 64). The arbitrary nature of the settlement process is clear in descriptions by protectors of indigenous peoples (Protectores de Indígenas) in reports, such as one published by Eulogio Robles in 1912, who stated that:

Just as the Indigenous were being settled, rural properties for auction were formed, plots of land were offered for rent, pieces of land were donated to settlers and there were enormous land concessions given to individual owners to be colonized.

What is more, on many occasions, they first auctioned rural properties to be colonized, etc., and on what was left over, Indians were settled. (Robles 1912, 144)

On the other hand, the total surface area of indigenous resettlement was 51,038,667 ha or approximately 6% of the territory controlled by Mapuche up to the mid-nineteenth century. The remaining area, approximately 94%, was designated as federal lands and transferred to Chilean and foreign settlers. Among this last group were merchants, landowners, and military officers who had actively participated in the “pacification” campaigns (González 1986).

As part of the process of reduction, Mapuche people were allowed a minimal territorial space that included the *ruka* (houses) and fields, while the lands used for grazing, timber milling, and food gathering were declared *terra nullius*, federal or “empty lands,” which were later offered for auction or delivered without charge to settlers. The reduction ignored relations that Mapuche people had maintained with

water (salty versus sweet, potable), the subsoil, specific spaces relevant to spiritual life, or valued because of the presence of *ngen* (protective beings), who remained captive on the landed estates that were being consolidated. They did not respect preexisting rules and forms of occupation, the older demarcations, or sociopolitical and territorial organization based on kinship relations. On the reservations, families who came from different *lof che* (communities) were grouped together or in spaces that these groups had previously occupied, and two or more land grants were distributed, producing conflicts among Mapuche families themselves.

The reduction also forced related groups, who had occupied and used their territories following migratory patterns – which permitted rotation in the use of soil and a diversity of productive activities, into a sedentary life on small areas of land (Vidal 2000). This restricted access to different resources and spaces transformed the Mapuche economy from one based on diversified activities toward self-subsistence, which, in the long term, meant that Mapuche people were subjected to a process that forced them to become *campesinos* (a local form of peasantry based on the European model).

The image of a Mapuche society that was reduced in this way, by being corralled like animals and converted into a minority through “civilization and progress” so loudly proclaimed by the Chilean political elite of that era, is transmitted through writing that feels like an eye-witness account. Lorenzo Kolüman, who lived during the settlement era, communicated to Mankelef y Guevara at the beginning of the twentieth century: “what we have achieved with the civilization they say they gave us is to live cramped like sardines in a can (literally grains of wheat in a sack)” (Kolüman 2002, 43–44).

Civilizing Spaces

The historical process of the colonization of Güllumapu followed clearly defined strategies. Its forced annexation to the Chilean State and the capitalist political economy was not achieved through military conquest and the dispossession of resources alone but was also through mechanisms and instruments that permitted them to take control of the spirit of the people of the land, thereby guaranteeing their submission and the control not only of the body but also of the subjectivity of the Mapuche people. Clear evidence of this project was a report presented by Antonio Varas, a prominent Chilean politician, to the House of Representatives about the “peaceful Reduction of the Araucanian territory.” This document, presented in 1848, emphasized a series of strategies that would manage to establish republican sovereignty in a territory that was not yet subject to Chilean law. Varas stated:

What is the objective? To civilize the Indians, that is, improve their natural condition, enlighten and cultivate their intelligence, develop their good sentiments that are the patrimony of humanity, and elevate their spirit to moral and religious truth. To convert the remains of primitive inhabitants of Chile into useful citizens, to make them participants in the benefits that civilization spreads across all countries, to eliminate from among them the worries or

superstitions that cloud their spirit, to allow their eyes to see the bright light of the Gospel that ennobles man. This is a very dignified enterprise of the Republic. . . (Varas 1849, 13)

The goals of this republican enterprise would be achieved through the spread of conditions that would eliminate the *mapuche az mongen*, the ways of life of the Mapuche people, conceived as a stumbling block of savagery. From Varas's own words, we can deduce that the conversion he mentions of "these remains of the primitive inhabitants of Chile" referred to their forced conversion into "useful citizens," to regenerate them, moralize them, and civilize them, in other words, to achieve a condition of humanity, from which they were deprived because of their being in a state of barbarism. The conquest enterprise was conceived not only as the taking of a territory but also as a mission of redemption of civilized man in his struggle to expand civilization.

The mechanisms that Varas proposed were clearly articulated. "Missions, schools and commerce with the Spanish population, these are the civilizing means which will allow for the successive integration of the indigenous population into the rest of the nation" (Varas 1849, 27), as stated by this ideologue of Occupation. The labors of conversion and Christianization were to be taken up by the missionary, the primary agent who would manage to "seize the spirit" of the indigenous people. This person's work should focus on the Mapuche population and on one stratum in particular:

The most promising areas for commitment by the missionary are the children. **Here the good seed will not be smothered by weeds.** It would be vain pretention to civilize the indigenous if we did not make use of the most effective medium to regenerate the people. Take the generation that is growing, prepare it for civilized life, enlighten its understanding, encourage inspiration in its heart for moral and religious sentiments, and after three or four generations, you will have finished with the barbarism that damages them. But it is not just a simple religious teaching the missionary imparts. It must replace the parents, it must have the children completely under its control, educate them, teach them and prepare them for a laborious life as a civilized man. (Varas 1849, 18. Our emphases in bold)

The strategy was clear: boys and girls would be the replacement generation that would allow for a new people to be educated. Macaya (2016, 99) proposes that this system is similar to the concept of the "economy of delayed returns"; in other words, a plan to harvest in the long term, when the seeds that were planted with the precepts of civilization, should render fruit. In this way, missionaries would become the educational and formative reference point for children who would thereby be inculcated with the culture, values, habits, and conception of "civilized man," replacing the educational role of "weeds" or the Mapuche family. Evangelization through the missions would be central, but it would be also accompanied by a process of schooling and work, with the goal of regenerating the people in their totality:

To civilize or moralize a people without making use of religious influence to me is a fantasy. Let the action of religious missions be joined with other means that similarly approach the same goal; that man should be embraced in his whole being; the task should not be limited to Christianizing them and teaching them to pray, in this way missions will render the fruit expected of them. (Varas 1849, 16)

The year following the presentation of this report, the first Italian missionaries of the Capuchin Order arrived in Mapuche territory, and they established different missionary centers. One of these was set up in *Rulowe* or *Traitraiko mapu*, present-day Puerto Saavedra, at that time called *Bajo Imperial* by the Chilean bureaucracy. Father Constanzo or Constancio de Trisobio arrived and Pascual Coña was one of his first students. The memoirs of Coña, as narrated to the priest Ernesto Wilhelm de Moesbach, published in 1930 as “Life and Customs of the Araucanian Indians in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century” shows the first steps established by the colonization enterprise of the Chilean State to “take control of the spirit” of the Mapuche people (Coña and Moesbach 2010).

The Capuchin priest Sergio Uribe explains that the ministry of his missionary brothers maintained a deeply held conviction whose goals were extolled for “struggling against the evil and error in which the unfaithful, to whom they would preach, were assumed to be lost” (Uribe 1988, 215). This condition made them feel like soldiers in the vanguard. Clearly, Uribe continues; the missionaries as well as the families and farmers who advanced into frontier territory became a “civilizing reconnaissance unit.” Aside from their convictions, this religious presence, with all of its ethnocentric and racist implications, was a foundational cornerstone for the destruction of Mapuche ways of life. As soon as the military campaigns of the pacification of the Araucanía were concluded, the spaces of civilization spread out in an organized, systematic fashion. It was the Christian missions under the control of the Capuchin Order and the Anglicans which were specifically designed to convert Mapuche people.

To understand this phenomenon of colonization, authors like Fanon point out that to achieve a colonial regime, the first act is to create the servile condition of the autochthonous population, and to do this, it is necessary to change their system of references: “the cultural panorama is shredded, values ridiculed, erased, emptied” (Fanon 1965, 41). In the same way, he warns that beyond working toward the disappearance of local culture, the colonial regime must condemn the culture of the colonized peoples to an eternal agony. The declarations of the Chilean colonial authorities during the first years of Chilean occupation of Güllumapu followed this line of thinking. For example, a note sent by the Minister of Foreign Relations around 1901 to Gregorio Urrutia, Governor of Cautín, to be distributed to different regions under his control, mandated the following:

Indigenous customs frequently have ceremonies that our national culture finds sobering, and unfortunately, they produce pernicious effects for the public health of the people who practice them. The Ministry has become aware of the festivals called Machitunes which refer to the Machi doctors curing the sick with Pillantunes or prayers to the Pillan, as in the burial ceremonies for their dead. They celebrate festivals that are actually used as a pretext to become intoxicated and they observe ceremonies that are nothing more than remains of barbarism; it is shameful that they continue to practice these. (...) I draw your attention to this matter so that Your Honor might find whatever means prudent to eradicate these customs and prohibit, in any manner possible, the way that cadavers remain unburied more than the time permitted by Law. (Quoted in Caniuqueo 2006, 261–162)

Not only were the practices and ways of life of Mapuche people considered to be barbarous and savage and deemed to be of an inferior law before the eyes of state

agents, but they were also openly declared as practices that must be eradicated, for which the missions and the schools were designed as the principal instruments to achieve this task. The next section will develop this idea in more detail.

The construction of servile and submissive subjects was also achieved through informal spaces and agents, where the colonizing society had an important role. The project of the Arauco Conquest presented in 1861 by Colonel Pedro Godoi to General Manuel García, at that time Minister of War and Navy, offers us a clear idea of this role:

Let us now rest our gaze on the settlers or European immigrants who were able to arrive and establish new estates. If we are to respect and offer consideration to the savages, how much more do we offer those who bring us commerce, the arts, and civilization? (Godoi 1861, 92)

Something similar was proposed by the same (Varas 1849) in the report cited above. According to him, to achieve true progress in Mapuche lands, they must do more than reduce and civilize the people, since once this goal had been achieved, they would enter into contact with the civilized population of the Chilean “lower class.” Therefore, contact would bring about another challenge, since the indigenous – thus civilized and reduced – would naturally adopt the ideas, spirit, and habits of the mestiza (mixed-race) society, whose cultural patterns and ways of life were also contrary to the idea of elite society. To counteract this double problem, the proposal of Varas, like that of Godoi, was designed to promote European immigration:

Foreign immigration is the only way to wake our people from their indolence; indolence that will be much greater among the civilized indigenous people. Of course, let’s keep focused on immigration while taking advantage of the opportunities that civilization of the Indians may offer to reduce their presence in these territories. This is a vow that all those who desire the true advancement of the Republic will undoubtedly take with all their heart. (Varas 1849, 48)

Both Varas and Godoi proposed that to achieve a change of worldview of the colonized population of Gulumapu, whether it would be the Mapuche or the lower class, it was fundamental to have the presence of European settlers. Contact with these new agents of social change, whose cultural schemes seemed similar to the ideals of the Chilean elite, would regenerate both social groups, Mapuche and Chilean settlers, and end the lack of social discipline and low productivity of these groups. In fact, the preference for European settlers enhanced a system of unequal treatment given to Chilean settlers coming from the popular sectors (Pinto 2003, 225). In spite of these differences, both types of settlers saw themselves as a society of occupiers, with alternative visions for life and existence, whose contact was determined by the specific factors of their colonial position, mediated by racism, violence, and the direct or indirect imposition of cultural patterns.

The settlers established themselves in lands stolen from the Mapuche, and they began to create new spaces and institutions: large landed estates, farms, mansions, the city, the market, the military, and other public institutions such as schools, in other words, civilization’s spaces. To understand how they occupied these spaces, it is helpful to read the Colonization Charter, drawn up by Nicolás Boloña in 1916. Here one can clearly see how commercial networks became integrated into social behavior among the

colonizing society and Mapuche, widely corroborated in a variety of studies (Alonqueo 1985; Mallon 2004; Antimil 2012; Araya and Porma 2012; Nahuelpán 2012).

Large landed estates were one of the major spaces where the hierarchies and subjugation of Mapuche were established. This is where schools were located, along with a very important labor niche for social discipline. The communities were related to each other as racialized servile manual labor: for men, as errand boys, day laborers, farm workers, sharecroppers, tenant farmers, and other forms of work, and for women as domestic workers in the landlord's house. There are many testimonies that narrate the brutality of experiences suffered by these men and women during and after the occupation of Mapuche territory. In a recent publication, Nahuelpán established a dialogue with Manuel, a Mapuche worker who experienced these conditions, which in part explains some of the vicissitudes in this servile regime:

When I was a boy, they asked me to work on the condition that they give me food, shelter, clothing and an education. . . I worked as a servant, a gardener, I had to wash, plant, tidy the orchard, take care of hens, clean the henhouse, a lot of things. I had just one tool for cleaning, when it was time to clean it was terrible for me. I had to get up to make fire while it was still dark, so that by 8.00 am the water would be warm. I got up before the bosses, I had to have everything ready. They made their wealth at the expense of Mapuche people, at the expense of errand boys. . . I had just a few hours to study, in the end really the agreement that we had for my study wasn't respected . . . the bosses exploited us like animals and now they don't want us to improve. . . (Quoted in Nahuelpan 2015, 285)

It is worth noting how this experience reflects ways that the subjugation of Mapuche originated in economies of dispossession and was accelerated through the impoverishment of Mapuche families. However, there are other testimonies that view the lived experience in these spaces through other lenses. For example, Juan speculates that it was some time in the middle of the 1930s that he began to work as an "errand boy" and later as a peon, a sharecropper, and tenant farmer on an estate near his original community. This was the property of a settler of English descent who arrived in Mapuche territory at the beginning of the twentieth century. His testimony is key to understanding the process. He remembered the time he worked as an "errand boy" in the following terms:

A good person that old man he was. They were all good persons, good people. That's why we were good workers, never drunk, not going around the place kicking up a fuss, nothin' like that's what he said. He raised us like his children, he did. There was one man there, Ramón Ulloga, and he taught me (. . .) He was there too. That same Mr. Santiago told him "He had to teach his son." He called me his "son". (Juan 2012)

In long conversations with Juan, he pointed out that after being months in the house as a servant "I didn't miss my family any more" and that when he returned to his community "I couldn't wait to go back to the landlord's house" and that "he didn't like the food at his house" or "how they lived so backward." He was so changed that 1 day when he went to his house, he met his aunt *Llanka*, who said to her sister, Juan's mother, that he wasn't like Mapuche any more, he was *wingka* (Chilean or non-Mapuche). The disciplining of Juan by the landlord was fundamental. The settler,

transformed into a paternal model, became the educational agent that had a clear influence on the configuration of his *az che* (personal identity), just as Varas had predicted in his report. This is the radical change that Juan had suffered.

The city also merits our attention. There is no doubt that commerce, nothing new for frontier populations, was the first space for socialization, where it was necessary to learn the colonizer's language to carry out trade. Cities also appeared with the other spaces and institutions: courts, military regiments, hospitals, schools, churches, and others. Migration is a phenomenon associated with urban centers, formed by structural features of colonial domination: reduction and the scarcity of land, impoverishment, hunger, and the precariousness of Mapuche families (Antileo 2012). In rural areas, Mapuche migrants were allocated the most precarious and low-wage work: domestic labor, gardening, baking, day labor, and all racialized manual labor (Nahuelpán 2012, 2013; Antileo 2012, 2015). The cities of Temuco, Santiago, and Valparaíso were transformed into centers that offered work, which explains why today, the largest percentage of Mapuche people are living in the peripheral sectors of cities.

The *wariache* – Mapuche who live in the city – had to confront colonial violence as well. Mapuche ways of life such as ceremonies, dress, language, and physical appearance had to be changed to “civilized” ways, to attenuate racial discrimination. This is why Mapuche surnames have changed, as a result of life in the cities and memories of their families. José's testimonial, as a migrant and breadmaker in Santiago City, serves to illustrate this idea:

Life in Santiago is very hard. . . **it is like an everyday resistance** . . . the people who leave think that in Santiago streets are made of gold, you get handfuls, but it's not like that, I suffered a lot here and in Santiago. . . in Santiago I did not speak Mapuche, how could I, if it was full of Chileans? And especially if you're Indian, so I didn't speak Mapuche, it was like hiding it because if not, “here comes an Indian”, “shitty Indian” “Indian asshole”, that's how the people treat you, **but in my mind, I kept it hidden and I was speaking Mapuche**. And when I came back here I began to speak Mapuche again. Over in Santiago I had a friend who I spoke Mapuche with, but hidden, never in front of the bosses or in the street, couldn't do it. (Quoted in Nahuelpán 2015, 280)

The language and Mapuche ways of life were forbidden or eliminated. As José said, they were suppressed, suspended within one's subjectivity, where they continued to live. This has been part of daily resistance before the conquest of subjectivity, of the spirit, and of the body of the people of the land:

Get rid of Mapuche dress. Being and feeling Mapuche wasn't worth anything, it was not wanted, it was not seen. For that reason, Mapuche ideas, the Mapuche person was hidden far away. Only the power of the *wigka*, their ideas have weight, they are valuable, they are the center of events, while anything related to *mapuche az mogen*, ways of being, was hidden somewhat, it lost all legitimacy and it became invisible. (Quidel 2015, 42)

With these words, Quidel shows us how violence against Mapuche thought and spirituality was practiced as ridicule, since *mapuche az mogen* was hated, viewed as disgusting, ripped out from the roots, expelled, and displaced. For her part, an

80-year-old Mapuche woman who worked from the time she was young in the same conditions offers deep insight into her treatment and life in the house of her bosses:

I slept in a tiny room, in winter the rain dripped in, I ate a different food from the bosses, I got up before them (...) when I made good food, they celebrated with me, but if I made a mistake they were there always telling me that I was an Indian and all that, my self-esteem was shattered, and so just to get them to stop doing it, you begin to change (...) that happens a lot with the people who go to work as a domestic housekeeper (...) sometimes you don't even realize how you got to believe everything they say. (R.P. Cited in Nahuelpán 2012, 142–143)

Civilizing spaces were constructed – and continue to be constructed today – as instruments of discipline where hierarchies are created and reinforced through ways of knowing, knowledge, habits, customs, languages, and persons (Nahuelpán 2012, 143). These conform to the mechanisms by which the ideology and ways of life of the colonizing society are imposed which introduced discourses about the inferiority of Mapuche people. For this reason, many families began to change their ways of life, hide their practices, and destroy anything associated with their Mapuche roots. From within the Mapuchezugun language, this process is known as *wigkawün* for men and *chiñurawün* for women, becoming changed into a Chilean man or woman. Civilizing spaces functioned as systems of discipline and radical social change, they internalized colonialism through violence; they changed symbolic and cultural systems as well as the conception of Mapuche life itself, forming a support base for the conquest of the people of the land. As a consequence, changes in the paradigms of life of the Mapuche people themselves have not been voluntary decisions: the destruction, exile, suppression, and displacement of these ways were conditioned by an historical project of genocide, and some had greater responsibility than others for this history.

“Reading only comes through bleeding” is a saying referring to violence as an educational method, experienced in the flesh and blood of generations of Mapuche students throughout the twentieth century.

Marta was born in 1994. Like most boys and girls in the Mapuche communities, when she finished eighth grade in a rural school, she enrolled in an educational institution in the city of Temuco. It was summer 2009 when she and probably her family had dreams of “becoming someone in life,” a phrase often heard in Mapuche families, who see the education of their daughters and sons as way to escape poverty. Marta had enrolled in the boarding school because of the irregular transport connecting her city or because she would save travel time and could study more easily. With some expectation, hope, and fear, Marta began her life as a student in the city, as many of us did.

“Tie up the pigs, Marta! Put the hen in the cage!” What seemed to be a child’s game – for both Mapuche and for Chilean poor country girls – became a living hell: the expectations became disillusionment, hope turned to disappointment, and fear to terror. Night after night, day after day, teasing about her accent grew. It was not funny. One day Andrea, who told us this story, found Marta in tears, hiding. She had spoken only to the girls closest to her so that they would stop this. The teasing continued as did Marta’s goals: she exchanged her school notebooks for cheap beer

and the classrooms for parties starting in mid-afternoon. She soon had to repeat the course and change schools. Andrea doesn't know what happened to her. She probably gave up and never finished middle school.

At age 14, Martín Alonqueo Piutrín enrolled in National Rural School No 44 in 1923, located on the Santa Carolina estate. His entry into this temple of knowledge was described in the following terms:

I lived at the school, my grandma came and I was so happy. I was in the central square of the school and right away they came over to bother me, laughing at my grandma's speech and making fun of me. I didn't react, but went to a corner, just stood there looking down and quiet, just watching all the games and hearing songs the girls sang while a group of friends and people I knew surrounded me to talk to me. The bell rang and we went into class with all of my Mapuche friends, speaking in our own language. (...)

During the next break, I was with my friends and neighbors and we were speaking in Mapuche. That's all we did; they told on me to the teacher, but I didn't know the rule about not speaking Mapuche language, just Spanish. After this first accident, I got back with my friends and we continued speaking in Mapuche but whispering (...)

When the bell rang, we went back into class. I paid careful attention to what the teacher taught; but I didn't understand a thing. The bell rang at the end of the day, it was noon. (...) Up to that point, all was going well; but (...) at that point a white child came up to our group, coming toward me speaking to me; but I couldn't answer him because I couldn't make out what he was saying. Since I didn't answer, he began to laugh and say that I was "a horse Indian, who eats horse meat and eats weeds;" you hear this every day, when they talk about Mapuche people.

The ones in that group explained what the expressions he used about me meant. Then, at that moment, I was furious and jumped on him, swearing with this phrase: "*Winka trewa, Winka dog*, what are you saying?" [A very common phrase used by Mapuche people, filled with rage.] Then, a fight broke out and we started punching each other, ... That is what we were doing when they told the teacher, here comes the teacher. I was proud and continued unafraid, but my opponent started to cry as soon as the teacher came up.

The teacher called us and took us to the office, both with our noses bleeding. That's when the teacher interrogated us. I answered the best I could: "This winka, challenged me, miss." That was all I could say, and then I stayed quiet. After that it was my opponent's turn, he defended himself very well, blaming me for everything. I was the guilty one. All the beatings were for me, I took them with resignation because I could not speak enough to defend myself. . .

Don Martín Alonqueo, after several different jobs, completed his formal studies in the Chilean educational system and began to teaching in March of 1935. Since that time, he has focused on promoting Mapuche culture and defending his "ethnic" brothers and sisters, first as teacher, then in independent groups or as part of Mapuche organizations. Martín Alonqueo was one of the most important Mapuche intellectuals and writers of the twentieth century.

These stories, separated by 90 years, are very similar in content and form. What did Marta do wrong? They spoke Mapuchezugun at home, the Mapuche language, and a form of Spanish influenced by the linguistic structures of her first language. Her Spanish was noticeably different: an absence of connecting phrases, mistakes in gender and number, and so forth, all the influence of bilingualism and speaking two languages. This phenomenon has been studied from different perspectives (Hernández and Ramos 1978; Lagos and Olivera 1988; Contreras 1999), some of which propose the emergence of a contact Spanish different to standard Chilean

Castilian (Olate et al. 2013) which is part of a larger process related to linguistic interactivity (Godenzzi 2007). Like Martín's grandmother, most Mapuche who have lived during the era of Chilean colonialism have been victims, witnesses or victimizers themselves, using social condemnation for this linguistic variation.

Is it Marta's fault that she hates her language and refuses to pass it on to her daughters and sons? Are the girls at the boarding school guilty for having made fun of their classmate? Is the family guilty for having spoken Mapuchezugun and having taught it to Marta? From our point of view, these and other daily normalized practices of discrimination are the consequences of the racism and violence that created colonized Gulumapu society. Quidel expresses it in his own way when he states that:

It is a way to superimpose one's own way through teaching and arrogance, we were ashamed as Mapuche only for being Mapuche. As the years passed, we Mapuche then reproduced these practices and began to make fun of our own people. We felt very uncomfortable being Mapuche, rejecting everything that was associated with the Mapuche *az mogen*. (The Mapuche world, Quidel 2015, 42)

There is no doubt about the role played by civilizing spaces in this situation. Specifically, the precarious situation of the use and transmission of the Mapuche language has made some think that we are in the presence of a deteriorating language (Gundermann et al. 2011). To arrive at this point, we must understand how the schoolroom has been the major space in which the language has been silenced and prohibited. From its establishment, boys and girls were punished and physically, psychologically, and symbolically assaulted for using the Mapuchezugun language. This had to be replaced by the "civilized" language, Spanish, which has been documented in different research projects (Alonqueo 1985, 158–164; Canales 1998; Quintriqueo 2010, 27–28; Porma 2015; Quidel 2015, 43–46).

Certainly school has been the most important branch of the ideological vanguard of Chilean colonization in Gulumapu. The memoirs of the Minister of Foreign Relations, religious instruction, and colonization (Memorias del Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores, Culto y Colonización) presented to the National Congress in 1899 are revealing in this sense:

(..) The task of their civilization cannot be undertaken with assured success without civilizing the children.

The truth of this statement is demonstrated in the recent experience of founding educational institutions for Indigenous children among some communities in the border region.

They are given education in these places and from their childhood they receive moral advice, lessons appropriate to their social status, examples of virtue, which become deeply impressed on their tender hearts and intelligence, and they carry the generous seed of civilization and morality later to the Reduction and the Indigenous family. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Religious Instruction and Colonisation 1899, 20–21)

By 1910, the same ministry reaffirmed the role of schools as a bastion of civilizing work. In the records presented to the National Congress on 1 of June, the following was highlighted:

The solution to the problem is to civilize them, establishing schools throughout the countryside, making military service obligatory for them, motivating them to leave behind their now unacceptable customs of polygamy, while simultaneously getting rid of their practice of having chiefs as leaders (*cacicazgo*). Schools contribute more than anything else to achieving these objectives. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Religious Instruction and Colonisation 1910, 470)

The school was supposed to make Mapuche people participants in the “civilized world,” introducing them into the new social order that was shaping Güllumapu. However, from the ethnocentric and racist ideas of the Chilean elite, the incorporation of the Mapuche people was to take place by creating second class citizens, servants, subjects, or workers, mixed in with the lowest strata of Chilean national society. In other words, both schooling and discipline of the Mapuche people were designed to make functional subjects for the hegemonic project, as is made explicit in the memoirs of the Mayor of Cautín in 1890:

It is necessary to use men who, due to their physical constitution and normal intelligence, are called upon to be easily incorporated into civilized society and to be individuals who are useful to the country as workers and citizens. (Ministro del Interior 1890, 81)

In his writing, Martín Alonqueo highlighted the fulfillment of these objectives, proposed by the colonizing enterprise: the school and the Chilean educational system had served as a “temple of destruction of the Mapuche personality,” due to the racist attitude of the teachers toward their Mapuche students, which convinced the latter to feel inferior and “hate themselves” (Alonqueo 1985, 163). Literacy and primary schools in the rural areas turned out to be so inadequate that the only thing they did achieve together was to create “an army of boys and domestic workers, in low wage work, and who were abused” (1985, 176).

... the Mapuche do not speak their language because of the dominant, exclusive system of education; essentially the school and environment destroy Mapuche idiosyncrasy, their way of being and thinking. In this situation, the Mapuche child adapts to the new circumstances and under the enormous influence of his inferiority complex, he acts and operates; the teacher is like his executioner, he disqualifies him with the system of low qualification, which in the end forces him to abandon the halls of education with huge resentment.

As a perverse outcome of this unhealthy system, the Mapuche child refuses to speak his own language, and there are parents whose huge inferiority complex leads them to refuse to teach their language to their children, and they even change their family name (Alonqueo 1989, 12). “Don’t speak that pig language” teachers used to tell students who spoke Mapuzungun, “Can’t you just speak like people?” (Quidel 2015, 44). In this civilizing process, the “language of the land” or the “language of the People of the Land” was transformed into the “language of the pigs.” It was viewed with contempt, as bestial, or in the best of cases considered as a language that had no role in a new era, mostly as an inferior language. Nahuelpán returns to Fanon’s idea to refer to this process as internalized colonialism (2013). These ideas were expressed in attempts to eradicate the perception of a different existence and

different ways of life. In this regard, different spaces, dimensions, and lives of *Wallontu mapu* – the Mapuche world – have also faced the violence of the colonial mantle, principally through commercialism. According to Jimena Pichinao (2015), we are witnessing a confrontation between civilizing horizons or projected futures, because there is a dissimilar ethical-moral foundation with respect to the conceptualization of the earth, land, human life, and relations with other beings (100). For example, from the *Mapuche Rakizuam* or philosophy of Mapuche life, there is a substantial difference with respect to the concept of property:

A central idea in this sense is the verification that no space is alone (*kisulelay ta mapu*). Mapuche thought recognizes the existence of multiple lives in the *mapu*, tangible and intangible beings, of which the human being is just one. Places concentrate a series of alterities that are constantly called upon to interact: vegetable species, trees, animals, insects, hills, rivers, lakes, persons forming families, among many others, which give dynamism to ecosystems, and establish modes of inhabiting territory. (Pichinao 2015, 98)

Concluding Thoughts

We have explained how colonial violence against the people of the land, their ontology, epistemology, and language is founded on an historical project based on dispossession and genocide. The first aspect was motivated by a military and civilian campaign of occupation and was euphemistically called the “pacification of the Araucanía.” This occupation fulfilled the interests of the Chilean State by appropriating the territory, people, and ways of life to establish sovereignty and integrate them into the capitalist circuits of the political economy. The second aspect of genocide was understood as an historical process legitimated by a racist ideology that alluded to notions of “civilization” and “regeneration,” an “extermination” of what was Mapuche and the Mapuche people themselves, which led to a permanent agony. In this context, dispossession and genocide are understood less as a specific historical moment and more as processes that had already begun and are continuing to the present, which include usurpation, appropriation, and the deprivation of the life of the people of the land, now reduced to spaces and conditions of marginality, poverty, exclusion, and subjugation.

Despite the methods applied to silence and eradicate the language, knowledge, and ways of life of Mapuche families and individuals, during most of the twentieth century, they did not remain passive in the face of colonial assault. In general terms, some forms of resistance were maintained in the private sphere of daily and family life and others in a public, collective, and visible sphere. The first of these has allowed for the transmission and maintenance of the language, family, and socio-territorial ceremonies in many places of Gulumapu, practices that reveal a continuum in the *mapuche az mongen* and in the *mapuche rakizuam*, without rejecting the adoption and functional appropriation of tools of colonial society such as formal education in school. The second sphere was oriented toward organizational forms of the state and its Chilean structures. One of these organizations was created in 1910,

called Sociedad Caupolicán Defensora de La Araucanía. This organization was created by the first generation of Mapuche teachers who belonged to important lineages before the Occupation. Since that time many other organizations have flourished, among the most notable of which are the *Federación Araucana*, the *Corporación Araucana*, the *Unión Araucana*, and the *Frente Único Araucanao*, or the *Asociación Nacional de Indígenas de Chile*. For more information, see Rolf Foerster and Sonia Montecino, “Organizaciones, Líderes y Contiendas Mapuche. (1900–1970)”. The founders of these organizations have attempted to gain integration and recognition in Chilean society. Their icon has been the struggle for the education and schooling of the Mapuche people. To a great extent, these and other strategies, together with the capacity for agency and resignification of these foreign elements, were largely designed to soften racism, dispossession, and genocide as structuring processes of the Mapuche people’s colonization. Clearly, these strategies are part of a repertoire of political actions that continue to our day and also generate responses from the state apparatus.

Over recent decades, a series of state-supported institutional strategies have been introduced. The first is the Intercultural Bilingual Education Program, implemented by Indigenous Law 19.253 (1993), which establishes specific obligations by the Chilean State for the promotion and teaching of indigenous peoples’ languages. A related development is the legal recognition of the Mapuche language as a second official language in the Araucanía Region, a process promoted by Mapuche organizations and introduced in two counties, Galvarino (2013) and Padre Las Casas (2014). It is difficult to evaluate the impact of Intercultural Bilingual Program, since there are no quantitative or qualitative studies on it at present. Similarly, to date there are but high expectations for ways the official status of the language will be eventually implemented and developed. Our view is that these are not generous concessions by the state but are instead a clear result of pressure by Mapuche and indigenous movements that have been developed historically, gaining the greatest momentum in the last decade of the twentieth century. For this reason, they do not suggest changes that are dismantling the historical structures of oppression but rather correspond to strategies that may even be understood as counterinsurgency measures to placate Mapuche mobilizations by framing them as multicultural neoliberal policies that several different Latin American states have implemented over the last two decades. In other words, this is not simply a new form of managing cultural difference but is rather a new form of restructuring tutelage and control over the *Indios*.

Despite these developments, as these forms of restructuring by colonial-neoliberal governments were taking place, Mapuche organizations – and their demands – seem to have reached a turning point over the last two decades. This has become evident in the emergence of new forms of political struggle that signal the restitution of “ancient territories” which were not recognized by *Títulos de Merced*, the establishment of de facto autonomous territories and the control of historical Mapuche territory. This type of struggle became visible after the breakdown in negotiations over historical grievances under the Nueva Imperial Agreements during the first post-dictatorial government, headed by Patricio Aylwin of the center-left Coalition of Parties for Democracy (Concertación de Partidos por la

Democracia). This breakdown began to be evident when Mapuche communities began a process of occupations of their ancestral lands that came under the control of forestry companies and private owners during the second half of the 1990s. This branch of the current Mapuche movement is best interpreted in the Latin American context of the struggle of resistance by indigenous peoples, who are facing new problems intensified by the neoliberal economic system, specifically those related to the pressure of extractive capital on new territories and social relations.

In the context of these struggles of resistance and the creation of new autonomous regions, we might add others such as those daily forms of resistance mentioned before and those learned in the family sphere, as well as more visible forms, such as first, Mapuche language workshops “Kom kim mapudunguaiñ waria mew,” developed by *kimche* – a Mapuche traditional scholar– with Mapuche students and teachers in the University of Chile’s Philosophy and Humanities Faculty, and second, the Linguistic Apprenticeships (Internados Lingüísticos) of the Federation of Mapuche Students (Federación Mapuche de Estudiantes, FEMAE). This language immersion process for Mapuche and non-Mapuche takes place for 1 or 2 weeks in the communities where they learn the Mapuche language. These collective actions will surely be analyzed by their protagonists in the medium and long term.

From our point of view, the organizations that base their horizons or projections for struggle on the progression of autonomous regions and territorial recovery, on the *mapuche az mogen* and on *mapuche rakizuam*, represent important spaces of direct and open resistance to dispossession and historical genocide. On one hand, the recovery of territory and autonomy challenges the interests of those who have historically benefited from ownership and maintained their privileged place in the socio-racial order constructed in colonized Gulumapu; this thereby allows communities to recover the dignity taken from them. On the other hand, it is through territorial recovery and autonomy that *mapuche az mogen* and *mapuche rakizuam* y *mapuchezugun* are strengthened, revalued, and transmitted so that its own historical course may continue, being transformed into alternatives for life and existence against the current hegemonic model. In this sense, understanding the confrontation over territory implies uniting those sectorial and dispersed Mapuche movements into a collective, systemic achievement that unites other movements to move forward toward a process of national liberation and decolonization. *Femgechi*.

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Truth and Reconciliation in Canada: Indigenous Peoples as Modern Subjects

6

D. Lyn Daniels

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Abstract

This chapter considers how the traumatic history of Indian residential schools might be remembered, in particular by intergenerational survivors. Photographs that depict this history are notable for displaying the power of the Canadian state to intervene into Indigenous lives at the level of the individual through education policies. These images rely on colonial conceptions of spatial distance understood as time needed for cultural development. Understanding these conceptions is powerful for analyzing photographs of Indigenous peoples, in particular in policy and history texts. How educational policies are experienced intergenerationally by the descendants of survivors reveals another dimension of Canadian colonialism. These themes are explored indirectly, but in depth, by the German born writer, W.G. Sebald (2001) in his fictional writing. A fictional character in his novel, *Austerlitz*, asks: What do we know of ourselves, how do we remember? And what do we find in the end? These questions frame this chapter that discusses memory, history, trauma, and identity in relation to the history and future of education for Indigenous peoples in Canada.

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History · Identity · Indian residential schools · Memory

The novel, *Austerlitz*, is W.G. Sebald's (2001) compelling project for speaking about the unspeakable wherein an unknown narrator retells his coincidental encounters and life story of the main character, also named Austerlitz, in particular, his efforts to know his history (McCulloh 2003, p. 130). Sebald's novel emphasizes themes of memory, identity, history, trauma, space, repression, and repetition in relation to the genocide of European Jewish peoples. Fictionalizing such an unspeakable subject means that in the character Austerlitz we see the "insidious, if oblique, infliction of harm achieved by the actions of the Nazis" (p. 110) which resulted in the repression of his memories regarding his family history, his nation's history, and therefore his identity. Such themes also emerged from the personal narratives of intergenerational survivors of Indian residential schools, of their school experiences, thereby opening up the possibilities for carrying the memories of a traumatic past to future generations.

Some might be troubled by comparisons of the Holocaust with the history of colonization of Indigenous peoples in Canada; however, I argue that Sebald's novel can be read as an account of the ongoing effects of the increasing intrusion of the state into the lives of individuals, similar to intrusions experienced by Indigenous peoples here. Sebald's novel is inspirational because of his particular theoretical framing and given that there is an absence of similar analyses and approaches embedding these knowledge/power dynamics in the literature on Indigenous experiences of state sanctioned oppression.

Similar to Sebald's other works of fiction, *Austerlitz* has photographs scattered through-out the text. Although photographs can function to reenforce narrative, Sebald's photographs are not accompanied by captions. J.J. Long (2007) argued that the themes in Sebald's novels are linked to colonial power and his use of photographs typically displays these dynamics in relation to an archive: zoos, libraries, and other collections. Long notes their function in depicting the state's power over knowledge, land, animals, and Indigenous peoples. The effects of such power dynamics have material effects intergenerationally for Indigenous peoples in Canada. Such dynamics and ongoing effects are the focus of this inquiry that extends on my doctoral studies research completed in 2016 and my subsequent analysis of both Canada and the province of British Columbia's representations of the history of Indian residential schools and Indigenous peoples in Canada, in curriculum and in policy.

Theoretical Framing

Historical ontology frames this inquiry broadly, as "how our (educational) practices of naming interact with" those "we name" (Hacking 2002, p. 2) and how the practices of naming and being named arise in social, political, and historical conditions.

In using historical ontology (Hacking 2002) to theorize Indigenous memories across time and space, the focus is on the naming practices of policy and the experiences of being named as Aboriginal students, in particular instances where policy practices of constituting identities along the “axes of knowledge, power and ethics” (Hacking 2002, p. 2) are taken up or rejected by the youth. With historical ontology self-identity involves the “truth through which we constitute ourselves as objects of knowledge, the power through which we constitute ourselves as subjects acting on others and the ethics through which we constitute ourselves as moral agents” (p. 2). With “historical ontology” the “ways in which the possibilities for choice, and for being, arise in history” (p. 23) are the focus of investigation. When studies are “intended to show something about our present reality, our present reasoning, our present modes of research. They may . . . be called histories of the present” (p. 66).

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) argues that revisiting history requires an understanding that history as a field of thought was framed according to European interpretations. Hence, the history of Indigenous peoples is negated as a colonial practice that justifies post hoc, the imposition of foreign education systems. The Canadian Indian residential school system is a case in point. Smith (1999) calls for theory and research with which we can “engage, understand and then act upon history” (p. 34). As one strategy, Smith reminds us “(t)he need to tell our stories remains the powerful imperative of a powerful form of resistance” (p. 35). Accordingly, this chapter offers a history of some of the present views that Canada and British Columbia hold on Indigenous peoples’ identities, their histories and educational needs, and therefore futures as Indigenous peoples. These critical insights were made possible by gaining an understanding of the effects of traumatic history on an individual’s identity and their own understanding of their place within history, through the fictional experiences of Austerlitz and through the narration of W.G. Sebald and my subsequent analysis of the use of photography within the colonial policy context.

Colonial Canadian Policy

Imposing by legislation particular ways of being for Indigenous peoples is a historical, Canadian, colonial, “educational,” policy practice (Miller 1997). Notably, education policy eras for Indians/Aboriginal peoples in Canada are often referred to by their one-word descriptors: *civilization*, *assimilation*, in the past (Milloy 1999), and today the policy is *reconciliation*. This current policy era purports to bring Indigenous peoples and other Canadians closer together; however, I argue that this naming is in itself a colonial practice designed to disguise the confining features of colonization. For example, during the historical assimilation era, Indian residential schools were supposed to provide education and training for Indigenous peoples to join Canadian social and economic life; however, they ultimately operated as institutions of confinement. Accordingly, policy terms must be interrogated for the presence of such colonial, rhetorical features and is a goal of this chapter.

In writing this account of what Hacking (2002) refers to as “a history of the present” (p. 66), with respect to Aboriginal education policy in BC, in this era of

reconciliation, my inquiry highlights the roles of memory, “postmemory” (Hirsch 1999), and forgetting in Aboriginal youths’ narratives of the effects of colonization and historical Indian and contemporary Aboriginal education policies on their identities. Specifically, I highlight colonial traces in memories of experiences of educational policy and practice and its potential impact on young people attending higher education in BC. These are contrasted with an analysis of the photographic representations of youth in Aboriginal Education Enhancement Agreement policy and representations of Indian residential school history in curricula.

Colonialism and Photographs of Aboriginal Children

Understanding the role of photography in colonial policy practices highlights their continuing use in Canadian policy texts when Aboriginal children are the focus and especially when the history of Indian residential schools has been a topic of national conversation. In my own study of Aboriginal education policies in contemporary British Columbia, known as Aboriginal Education Enhancement Agreements (AEEA), I noted a particular pattern with the function of photographs as they relate to Aboriginal student identity. This aspect of my inquiry relates to how public-school policies construct Aboriginal students and their identities, histories, communities, and futures.

In my analysis, many of the photographs of students in AEEA policies School District #75 (2007), policies that advocate for the teaching of history, show them wearing traditional regalia, making arts and crafts or beside art pieces that readers would likely infer were made by the students themselves or their relatives. These truthful-seeming images support the construction of Aboriginal students as inhabiting a static space. The AEEA policy images position Aboriginal students in a silent, static, anachronistic space outside of time, history, culture, and traditions and therefore as powerless to constitute themselves as knowledgeable, moral agents.

This type of photographic analysis is based on Anne McClintock’s (1995) study of colonial photography and is instructive for revisiting historical imperialist notions of time and space. She argues that the use of photography as a colonial technology is related to the imperialist desire to “consume global history at a glance” within a single image conceptualized as “pan-optical time” (p. 36). Colonial photography is the material practice of the “colonial gaze” that displays and disciplines the so-called uncivilized. According to McClintock (1995), the notion of visualizing a culture is “synonymous for understanding it” (p. 122). Such a “point of view – the panoptical stance – is enjoyed by those in privileged positions in the social structure, to whom the world appears as a spectacle, stage, performance” (p. 122). Photography holds the “panoptic” power of collection, display, and discipline, a “technology of surveillance within the context of a developing global economy” (p. 123). McClintock linked the need for “ordering and assembling the myriad world economies into a single commodity culture,” with “the need for a universal currency of exchange, through which the world’s economic cultures could be subordinated and made docile” (p. 123).

In European colonies, Indigenous peoples were captured in photographs that framed them as further back along a linear progression of cultural development. In

this process, Indigenous peoples became objects of the “colonial gaze” where they are seen but are considered to not have the capacity to see. A case in point is the photographic project of Edward Curtis in the early part of the twentieth century, wherein he intended to preserve the so-called primitive cultures of North America by photographing and therefore displaying the historical “truth” of them. I argue that colonial spatial concepts identified by Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) of “the line” for establishing boundaries, the concept of “the centre as an orientation to power” and the concept of “the outside” as an “oppositional (and distant) relation to the colonial centre,” (p. 53) frame and define such photographs and therefore communicate a colonial and even fictitious construction of Indigenous peoples as “primitive.”

In colonial times (mid-1880s onwards), the desire for consuming history at a glance was fulfilled when this conception of history was “collected, assembled and mapped onto a global science of the surface” with the aid of social Darwinism. Anne McClintock (1995) argues that spatial difference is often presented as analogous to cultural development when it comes to Indigenous peoples and that this conception makes its appearance in colonial photography. Separation and distance means that cultures are viewed as measurable and therefore subject to control. When Indigenous cultures are viewed through a spatial lens and then represented back to the West, a process of “colonizing space” is engaged (Smith 1999, p. 51).

As an Indigenous educator working in Aboriginal education I am always cognizant that representations of Indigenous peoples in curriculum, resources, policy, and even in the informal views expressed by educators might be based on unfair, dehumanizing assumptions. Further, as Indigenous peoples had an integral role in creating AEEA policy in BC School District #61 (2005), they are not exempt from perhaps perpetuating unfair characterizations. It might even be the case that with AEEA policies that it was mostly white school district representatives who exercised power relations in reproducing anachronistic images and representations of Indigenous peoples. At the same time, I do not want to assume that Indigenous peoples, in collaboration with school district representatives, adopted a laissez-faire attitude in representing regressive subject positions for Aboriginal students.

One possible explanation is related to what Teresa Strong-Wilson (2013) has noted about photographs of childhood in relation to memoir and autobiography. She notes that they are not only nostalgic but are also inflected with trauma (p. 24). Along these lines I wish to argue that photographs of Indigenous children in traditional regalia in AEEA policy School District #39 (2009) can function as a form of memory. With childhood autobiography, as Strong-Wilson argues, “trauma is often expressed as a longing for that which may not have existed in the first place, compensating for loss ‘by supplementing a memory invigorated through absence’” (p. 24). Further, there is an “idealization of the time prior to the trauma” (p. 24). Because accounts of trauma are traceable to childhood, the “body is the primary site for repressed memories in childhood autobiography” (p. 23). Along these lines, we can see an overcompensation in AEEA policy documents School District #43 (2007) that have a goal for teaching history, expressed by the preoccupation with photographs of children’s bodies adorned or perhaps protected by traditional regalia and with photographs that perhaps attempt to capture a time before colonization. Strong-Wilson (2013) argues that

childhood autobiography photographs are a challenge to “avert the misfortune lying ahead” (p. 24). In that sense, AEEA photographs may also refer to the violence that many Aboriginal peoples have experienced in their youth, in Indian residential schools, in public schools, and in the child welfare system in BC and Canada. When trauma inflects nostalgia, Strong-Wilson (2013) argues that “a longing for change remains trapped, thwarted by actual events. Within this space and time, the body-subject occupies a grey world, shared by living and dead” (p. 25). AEEA policy photographs challenge viewers – that is, educators – to avert the violence that might lie ahead. Or risk having hopes continuously thwarted with more trauma.

During her time at the Shubenacadie Indian Residential School, Isabelle Knockwood (2001) has memories of being the subject of photographs:

I remember how we used to have to change our prison-style, broad striped blouses for dresses on the day of the photograph. Then we lined up in rows according to height with Wikew (a nun) yelling, “Smile, smile,” as the photographer snapped the picture. As students we all knew that a special show was put on whenever the school came into contact with the outside world. The monthly letters home were written in class and anyone who wrote anything critical about the school was punished and made to re-write the letter leaving out the complaints. (p. 143)

Knockwood’s use of the phrase “outside world” alludes to Indigenous confinement, while their punishments for their attempts to share their traumatic experiences with their families reveal the high level of surveillance and discipline they were subjected to. Their families are also on the “outside” revealing their distance from the Euro-cultural “center” represented by the school. Knockwood’s understanding that there is an “outside world” reveals that her experience is less about *assimilation* with other Canadians and more of one of isolation.

Imagined Identities and Haunting Histories

The title of Isabelle Knockwood’s book, *Out of the Depths*, refers to a nun’s prayer after a door in the Indian residential school building mysteriously opened. The prayer, “out of the depths I have cried unto thee O Lord. Lord hear my voice” (2001, p. 101), is in a chapter entitled “Ghosts and Hauntings” and recounts the children’s experiences with unexplainable occurrences, connected to, in their minds, those who had died at the school. Knockwood explained the choice for the title of her book: “strangely enough, some of the students who were most seriously abused have been able to transform their lives and bring themselves, ‘out of the depths’” (p. 158). The depths of misery that Mi’kmaq students experienced inside the Indian residential school building included such punishment as solitary confinement in a dark closet under the dining room stairs with a diet of only bread and water. Knockwood said this was the only room that was left standing after the Indian residential school mysteriously burned down. Few of these buildings exist today; many were ceremoniously destroyed and some Indigenous groups now use them for social and cultural purposes.

Of the six college-age youth I interviewed for this study, only one, Shama (a pseudonym), made a direct comparison of Indian residential school history to the Holocaust. It was a recollection of an exchange between her parents. Her father was Indigenous (now deceased) and her mother is non-Indigenous (from the United Kingdom).

- Lyn: Did you ever talk about what it was like in the residential school?
- Shama: Yeah, he did. I just remember him saying, like, you know, there's a reason I left. And I don't know whether he meant like circumstance or whether something worse happened, I don't know. But the idea of . . . he said that a lot of . . . it was terrible things. Like he would . . . I remember he said that one of his friends was killed. And I remember my mom like not being able to fathom the whole idea. She knew what a residential school was for the most part but only from what my dad had explained. So, moving here and like seeing those old buildings used as community centres and things like that . . . on these properties and . . .
- Lyn: Oh yeah, which?
- Shama: I'm trying to think. I think it's in Wells (Wells Gray National Park in the BC interior). The residential school there is still standing. And being used as a community centre now and . . . different things like that. And my mom being like, oh why wouldn't they shut them down? My dad's like, well they didn't tear down the camps, did they? I just . . . the look on her face. She was mortified because my dad related them to concentration camps. And then she was even more disgusted when she found out those actually existed in BC too. So, it's just the . . . like, to some degree at least, like the internment camps and stuff. (Personal communication, July 5, 2011).

For another participant, Hudson, his first encounter with the actual Indian residential school buildings proved to be overwhelming. He related his experience researching Indian residential schools for a college course and the difficulty with beginning the writing on the topic. He was reminded of the time he was unknowingly inside a residential school facility when he was enrolled in a course related to his work in the fishing industry:

- Hudson: It made me think of everything. And then it also reminded me of how I felt when I was in the Mission school. I despised that place. Could not stand it and I'd ask people, "Why does this building feel this way?" And one of the people there said, "This was a residential school." And it was one of the workers there and she said, "You could feel it?" I said, "Oh it's disgusting. I hate being in here."
- Lyn: Yeah. Can you identify what it was that made you feel that way?
- Hudson: I just felt sad. Just heavy. Heavy emotions all day. Every time I was in there, to the point where I left . . . and hit the road. I just felt angry. I felt sad. I was scared. It's the only way I can describe it. And then . . . we leave to go to the hotel. Just did not want to be in there.

These memories, of Hudson and Shama, Aboriginal youth, I argue can be viewed as instances where accounts of trauma and oppression are inscribed into the life story of second-generation survivors of historical trauma as postmemories (Hirsch 1999). In Holocaust studies, the term “postmemory” describes the notion that second-generation survivors of the Holocaust identify so strongly with the previous generation’s experience of genocide and dehumanization that they begin to constitute memories in their own right (Hirsch 1999).

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) identifies “remembering” as an important Indigenous research project in the context of decolonizing wherein being means being self-determining and taking back control of destinies. Such a project relates to

the remembering of a painful past and, importantly, people’s responses to that pain. While collectively indigenous communities can talk through the history of painful events, there are frequent silences and intervals in the stories about what happened after the event. Often there is no collective remembering, as communities were systematically ripped apart, children were removed for adoption, extended families separated across different reserves and national boundaries. (p. 146)

Along similar lines, Kearney (2004) highlighted Ricoeur’s argument that when narratives function as “rememoration” they

Embody an ethical character quite distinct from the triumphalist commemoration of history’s great and powerful. Where the latter tends to legitimate ideologies of conquest, the former moves in the opposite direction, namely, toward a felt reliving of past suffering as if we (readers/listeners/spectators) had actually been there. (p. 102)

In this chapter, framing memories of Aboriginal college students is meant to represent counter-hegemonic narratives of history; thus, they inherit an ethical character “in the service of rememoration” (p. 106). In this view, “(r)ecounting is a way of becoming . . . an ethical consciousness” (p. 106). Hudson summed up this important notion thusly,

- Lyn: Is that what your quote, “Remember the children”? Is that what that’s in reference to? (On his collage). Or what was that quote in reference to?
- Hudson: It’s there to reach out from now until back then. You have to remember their importance. Because they’re who we are in everything we do. It’s a big burden to forget them. Like if we stop thinking about residential school then those children suffered for nothing. I think it’s important to us to be able to cherish today and move on by constantly being reminded that we had terrible pasts. Atrocities. Countless atrocities. You know, I mean parents weren’t even told if their child was dead? (Personal communication, July 6, 2011).

Hudson’s reasoning for remembering the past reflects Ricoeur’s view on the testimonial role of narratives in terms of an ethical responsibility to the “debt we owe the dead” (Kearney 2004, p. 100) – in particular, he noted the defiant use of

Indigenous languages and efforts for keeping spirits intact. Hudson, a descendent of Indian residential school survivors, positions Indian residential school survivors as moral subjects constituting themselves with knowledge of their language to resist and defy colonial power. Countering silent history with remembrances of atrocities in Indian residential schools in public schools today decolonizes history and highlights the capacity for narratives to “brush history against the grain” as they put the “dominant power in question” (Kearney 2004, p. 110). Hudson’s call to “remember the children” is a catchphrase that decolonizes history by “reach[ing] out from now until back then” (personal communication, July 6, 2011) and brings it forward into the present as a way to honor “the debt we owe to the dead” (Kearney 2004, p. 100).

In this investigation, I asked the youth about educational practices that contributed to their Indigenous identities.

Lyn: Yes. That contributed to your identity as a Haida girl. Young woman.

Shama: I think frustration, actually, with a lot of the academics that we were doing. . .Because it makes me so mad every time. I think that made me want to teach it more and made me want to learn more. I talked to my grandma and she taught me so much and stuff. I think it’s what it is. Just frustration with things not being taught the way they should.

Shama was fortunate to have her grandmother to turn to, to learn her history. Regarding identity, Kearney (2004) drew on Ricoeur to argue: “One cannot remain constant over the passage of historical time. . .Unless one has some minimal remembrance of where one comes from, and how one came to be what one is. For Ricoeur then, identity is a form of memory” (p. 104). This perspective has relevance for Aboriginal youths’ understanding of how previous generations of Indigenous peoples experienced colonization and how such history might impact their own education and Indigenous identities. Viewing identity as a form of memory also has implications for Aboriginal education practices today, in particular when the youth have highlighted that this historical knowledge is absent from their education and lives in general. Hudson argued for actively remembering that Indian residential school students mounted active resistance to abusive practices:

Hudson: Yeah. You know, that they found a way to preserve themselves, spiritually among all the nightmares. They managed to hang on to themselves. Then pretend to conform. A lot of them saved their language by speaking it in their head.

Lyn: Right.

Hudson: While they’re in bed or prayer or whatever, they’re speaking English but in their mind, they were speaking the language, which was very important. It was so important, you know, it showed staying power, who they wanted to be. They didn’t lose themselves completely. But they still lost a lot of family values. I mean those were stripped.

Hudson: Parents weren't even allowed to visit. Which, I can only imagine, was extremely hard. (Personal communication, July 6, 2011).

Hudson's understanding of these practices of resistance for survivance illustrates his understanding of the same view that Kearney (2004) holds of the rapport that poetic narratives can have with ethics. In the next section, I discuss how this traumatic history is presented in the recently revised British Columbia (BC) provincial curriculum.

Indian Residential School History in Canada

In British Columbia, one of the newly revised curriculum standards related to the history of Indian residential schools is in the grade five Social Studies topic area of Canadian Issues and Governance. The history of Indian residential schools shows up as a "Sample topic" when you click on the "Content Standard" that indicates, "Past discriminatory government policies and actions, such as the Head Tax, the Komagata Maru incident, residential schools, and internments" (BC Ministry of Education 2018).

Another key feature of the revised curriculum are the suggested activities for students to achieve competencies while engaging in inquiry within each curricular area. An example of such a curricular competency is for students to: "Make ethical judgments about events, decisions, or actions that consider the conditions of a particular time and place, and assess appropriate ways to respond" (BC Ministry of Education 2018). Having studied the traumatic history of Indian residential schools, and given Hudson's call for repaying a debt to those who lost their lives in this genocidal project, I am relieved that the province of BC has provided an option for framing Indian residential school history within an ethical orientation. However, the list of past discriminatory practices is framed toward a multicultural orientation, presenting Indigenous peoples as though they are one of many cultures to be accommodated in Canada and omitting the aspects of the Canadian Constitution that pertain to Aboriginal rights and Aboriginal title to land. Specifically, curricula that is inclusive of the history of Indian residential schools and presented in contrast to the sections of the Canadian Constitution (1982) that acknowledge existing Aboriginal rights to land, resources, language and culture, self-determination, and self-government highlights the historically abusive nature of Canada's relationship to Aboriginal peoples. Beyond, and before, the Calls to Action of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), the rationale for teaching the history of Indigenous peoples in Canada, is to honor the *Canada Constitution Act* (1982) and is something all Canadians are compelled to do.

Hacking's (2002) conception of historical ontology as "history of the present" provides a theoretical frame for bringing in memories to understand the history of Indian residential school system as one of genocide; however, there were limitations in theorizing how to act as a moral agent with that knowledge. Kearney's (2004) frameworks on narratives and memory were productive for framing memories as

counter-hegemonic history. A significant insight that emerged from this study of memory, history, and policy is that policy can function as a form of collective memory, especially when you consider curriculum as a form of policy. Although policy is not as visible as the cultural institutions of memory that J.J. Long (2007) identified such as museums, archives, newspapers, photography, and historiography (p. 4), policy and curriculum do function as disciplinary technologies in a similar manner as the above-named institutions do.

Within modernity, J.J. Long (2007) argues that memory is no longer a matter of consciousness but now “resides in the material of our social and psychic life” (p. 4). Further, Long argues that modernity did not begin with photography but by abstracting and reconstructing the visual experience. With this type of reconstruction, photography and the archive are understood to be key colonial practices in disciplining viewers to see Indigenous peoples, cultures, and histories as inherently inferior and therefore dispensable. Long (2007) argues that the photograph and the archive function to display the relationship between power and knowledge. Hacking too found that Foucault (1969) defined the “archive” in terms of a “general system of the formation and transformation of statements.” Without the multiple views that a decolonizing perspective demands, it is easy to follow the well-worn paths of explanations of this history by simply characterizing it as “assimilation.” Taking the decolonizing perspective that I do reveals the rhetorical features of each of the Aboriginal education policy eras deemed to be *assimilation* in the past and *reconciliation*, in contemporary times. By listening to intergenerational memories of Indigenous peoples of Indian residential school history framed by historical ontology and fictional imagination, the possibilities for emerging from this traumatic history are opened. Accordingly, fiction and imagination can step in where memory fails in ensuring our collective identities as Indigenous peoples continue. In the next section, I draw on the scholarship of authors writing in genocide studies to show how their insights are aligned with the history of Indian residential schools.

Genocide Studies

Shoshana Felman (2001, 2009) has noted repetition as a feature of traumatic history. Felman (2009) used fiction, a novella by Tolstoy, to make the argument that when the law is blind to the trauma of a crime, then such traumas will be repeated (particularly through legal trials). Felman (2001) argues that such repetitions are a “legal outcome of traumatic narratives” (p. 29). Felman (2009) also argues that Hannah Arendt’s *Eichmann in Jerusalem* is “inhabited by Arendt’s mourned and unmourned ghosts” (p. 273), namely, friends that died at the hands of the Nazis. Felman concludes that Arendt did not understand the effects of trauma on the survivors of the Holocaust in her dismissal of dramatic testimonies at Eichmann’s trial. Further, Felman (2001, 2009) regards trauma as part of a historical narrative that will be repeated across time if we cannot confront it as sociocultural, that is, embodied in the sociocultural dimensions of indigenous memories of schooling experiences.

That the Canadian state built more than 100 Indian residential school buildings for the production of particular identities for Indigenous children emphasizes how identities are linked to buildings. Such insights were prompted by Sebald's (2001) novel *Austerlitz* where a history of trauma is linked indirectly to the policy stories that buildings tell (Yanow 1995). With respect to his extensive study of train station architecture, Austerlitz, the character confides to the narrator that, he "often found himself in the grip of dangerous and entirely incomprehensible currents of emotion in the Parisian railway stations, which he said, he regarded as places marked by both blissful happiness and profound misfortune" (p. 34). When Austerlitz learns the history of the Liverpool Street train station in London that was adjacent to the historic Bedlam insane asylum, he wonders if traces of the pain and suffering of past inhabitants are left in buildings. This passage alludes to the Nazi's sinister use of buildings, their mistreatment and extermination of the mentally ill and physically challenged, and their use of the European train system to transport victims to the concentration and death camps.

At the Shubenacadie Indian residential school, the students feared becoming sick. "For us the infirmary became the place from which children vanished forever. Sometimes we heard that they had died and sometimes we didn't. To us, it seemed that those sick children just evaporated" (Knockwood 2001, p. 110). Knockwood's collection of survivors' experiences at the Shubenacadie Indian Residential School in Nova Scotia was first published in 1992. The 2001 extended edition includes an additional preface about the author beginning university studies: "I would go down the corridors and I would think that I was going to see a nun or a priest because it reminded me so much of the residential school. I was more oppressed by just the building than I was by anyone there" (p. 166). Accordingly, the emotions evoked by these buildings and the recovered memories associated with them are important themes for Indian residential school survivors and, as documented in previous sections of this chapter, for their descendants as well.

The *Windspeaker* magazine reported on one community's difficulty in determining what to do with the Indian residential school building. The author related the challenge to the fact that 50 of the 60 suits filed by victims of sexual abuse at the school in question, against the federal government, were settled out of court. "Each of the settlements relates to the activities of William Peniston Starr, former director of the school. Starr... was convicted... of 10 counts of sexually assaulting male students when he was administrator... between November 1968 and June 1984" (Sutter and Hayes 1997). Further, "...many band members share the victims' anger that the school was demolished last summer and turned into a parking lot at the same time that most of settlements were being offered. This action demonstrated further confirmation that the government wanted the issue over with, with as little fuss and bother as possible." And, "(n)obody has heard our stories or knows the hardships we endured," said a victim. "I would have showed them exactly what happened and where it happened in the school. But now the school is gone" (Sutter 1997). These memories are indicative of the confining choices that Indigenous communities are left with in deciding what to do with the buildings. It shows the "rival claims of memory and

forgetting” that was recognized by Ricoeur’s discussion of narratives in relation to ethics (Kearney 2004, p. 99) and raises the question, is it possible to forget?

Postmemory and Critical Pedagogy

With the notion of postmemory there is a witness, usually descendants of survivors, to a witness of the Holocaust. Hirsch (1999) argues that acts of remembrance can generate a projection and identification with the memories of the survivors of trauma. Photographs are the media that can connect the generations. Postmemory is the relationship of second-generation children of survivors with the memories of survivors, particularly when the “memories are so strong as to constitute memories in their own right” (p. 8). I position myself in the role of the postmemory witness to the lived experiences of the history of the Indian residential school system, at a personal level, poring over photographs while listening to memories of family members, and at a decolonizing level, relistening to the stories of Indian residential schools. Accordingly, postmemory offers a model of ethical relation to the oppressed or persecuted other and advocates “distance” in order to resist appropriation (Hirsch 1999, p. 9).

Knockwood (2001) positions her own publication as an act of remembrance with the statement that the descendants of those who attended the school “are usually the ones who want to talk to me about it since the book enabled them to understand much of what previously troubled them about their parents and grandparents” (p. 13). Hence Knockwood’s collection of memories can be read as a form of “productive remembering” (Strong-Wilson et al. 2013, p. 2) since it has meaning for future generations. They are particularly important for informing my own understanding of this traumatic history. Accordingly, postmemories are not mediated by recollection but by imagination and creativity (Long 2007, p. 59). The implications for critical pedagogy are recognized by Long (2007) when he argues that sufficient material narrative resources are prerequisites for the imaginative and creative investment required for postmemory (p. 60).

According to McCulloh (2003), Sebald’s purpose is to ask, “How can one find a compelling way to speak about what is in all its horror and complexity, unspeakable?” (p. 130). Similar to Sebald, Knockwood’s (2001) history of Mi’kmaw children in an Indian residential school, as well as other personal narratives, is in consideration of how these memories of a traumatic past might be conveyed to a wider audience. In both approaches, fiction and personal narratives, a history of trauma proves haunting through expressions of its ongoing effects.

In the scene in the novel when Austerlitz is reunited with his former nanny, as part of his research on his family’s history, she shows him photographs of his parents and himself as a child. This scene illustrates Hirsch’s (1999) notion of postmemory, wherein second-generation survivors of the Holocaust attempt to resolve the previous generations’ traumatic history. The nanny, Vera, asks, “What do we know of ourselves? How do we remember? And, what is it we find in the end?” (Sebald 2001, p. 204). These questions are particularly significant for intergenerational survivors of

the Indian residential schools, like myself, and the ways in which we might make sense of the traumatic history gathered by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2009). The TRC's plans for the collection of this history, in terms of the testimony of survivors, include a national archive to be housed at the University of Manitoba. Similarly, the newly revised British Columbia curriculum, by including this history, is currently being lauded as responding to the TRC's Calls to Action. These moves might be seen as a reappropriation of the history of Indigenous peoples in Canada, thereby placing it in the hands of state-controlled institutions; however, both Sebald and Long might see these moves as renewed attempts to institutionalize Indigenous peoples as modern subjects wherein our histories are not part of our own consciousness but only "resides in the material of our social and psychic life" (p. 4).

In this chapter, my aim, by drawing attention to the "conditions of formation" of the colonial conceptions of Aboriginal/Indian education, as a way to "determine its logical relations and moral connotations" (Hacking 2002, p. 67), was to fulfill my own commitment to "remember the children" by "reaching out from now until back then" (Hudson, Personal Interview, August 18, 2011).

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In the End “The Hope of Decolonization”

7

Moana Jackson

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Abstract

For hundreds of years, the peoples from Europe who have raped and pillaged their way through Indigenous nations have perfected not just the instruments and practices of dispossession but also a whole archive of doctrines and rewritten histories that purport to justify what they have done. They are in fact what may be termed “mythtakes,” deliberately concocted falsehoods to justify a process that is actually unjustifiable. Indigenous Peoples still live with the fact and practice of those mythtakes. To decolonize is to recognize that colonization is a deceptive lie as much as a crushing oppression. However, in the end, decolonization simply means having faith that we can still be brave enough to change an imposed reality. In that quest, there is always hope in knowing that whenever our tīpuna fought or necessarily adapted to survive in the darkest days of oppression, the resistance was never futile and the adaptation was never acquiescence. A first step in rekindling that hope is perhaps to be clear about what colonization was, and is.

Keywords

Decolonization · Colonization · Indigenous law · Law

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To decolonize is to recognize that colonization is a deceptive lie as much as a crushing oppression. For hundreds of years the peoples from Europe who have raped and pillaged their way through indigenous nations have perfected not just the instruments and practices of dispossession, but also a whole archive of doctrines and rewritten histories that purport to justify what they have done. Sometimes those rationalizations have been debunked or categorized as myths, but they are something far more compulsive and sinister. They are in fact what may be termed “mythtakes,” deliberately concocted falsehoods to justify a process that is actually unjustifiable.

Indigenous Peoples still live with the fact and practice of those mythtakes. They have led to what seem like unchallengeable realities of power and expectation, and it always takes a certain courage to contemplate and break free from them. That is certainly the case in Aotearoa, but our people have always been daring even though the colonizers continually try to convince us it is unrealistic (and certainly illegal in their law) to advocate meaningful transformation. However, in the end decolonization simply means having faith that we can still be brave enough to change an imposed reality. In that quest there is always hope in knowing that whenever our tīpuna fought or necessarily adapted to survive in the darkest days of oppression, the resistance was never futile and the adaptation was never acquiescence. A first step in rekindling that hope is perhaps to be clear about what colonization was, and is.

Knowing Colonization

There is an old and often-quoted adage that “the namer of names is the father of all things.” Apart from its gendered inappropriateness the adage has a basic truth because whoever assumes the right to name or define something controls its meaning and how others comprehend it. Ever since the colonizers first rampaged through an indigenous land, they have invented confusing definitions of what colonization is. Some have been misleading plays on words which abstract the suffering of its dreadful violence into an almost meaningless ahistoricism or else they have been wrapped in jargon that too often reads like excuses hiding in a thesaurus. Most often the definition is just a rationalization for what they have done (and continue to do), a misremembering of fact or a set of presumptions which position it as a past event rather than a still ongoing process.

Yet colonization was and is a very simple process of brutal dispossession in which States from Europe assumed the right to take over the lands, lives, and power of Indigenous Peoples who had done them no harm. In most indigenous lives it is neither just a past or a memory but a present which links the shock and awe of contemporary international relations to the musings of long dead European philosophers contemplating how to describe human difference and then how to destroy or control those they saw as inferior because they were different.

Decolonization is the process of breaking free from that dispossession and all of the ideas and practices which shaped and were derived from it. It is to interrogate and dismantle all that it has meant and still means to the way we think and live our lives. To Māori in Aotearoa it means knowing a history which did not begin with the

arrival of the first strangers in our land but centuries before in the monasteries, court houses, corporations, and inns in Europe where "ordinary" Europeans came to believe they could and should rule the world.

Indeed when Queen Victoria was crowned in 1838, Britain was merely the latest European country involved in a worldwide surge in colonization. At that time South America was a mess of conflicting interests among different European States while in the north the governments of Canada and the United States were carrying on the suppression of Indigenous Peoples that their English, Spanish, Swedish, Danish, and French forbears had begun. India was seen as the jewel in the colonizing Crown, while China was the unbounded mart for commerce which 2 years after the coronation led Victoria's troops to invade Canton to ensure that Britain could control the opium trade. Other parts of Asia were being fought over as well and many European States were beginning to carve up Africa among themselves like some gigantic birthday cake.

Like every other colonizer the British believed that they were entitled and blessed to rule over those they regarded as racially inferior. If some States such as Sweden and Denmark were no longer active colonizers in the mid-nineteenth century, others continued to dispossess with enthusiasm or diffidence depending upon the costs involved. Indigenous Peoples were being "discovered" in more places than ever before and Europe was hell-bent on dispossessing and destroying them in the first global war of terror.

Colonization permeated every aspect of European and Euro-American society. It provided the vicarious thrill of a marketplace serving up everything from spices and cotton to wool and gold, and it gave them access to everything from the profits of bodies for sale to the raw materials which made their industrial revolution possible. The men pickling indigenous body parts in Edinburgh and the women sipping coffee in Paris may have seen themselves as just scientists or consumers, but their acts were each based upon the same dispossession carried out for the glory of their god and the honor of their sovereign. Colonization was the cleansed-by-distance exotica that titillated their senses and lined their pockets, and they still live on those profits today.

To the millions who left Europe to dispossess Indigenous Peoples colonization was their chance of a lifetime. Many of them may have departed with few belongings and a fear of the unknown but they had learned they were part of a legitimate and civilized endeavor where success and excitement could be theirs for the taking. Among the hordes that left were the usual speculators, bigots, abusers, utopians, and zealots who had been camp followers in the centuries of Europe's internal violence. There were also women oppressed by patriarchy, churchgoers persecuted for their beliefs, peasants who had been removed from their land, slum dwellers crushed by poverty, and others like the Irish who had long been savaged by their neighbors. Colonization for them was an escape. However, in seeking their freedom they also presumed a right to dispossess and thus ended up wielding the same kind of unjust power over Indigenous Peoples that they had once chafed under themselves.

When the Pacific was colonized its diverse islands became early ports of call for Europe's most violent, excitable, and puritanical. Whalers and sealers followed the explorer-colonizers such as James Cook and hunted around for all sorts of prey.

Criminals found the islands a handy bolt-hole to escape the hangman's noose, and speculators liked the combination of tropical weather and easy markets among apparently easy-going and easy to manipulate people. As usual missionaries were particularly keen to take this new earthly paradise and descended with a milliners' wrath demanding that the inhabitants' sinful nakedness be clothed even as many of their own parishioners thought they had swooned into a pornucopia where their wishful thinking might come true. They all tended to paint the people in the racist hues of alarm and desire and classified them in a neat little Pacific chain of being that ranked Pacific peoples in various categories of savagery, with all of them naturally lower than their European superiors. What had already been tried in the Americas and Asia and Africa was easily adapted here. Genocide, and the lies that tried to obscure it, was remarkably transportable.

When it finally descended upon our people, it was underpinned by the same histories that had been lived and mythtakenly justified in all the centuries since Christopher Columbus stumbled into the Caribbean. There are many parts to what may be described as the culture of colonization, but there are three main facts which in a very real sense became the base of the colonizers' power and institutions. They began the process of White privilege and set in place a new race-based reality which privileged their lives over ours.

The Privileging of the Colonizers' Lives

Violence is the systemic reality of colonization. Taking anything without cause is always an act of violence, but doing so with the intention of culturally perpetuating and legitimating the taking is a systemic violence that feeds into everything else the takers wish to do. It can therefore manifest itself in both the obvious violence of war and rape and abuse and the less obvious but equally horrific violence of taking away a people's law or language or faith.

In post-1492 colonization the dualism that divided people into superior and inferior races also divided the world between the privileged who were entitled to live and those whose lives were expendable. Through a vicious circular argument, the colonizers learned that because Indigenous Peoples were less worthy of living their dying was less worthy of lamenting. In the same way that they learned that their will to dispossess was reasonable and legal, they also learned a perverse reality where killing the innocents could be normalized if occasionally regretted. Indeed indigenous death and suffering could be ordered in the dispassionate language of a legal decree or the sterile words of a statute which often gave them a hypocritical moral acceptability which then allowed the colonizers to characterize any retaliatory resistance by Indigenous Peoples as immoral, illegal, and an act of savage rebellion.

The actual instruments of death that the colonizers used are all too familiar. Indigenous Peoples have been speared, shot, bombed, starved, hanged, mutilated, disemboweled, thrown over the sides of ships at sea, burned alive, fed literally to the ravening dogs, and of course scalped for bounty (a practice which the colonizers still mythtakenly blame the victims for). The first bodies dispatched by Columbus

established a pattern that was followed with little variation from the ritual gutting of pregnant Mapuche women to the sport of "hooking" young children (catching them on lances and throwing their bodies into walls) and the much later hunting of Tasmanian Aboriginals as game and the targeting of children in massacres and institutions in Aotearoa. Introduced diseases took its toll too of course as did the emotional and spiritual suffering that dispossession necessarily imposed. Indigenous death and trauma was as varied as it was terrible.

Colonization also forced many Indigenous Peoples into a despairing living death, especially when for example colonizers raped indigenous women and children. Such assaults were not rare exceptions but a specific part of the systemic violence of colonization in which the belief that indigenous lands were wasted and "virginal" and therefore "rapeable" was transmuted into a similar presumption that Native bodies were similarly rapeable and able to be wasted and taken. In fact rape and abuse were almost as common as "just wars" and unjust murders except for one important difference: those who were raped were subjected to a lifetime of slow dying, of being shadows slipping into a fear-filled despair because their hurt was also the hurt of those they loved and who loved them. The colonizers still tend to deny that terror or claim it is an exception, but it is recorded in indigenous laments as a recurring reality that is too frequent to be a mere aberration.

The numbers and kinds of dying are reflections of colonization's inhumanity. The concern that was occasionally shown by some individual colonizers did not alter the fact that the millions of people who perished were too often regarded with the same uncaring defiance found in the words of the Bhagavad-Gita "I am become death, the destroyer of worlds" (Swarupananda 1909). In any sense of the word, colonization is a genocide, and as many Jewish people define Hitler's extermination policies as the "Shoah" or great calamity, so surely it was a holocaust.

The Privileging of the Colonizers' Power

Power is the definitive hunger of colonization. The European will to dispossess harnessed power to achieve its ends whether it was the power that came out of the barrel of a gun or the apparent reason of law or the injunctions of a god. Colonization has always been a culturally scripted power game and by its very nature it is a privileging of one form of political power over another.

To achieve that goal the colonizers invented numerous mythtapes to "sell" the imposition of their authority as a response to disorder or a regime change for the better – they were "gifting" something to Indigenous Peoples which they assumed they never had before. Yet every culture formulates a way to power because they realize that social harmony is best maintained if there is some means of ensuring community adherence to shared norms and values. Societies do not function well in a power vacuum and so they all develop a culturally distinctive concept of power, an idea of what it is or should be, and a site of power which is the institution or place where it is actually exercised. Both grow from the stories in a land and both coalesce in constitutions that differ from culture to culture.

Our people had for centuries adapted and defined the concept of power called *mana* or more recently *tino rangatiratanga*. Like all concepts of power, it was an expression of independence, but because of our particular ideals of *whakapapa* and interrelationships, it was also about the interdependence between the different polities of Hapū and Iwi. It was the very Māori expression of the very human desire to be free and to make one's own decisions in one's land. It was a concept of self-determination with a history and associated practice that was handed down through the generations and defiantly protected if the need arose. And because it was an intergenerational responsibility, it was inalienable and could not be ceded or given away to anyone else.

The people of Europe also developed a culturally unique concept of power which they called sovereignty. It reflected their belief that human authority was derived from their Christian God and that it should be structured in a hierarchy similar to that which led upwards to his unquestioned power. Its meaning and extent was argued over throughout the centuries and was then defined within discourses where the same illogical flair that was used to create the inferior indigenous body was also applied to the construction of constitutional chains of being in which sovereignty became the superior and only valid means of understanding and exercising power.

It is therefore no coincidence that the most influential definitions of sovereignty as a somehow "universal" and "civilized" concept of power were devised at the same time that Europe was seeking to destroy the power of Indigenous Peoples. Sometimes its racism was openly expressed as in the view of the French courtier Jean Bodin who argued in 1569 that it marked a hierarchy of progress from societies of apolitical barbarism to those with a civilized constitutional order (Lindfors 2017), or that of Thomas Hobbes who suggested it only came about when nations advanced beyond the primitive "state of nature" (where Indigenous Peoples supposedly lived) to a state of reason (which only the colonizers had) (Williams 2017).

The racialized mythtake of sovereignty and its subsequent imposition on Indigenous Peoples has been the most compelling source of its multi-violence. In Aotearoa, as in other countries, its enforced exercise denied our people the simple human right to maintain our own power and so determine our own future through the political and constitutional institutions which we had always had. It was also necessarily an inherent privileging of the colonizers which ultimately cultivated a sense of powerlessness among our people in which real power and wisdom only seem to come from somewhere other than our own traditions and our own sense of "rightness." It colonized us by closing off our power and constantly trying to close down the hope that we might one day be free and constitutionally independent once again.

The Privileging of the Colonizers' Law

Law is the pretence to reason in colonization. Like the various concepts of power, it is also a unique cultural creation born of every society's recognition that to maintain harmony it is necessary to have agreed values and ideas which people will accept as

part of living within their particular social order. Just as societies abhor a power vacuum, so they have always accepted that they cannot live in a "law-less" condition.

Our people have been no different and we developed a rich and complex jurisprudence of law based on the whakapapa or relationships that existed between humans and everything else in the universe. The tikanga or law is based on a relational jurisprudence known as the whakamārama tōtika or the means of explaining rightness. It provided reaffirmation of mana and because of its whakapapa base it also meant that our people lived with the law rather than under it just as one lived with someone else in a relationship.

To the colonizers however, we either did not possess "real" law or had only the rudiments of some primitive "lore" governed by caprice and vengeance rather than reason. When they came to Aotearoa and other parts of the world to colonize, they therefore presumed that we were not only incapable of being "sovereign," we had no law to guarantee and protect that sovereignty. Their racist arrogance consequently allowed them to proclaim that if an Englishman (always a man) traveled to another white country, he would accept its jurisdiction, but if he traveled to a non-white country such as ours, then he would carry his law with him because primitive lore could not legitimately extend its writ over a civilized colonizer. In fact it needed to be replaced by the civilizing influences of the common law which would then become the "one law for all."

The denial of the Māori law was necessary for the creation of a new legal and political regime in this land. The establishment of the "New Zealand" nation-state in fact required the dismissal of the interwoven legal and political processes of Māori. The rejection of our law was essential to the constitutional subjugation which colonization seeks. However, to mask the dispossession inherent in this process, a new and culturally different symbiosis between politics and law had to be made in which the dispossession itself would be made "legal" in the colonizers' law. By a kind of legal magic the wrong of colonization would become the legitimate base of a new and lawful sovereign State.

This magic provided a veneer of reason in which doing things "in the name of the (ir) law" could countenance everything from the Trail of Tears in the United States to the forced confiscation of thousands of acres of land in Aotearoa. It made indigenous dispossession a matter of "domestic" jurisdiction, although it was based on numerous doctrines in what the colonizers soon took to calling "international law" or the law of their civilized nations. Each doctrine was based on racist assumptions and breath-taking gymnastics of illogicality, but they were, and still are, recognized by the colonizers as the jurisdictional rituals which gave legitimacy to whatever they wished to do. They are mythtakes that led to very real and tragic consequences for Indigenous Peoples.

The most famous or infamous is the so-called Doctrine of Discovery which assumed that if a Christian "discovered" a non-Christian indigenous land, the simple act of discovery allowed the land to be taken and occupied. Colonizers from Columbus to Cook waved flags and buried bottles and performed all sorts of theater to announce their "discovery" and with it their self-presumed legal right to the lands

and people. No doubt the people themselves were bemused by a strange White man waving a piece of colored rag at them and would only learn later that it signaled the start of a previously unknown violence. In Aotearoa Cook performed rituals of discovery in 1769 which were followed in 1840 by other proclamations issued by Governor Hobson even as he was gathering signatures on Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Theater always requires a suspension of disbelief of course, and the presumptions of the doctrine of discovery were quickly followed by another ritual denial of Māori independence and law with the implementation of the “doctrine of aboriginal title.” Under this doctrine the colonizers agreed to recognize preexisting aboriginal rights, subject to their overarching authority to define what they were as well as extinguish them if they felt it was necessary. The mind-numbing arrogance of the doctrine is that it is still regarded as a mark of the colonizers’ benevolence and honor, even though it subordinates any notion of rights as our people had always expressed them in our own land.

The colonizers’ law finalized the denial of legal capacity to Māori and other Indigenous Peoples unless that capacity was defined and controlled by the colonizers. It restricted relief or enumeration of indigenous status and rights to the very legal systems and philosophy which were oppressing them. In a very real way it turned once free and independent people into the legal subjects of others – it made them subject to a law and power which was never of this land.

The Difficulty and Hope of Decolonization

In Aotearoa we still live with the legacy of colonization’s power and law and violence. We also live with the mind-shifting insouciance of the mythtakers, and especially their belief that colonization here was somehow “better” than anywhere else because of the treaty and a purported honor of the Crown. But the Treaty has always been breached, and the idea of honor in the dishonor of taking someone’s lands, lives, and power is a contradiction in terms. No matter how colonization is achieved, it is always a violent genocidal dispossession. To assume, there is some sliding scale of honorable acceptability or a Hit Parade of comparative benevolence in which New Zealand is Number One is one of this country’s most misleading lies.

Yet it continues to underpin the power and wealth which Pākehā take for granted as well as the structures and values of the New Zealand State which is now simply characterized as the “reality.” Indeed to challenge those realities in any meaningful way, to decolonize their hold over our lives, often leads to allegations that we are being “unrealistic.” The result has been that many of our people, and many Indigenous Peoples in other colonized lands, find it hard to imagine any other reality. Many do not even see it as an ongoing oppression because it is all that they know – they may even in some cases be comfortable in their own oppression.

Indeed because of the ongoing exposure to colonized learning and the lack of any meaningful indigenous benchmarks in power and control against which to measure their experiences, many have come to accept for example that a foreign power is legitimate or a foreign law is the law because they do not know their own anymore.

They accept the idea of cultural performance in song and dance and ceremony as the sum total of what it means to be indigenous and lose sight of the fact that such things were once the expression of a proud and effective political independence. There is a sad but understandable "surviving in the now" about such views, but perhaps one of the saddest indicators of how colonization damages the self-perception of those it colonizes is when many Indigenous Peoples now seem to believe that what is happening is due to their own laziness or inadequacy. It is all their own fault. An even sadder one is when they then begin to say that "we are our own worst enemies." To make us believe that is surely the most violent, racist, and ominous power the colonizers have ever wielded.

Linda Smith (2012) has written about "the reach of imperialism into our heads," a reach that many Indigenous Peoples describe as the "colonisation of the mind." The slow overwhelming of what people should think and see as real has not been forced directly at the point of a gun, although that was often the catalyst which first instilled the fear of not conforming to what the colonizers wanted. Rather it has occurred surreptitiously, like a cloud that moves across the sun and takes your shadow without you knowing. And like the sun it has remained a constant reality in indigenous lives. But every reality, and every understanding of reality, is created by humans and can be deconstructed by humans as well. No reality is immutable or beyond change and the centuries of indigenous resistance have always brought change in what seemed unchangeable situations. That history is part of our reality.

And decolonization is not just about challenging and deconstructing the colonized "reality" but having faith once again in our own. To deal with the trauma and wrong that colonization inflicts while creating the hope for something better. There is a moral as well as a political, economic, and constitutional imperative to that reimagining because it is not just about reclaiming long-denied rights but seeking the Māori and indigenous notion of "rightness" in which a sense of relational justice may be restored.

Decolonization takes many forms because there is much to reclaim and every indigenous nation, and every indigenous person, will know best what that means for them. There is however one thing which perhaps we all have in common. We cannot entirely ease the pain of remembering those who suffered and have been killed or abused, and nor should we. But in the very memory of their sacrifice is a decolonizing reaffirmation of their worth, and of ours. To walk the sad trails, to tell the stories of hurt and survival, and to sing the old songs is in its own way to know ourselves. For Māori it is to know with pride as well as a righteous anger that even in the worst days when our people were dying from new diseases or trying to hold onto our dignity in the face of a virulent racism and military invasion, our songs became laments telling of the wrongs that were being done across the land, even against children. They were sad songs but sung in a poetics of fearful protectiveness: "Stay by me little one/there is an anger all around/more fierce than the wind." To reclaim that same fierce protectiveness of who we are is part of decolonizing ourselves.

In Aotearoa one of the most difficult decolonizing projects confronting Māori has always been to reclaim the power taken from us by the colonizers. Our people literally fought to hold on to that mana in the nineteenth century and have continued

ever since to debate among ourselves and with others how to achieve that. The starting point for that discourse has always been the 1835 He Whakaputanga (the Declaration of Independence) signed by a number of Hapū and Iwi as a definitive statement of our constitutional reality, and the Treaty of Waitangi signed to allow strangers into our land.

The most recent initiative has been a 5 year process of discussion among a wide cross section of Māori people following a Brief from a National hui to set up a Working Group “To develop and implement a model for an inclusive Constitution for Aotearoa based on tikanga. . . , He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Niu Tirenī of 1835, Te Tiriti o Waitangi of 1840, and other indigenous human rights instruments. . .” (Matike Mai Aotearoa 2015). The Terms of Reference did not ask the Working Group to consider how the Treaty might fit within the imposed colonizing constitutional system but rather to seek advice on a different type of constitutionalism that is *based* upon our own law and He Whakaputanga and Te Tiriti.

The Terms of Reference were themselves therefore a decolonizing statement of intent, and our people responded in over 252 hui and 70 discussion groups held with rangatahi. While there was some consideration given to possible constitutional models, most of the discussion centered on the values which would underpin a non-colonizing constitution, such as the well-being of Mother Earth. There was also a clear recognition that sovereignty was not a Māori concept of power and that our law is fundamental to any new constitutional order.

Our people also accepted that such constitutional transformation would not occur easily or quickly because power unjustly taken is never willingly forfeited. However, a goal was set of achieving substantive change by 2040, 200 years after the signing of the Treaty. Indeed in spite of all that has happened, there is still good will and a belief that the many obstacles to transformation can eventually be overcome and a new constitution established. Our people did not see that as some pious hope but as a legitimate treaty expectation and an essential decolonizing requirement. In the end, it is that willingness to imagine and work toward meaningful change which is our greatest hope for decolonization.

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Beyond the Guest Paradigm: Eurocentric Education and Aboriginal Peoples in NSW

8

Bob Morgan

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Abstract

In writing this chapter I hear the voices of brave warriors, male and female, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, old and young, individuals who stood against tyranny and oppression and who challenged all of us to dream and to never surrender to injustice. Some of the warriors have passed whilst others continue to dedicate their lives to the cause of justice and the rights and freedoms of Aboriginal peoples and other marginalized and voiceless groups across the globe. This chapter gives voice to their memory, their principled vision and leadership and the ideals for which they stood through examining the impact of

Silence is the mother of injustice and oppression in the world and tolerance and inaction is why it is allowed to persist.

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colonialism on Aboriginal people in New South Wales (NSW), Australia. The chapter defines core elements of the “Guest Paradigm” that characterises current Aboriginal education policies and programs and utilises principles of Aboriginal self-determination, cultural survival and affirmation to challenge the assimilation and culturally contaminating influences of Eurocentric education on Aboriginal cultural values and traditions and knowledge systems. The chapter concludes with a call to move beyond the guest paradigm by citing examples of scholarly enrichment for Aboriginal peoples, without the sacrifice of culture and traditions, by advocating a strategic disengagement for Aboriginal peoples with Eurocentric education and the development of a authentic model of Aboriginal education.

Keywords

Aboriginal Education · Guest Paradigm · Colonisation · Aboriginal Self-determination

Introduction

In this chapter I set out to examine the impact of colonialism on Aboriginal people in New South Wales (NSW), Australia. Aboriginal Australia is comprised of a multiplicity of cultures and languages, there is no single Aboriginal reality. However, every Aboriginal nation has suffered from the invasion of their lands and the destructive forces of colonialism. In NSW, the site where the first impact of invasion and colonialism was felt and perhaps where the brunt of its debilitating forces has been most profound, the modern struggle for social and restorative justice continues unabated and unresolved. From the earliest days of invasion Aboriginal people have been engaged in the struggle for social and restorative justice, including the right to participate in education. Based on their own longstanding educational traditions, Aboriginal people throughout the continent recognized the value of new knowledge and have taken an active interest in it from first contact until now. What makes the struggle for Aboriginal education equity and justice so perplexing and evasive is the fact that the political landscape upon which the struggle is contested is often defined and constructed by non-Aboriginal people thereby positioning Aboriginal views as reactionary rather than being proactive and emancipatory.

In writing the chapter, I seek to privilege Indigenous knowledge systems and a pedagogy that is informed by narratives and Aboriginal people’s connectedness to country and all living things. Narratives, in Aboriginal contexts, reflect what I refer to as the “tethered tangential logic” (Morgan 1993) of Indigenous knowledge creation, sharing, and dissemination. Tethered tangential logic, unlike what some refer to as tangential thinking, which is seen as problematic, acknowledges that at some levels thoughts may appear to “go off track,” but because they are “tethered” to an original thought, the writer or communicator eventually returns to the central theme or central message. I also wish to evoke the concept of *Dadirri*, what Miriam Rose Ungunmerr explains as the “. . .inner deep listening and quiet, still awareness.

Dadirri recognizes the deep spring that is inside us. We call on it and it calls on us. This is the gift that Australia is thirsting for. It is something like what you [non-Indigenous people] call contemplation” (Ungunmerr Bauman 2002).

Using narratives and this tethered tangential logic method, this chapter argues that Aboriginal education in Australia has been and remains a cleverly constructed and imposed ruse of assimilation and cultural genocide. Eurocentric education for the great majority of Aboriginal people still represents a convoluted and contaminated form of institutionalized injustice that is far removed from what Aboriginal people have historically demanded: an education system that provides culturally affirming learning opportunities and the formal recognition of Aboriginal sovereignty, as well as just restitution for the invasion of a nation and the dispossession of its people.

From the earliest days of colonization, Aboriginal people’s participation in Eurocentric education can be best described as an exercise in social engineering and a not-so-veiled form of cultural genocide. Little has changed in Aboriginal education over the years, with most experiences for Aboriginal students being one where they are treated as “guests” in a foreign, Eurocentric, and at times hostile learning environment. Assimilation and the forced separation of Aboriginal children from their families, communities, and country heralded in a process that is described here as the “Guest Paradigm.” I coined this phrase to capture my perception, over a lifetime of working in Aboriginal education, of the paradigmatic nature of the problems that I believe emerge when marginalized peoples are compelled to participate in systems, the nature of which they have had little involvement in determining. My use of this term is specific to the Australian Aboriginal context, but links to some extent with Derrida’s (2000) concept of a “host-guest paradigm” (pp. 151–155), portraying colonizers as uninvited guests who have taken over their original hosts’ property by force, thus assuming the power to relegate the original owners or inhabitants to the dependent status of “guests.” The Guest Paradigm in Aboriginal education policy and programming contexts is characterized by the following key elements, which are briefly summarized here as a basis for identifying what needs to be changed in order to establish a new paradigm.

Early Models of Aboriginal Education

Aboriginal people have always respected and valued knowledge and its critical role relative to the development of the skills and knowledge needed to deal with the challenges inherent in living and surviving in an ever-changing world. Since the beginning of the Dreaming, Aboriginal peoples in Australia, and other Indigenous peoples internationally, utilized an epistemological method that sought wisdom from a variety of sources to help define, give meaning to, and celebrate their world. Traditional Aboriginal epistemological systems both intuitively and explicitly recognized the interconnectedness of all things, and this symbiotic relationship helped to create a harmonious coexistence with all living things and the environment.

The traditional epistemological system that sustained Aboriginal nations in Australia for millennia was shattered with the arrival of the British in 1788, and the establishment of their penal colony accelerated a process of dispersal, discrimination, and contamination of Aboriginal culture and traditions. The early years of colonialism in Australia were fraught with brutality and massacre. The clash of cultures and customs burdened by language barriers, coupled with the thirst of the British for new lands, led inevitably to guerrilla warfare, the type that was waged by Aboriginal warriors such as Pemulwuy and others (Willmot 1987). Two decades after the arrival of the British and the appointment of the new Governor Lachlan Macquarie in 1801, deepening tensions and the escalation of violence between the British and the local Eora people increased the frustration levels of Governor Macquarie. This tension and a growing fear of Aboriginal people among the British undoubtedly played a decisive role in Macquarie's support for the establishment of the Native Institution at Blacktown in 1814.

The Native Institution was the brainchild of William Shelley and represents the first attempt by the British to systematically engineer the "civilization" of the "Aboriginal heathens." William Shelley was a missionary who arrived in the new colony after being forced out of Tonga by the local native people. Shelley had made numerous representations to Governor Macquarie, who was increasingly concerned about the failure of the British to pacify Aboriginal people in and around the new settlement.

Other attempts to "educate" and civilize individual Aboriginal people also met with abject failure, with most of those exposed to British education and attempts at civilization eventually rejecting the attempts of the British and reconnecting with their people to whom they were socially, culturally, and spiritually aligned. William Shelley thought that the answer lay in the removal of Aboriginal children from their families, to be educated into a supposedly superior way of life.

The Native Institution

The Native Institution is the earliest experience that Aboriginal people had with Eurocentric and assimilationist education; social engineering served as the fundamental and primary objective of the school. The social engineering imperative is reflected in correspondence between Shelley and Governor Macquarie. In 1814, Shelley wrote:

in order to effect their improvement and civilisation, let there be a public establishment containing one set of apartments for boys, and another separate set for girls; let them be taught reading, writing, religious education, the boys, manual labour, agriculture, mechanic arts, etc., the girls, sewing, knitting, spinning or such useful employment as suitable for them; let them be married at a suitable age, and settled with steady religious persons over them from the very beginning to see that they continued their employment, so as to be able to support their families, and who had skills sufficient to encourage and stimulate them by proper motives to exertion. (Bridges 1968)

The attempt to socially engineer Aboriginal people so that they would embrace the world of the British was an abject failure. Notwithstanding that some Aboriginal students, according to Commissioner J.T. Bigge (1822), were taught to read and write, the plan to civilize and assimilate Aboriginal students into the social and cultural norms of the British by separating them from their families proved futile.

Following the closure of the Native Institution in the late 1820s, various other attempts to “educate” and assimilate Aboriginal students followed, with early missionaries doing their best to convert the students to Christianity. The social engineering objectives espoused by Governor Macquarie and William Shelley, I would argue, have never really been abandoned by Australian education policy makers, and indeed their toxic influences are embedded in policies and programs that led to the development of pernicious government policies and programs of child removal such as those relating to the “Stolen Generations.” The most fundamental learning outcomes for the majority of Aboriginal students enrolled in Eurocentric education systems are failure and assimilation by subterfuge. It is clear from their own historical records that non-Aboriginal authorities have sought to capture the hearts and manipulate the minds of Aboriginal peoples from the earliest days of British colonization, and schooling has been one of their primary tools.

The provision of education services to Aboriginal students in NSW adopted many forms for the remainder of the nineteenth century, including the scattered and solitary enrolment of Aboriginal students in public schools and the emergence of separate Aboriginal schools. The late nineteenth century in NSW also heralded the adoption of the “Clean, Clad and Courteous” policy (Fletcher 1989). There are numerous accounts of Aboriginal students attending public schools in the colony, even though the number of students was relatively small. The “Clean, Clad and Courteous” policy, a colonial form of “dog-whistle politics,” dictated that Aboriginal students could attend public school but only if they met strict conditions of being hygienically healthy, appropriately dressed, and respectful. However, this somewhat benevolent policy did not mean that Aboriginal students, or their parents, could necessarily rejoice.

White parents of students who attended schools that also enrolled Aboriginal students frequently complained, leading to the adoption of the practice of excluding Aboriginal students on the basis of these complaints. Often the white parent’s complaints involved concerns both for the social well-being of white children and the fear that Aboriginal children would corrupt the morals of white children. The exclusion policy was one of the factors that resulted in the establishment of a number of Aboriginal schools that were scattered throughout NSW, including in the communities at Brewarrina, Foster, (Tobwabba), Cabbage Tree Island, Rolland Plains, Wallaga Lake, Cowra, and Grafton. The schools were poorly resourced and the “curriculum” was structured for the purposes of equipping Aboriginal students with the manual and domestic service skills needed to support white families and society, a form of involuntary and forced slavery. Appallingly, the power of school principals to exclude Aboriginal students upon receiving complaints from white parents was finally removed from the NSW Teachers Handbook only in 1972 (Parbury 1999).

Education as Cultural Contamination

One of the most deleterious impacts of the social engineering objectives of Eurocentric and assimilationist education is the contamination of Aboriginal cultural values and traditions, including the willful destruction of Aboriginal languages. Cultural contamination has led to the emergence of a slow but definite decline of what was once an indomitable Aboriginal spirit, and the sad and tragic emergence of black on black violence and brutality that tragically tears at the social and cultural fabric of contemporary Aboriginal society.

I have sat in meetings and around community circles and have heard the voices of the old ones lamenting the destructive changing of our times, while the voices of the young are filled with despair, frustration, and anger.

Aboriginal parents and carers often lack the confidence in their own knowledge and skills to engage effectively with schools to support their children's learning not because they do not value education, but rather because they were also failed by the education system, and consequently they feel disempowered to positively engage schools to support their children's learning. The young question their place in the overall scheme of events and yet at the same time their words speak, in many respects, of a yearning for a world that respects and values their culture and their identity. Notwithstanding the disillusioned and disaffected state of Aboriginal youth, there is a measure of hope in their voices and their eyes for justice and equality. Their very frustration and anger stems from the deprivation of this birthright. Any study of Aboriginal education must avoid a rush to a deficit model of analysis (Fforde et al. 2013). If deficiency does exist, it resides in the realm of systems and bureaucracies, for it is at this level where Aboriginal students are failed.

Aboriginal people seek to engage and participate in learning experiences that enriches them intellectually, but never at the loss of their cultural identity and the values and traditions that inform their identity. This is not a new phenomenon; it was and remains one of the core expectations in the pursuit of knowledge and the development of skills for Aboriginal people. The authors of the Aboriginal manifesto adopted in 1938 to protest the sesquicentennial of the coming of colonialism to Australia (26 January 1788) argued:

We do not wish to be regarded with sentimental sympathy, or to be preserved, like the koala bears, as exhibits; but we do ask for your real sympathy and understanding of our plight.

We do not wish to be studied as scientific or anthropological curiosities. All such efforts on your behalf are wasted. We have no desire to go back to the primitive conditions of the Stone Age. We ask you to teach our children to live in the Modern Age, as modern citizens. Our people are very good and quick learners. Why do you deliberately keep us backward? Is it merely to give yourself the pleasure of feeling superior? Give our children the same chances as your own, and they will do as well as your children!

We ask for equal education, equal opportunity, equal wages, equal rights to possess property, or to be our own masters – in two words: equal citizenship. . . . Give us the same chances as yourselves, and we will prove ourselves to be just as good, if not better, Australians, than you! Keep your charity! We only want justice. (Patten and Ferguson 1938; Homer 1974)

Aboriginal leaders of that era, as have others down through the years, have in fact consistently insisted upon equality without compromising cultural identity and values. The call by Aboriginal people for equal access to the full range of benefits and rights that are available to non-Aboriginal citizens seemingly as their birth right, did not then, nor does it now, means that Aboriginal people aspire to and want to be the same as non-Aboriginal peoples.

The principle that has characterized the struggle for social and political justice for Aboriginal peoples is sovereignty, defined for the purposes of this chapter as: *the social and political rights, freedoms, and resources to make decisions for sociopolitical change and development within the context of cultural survival and celebration.*

Failed Schooling and Aboriginal Incarceration

The Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody conducted between 1987 and 1991 is undoubtedly the most comprehensive study of the various sociopolitical aspects that accompanied colonization, and their impact on Aboriginal life in Australia. Poor levels of education were identified as an underlying factor in the examination of Aboriginal deaths in custody with Commissioner Elliot Johnston QC, in his introduction to Chap. 16 of Vol. 2 of the National Report in highlighting the connection between poor education experiences and incarceration levels of Aboriginal people observed:

The failure of schooling to provide a meaningful and useful experience for many Aboriginal people interacts with, and is a reflection of, their failure to achieve desired levels of participation in Australian society generally, and to command a level of services in respect of education, health and social justice which is commensurate with the rest of the Australian population. In many of the cases investigated, in hearings conducted into underlying issues, and in numerous submissions, this Commission has heard of the inextricable links between the formal education system, child welfare practices, juvenile justice, health and employment opportunity as factors contributing to the disproportionate representation of Aboriginal people in police and custodial facilities. (Patten and Ferguson 1938, Vol. 2)

The fundamentals of literacy and numeracy mastery are absent in the lives of many Aboriginal people, and the compulsory nature of school attendance coupled with irrelevant or meaningless curriculum content and poor teaching methods renders Aboriginal students powerless and unable to cope with the racism, social marginalization, and poverty that they often encounter.

The pages of Australian history are littered with irrefutable evidence graphically illustrating that the overwhelming number of Aboriginal peoples have been consistently failed by non-Aboriginal education systems. The failure of Australian education systems, particularly at the schooling level of education, to provide culturally appropriate and relevant education, alongside acts of genocide, massacres, racism, and other atrocities suffered by Aboriginal peoples, haunts the Australian psyche and will continue do so until the past is acknowledged and appropriate restitution is

made. The events of the past have shaped the present, and the current generation of non-Aboriginal Australians, while not directly responsible for the crimes of their ancestors, is nevertheless the beneficiaries of the policies and practices of their forebears, and they therefore have a moral responsibility if nothing else to remedy the impact and legacies of history.

The consistently poor quality of policies and provisions for Aboriginal education described above has produced predictably poor outcomes for Aboriginal students and their communities. Given the lack of Aboriginal people in education leadership positions, this evidences a failure of non-Aboriginal leadership in the Australian education system. Inspired and innovative educational leadership is critical to achieving positive learning outcomes in Aboriginal education. In a handful of well-documented success stories in Aboriginal education, it is clear that schools that are led by experienced and committed principals set the tone of the school and they inspire and motivate teachers. Innovative and inspirational principals usually assemble a team of senior teachers and administrators who know or who are trained to understand the cultural nuances of the community within which the school is based. At a national level, a striking example of Aboriginal educational leadership was the National Aboriginal Education Committee (NAEC), whose series of over 15 reports and policy documents from 1977 to 1989 laid the foundations for almost every successful initiative in Aboriginal education, from early childhood to tertiary level (Holt 2016).

Disengaged Curricula

Eurocentric education with its irrelevant and meaningless curricula fails to engage Aboriginal students, leading to low self-esteem and poor learning outcomes. The seminal work of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody observed:

For many Aboriginal children, school provides their first significant contact with white society unprotected by their own kin and a known set of social relations. In such circumstances, children can be extremely vulnerable; their sense of themselves as individuals, and as members of a social group, can be easily challenged and undermined. The cases investigated by the Royal Commission suggest that there are at least two possible outcomes to this situation: a sense of powerlessness and inferiority leading to an undermining of self-esteem; or resistance, opposition and alienation from the formal processes of schooling. (Australia, Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody 1991)

Absent from the education process for Aboriginal students is the principle of *Dadirri* referred to above. This practice of inner deep awareness is the basis for establishing connection with and readiness to incorporate new knowledge. This essential prerequisite for human learning is recognized to some extent in modern cognitive psychology's focus on the importance of past experiences and prior knowledge in making sense of new situations or present experiences, but the "empty vessels" model is still powerfully present in non-Aboriginal education

(Rodriguez 2012). A truly Aboriginal centered learning environment would incorporate Dadirri and other Aboriginal teaching and learning practices in developing a truly appropriate and authentically Aboriginal approach to curriculum and pedagogy (Two highly informative Aboriginal educators' accounts of such practices are: Yunkaporta (2009) and Marika-Munungiritj (1991)).

Teaching as Cultural Production

Government policy approaches to Aboriginal issues, including those relating to education, are often developed in the absence of direct Aboriginal advice and input. One of the consequences of this absence is the tendency for government policies to assume homogeneity of Aboriginal peoples and cultures: an artifact of ethnocentrism that flies in the face of Indigenous multicultural reality. To counter this, education systems must adopt a more local and culturally contextual approach to policy and programming development. In 2012, the NSW Government and its Department of Education announced, with great fanfare, the introduction of the Connected Communities Strategy. Sixty million dollars was allocated to support the program, and 15 schools in NSW with significant Aboriginal student enrolments were identified as participants in the program (NSW Department of Education and Communities 2012). The Centre for Education Statistics and Evaluation (CESE) released its interim report in February 2016 of the Connected Communities Strategy. Even though some progress has been reported in some of the 15 schools, the report clearly shows that very little of any great substance has changed in terms of improving education experiences and outcomes for Aboriginal students in the majority of schools (NSW Government, Centre for Education Statistics and Evaluation 2016).

According to the report, NAPLAN results in the Connected Communities schools remain poor; attendance of students, particularly at high school levels, was problematic; and school/community reference groups were ineffective (NSW Government, Centre for Education Statistics and Evaluation (2016), p. 61 ff. NAPLAN is Australia's controversial National Assessment Program – Literacy and Numeracy, a series of literacy and numeracy tests conducted annually across Australia for all students in Years 3, 5, 7 and 9, and used to create "league tables" of schools, <http://www.nap.edu.au/home>). The report points to marginal improvements at the primary level of schooling, but little meaningful traction at the secondary level. Research further shows that Aboriginal students tend to disengage from learning and reject their school experience around age 10, or after 5 years of schooling (NSW Aboriginal Education Consultative Group (AECG) and NSW Department of Education and Training (DET) 2004; Bodkin-Andrews et al. 2010). The literacy and numeracy foundations that are laid in early and primary school education are critical to student progression and achievement (As pointed out back in 1989 in the National Aboriginal Education Council's groundbreaking *National Policy Guidelines for Early Childhood Education*. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service). Mastery of these critical life enablers demonstrably shapes and influences the life journey

of Aboriginal peoples. Schools will continue to struggle to engage effectively with Aboriginal students and the community from which they are drawn, when engagement starts and stops at the front gate of the school, and also while ever Aboriginal students and their communities are viewed and treated as “guests” in an alien and culturally unresponsive learning environment. Shifting and moving beyond this Guest Paradigm must be one of the key objectives of any program, including the NSW Connected Communities program, if it is to generate successful outcomes (For a more successful example, see Malin and Maidment 2003). Governments, of all political persuasions, and their education systems must accept that they have not been able to close the education gap between Aboriginal students and their non-Aboriginal peers. Failure has been the defining characteristic of their attempts, and Aboriginal students and their families are entitled to and deserve better.

Teachers, while often well meaning and committed to the education of the students in their classrooms, are poorly trained by teacher education institutions to teach in Aboriginal contexts and therefore they often teach the curriculum rather than the student. Simply teaching to the curriculum allows teachers to become detached from the lives of their students, particularly Aboriginal students who place so much emphasis on body language and nonverbal communication begin to believe that the teacher is not interested in or concerned about the lives of the students (Sarra 2011). The introduction of high-stakes mass testing compounds this situation, as the financial and reputational risks to schools promote teaching to the test, even above teaching the curriculum, let alone the students (Ford 2013). Most non-Aboriginal teachers who are assigned to schools with significant or large Aboriginal student enrolments are ill prepared for the cultural shock that they encounter in communities of which they have very little understanding (Michie 2011); so they simply teach what they are told to teach, waiting for the first opportunity to transfer to the next school they are assigned to.

Invariably when young teachers and inexperienced principals are assigned to schools with significant Aboriginal enrolments, they “bunker down” and are rarely visible in the local community. They tend to keep to themselves, generating an “enclave mentality,” perhaps with the view that “if we stick together then we can survive this ordeal.” When teachers move beyond the enclave mentality, they soon develop meaningful relationships with the local community. This in turn signals to the students that the teacher is genuinely interested in them and wants to help students achieve their potential (Michie 2011).

One of the great ironies of failed schooling for Aboriginal students is that many of the students who have been failed by schooling systems find their way into higher education studies, often achieving scholarly excellence leading, in some cases, to distinguished careers in their chosen field of expertise. The success of Aboriginal students at higher and other post-schooling levels of education clearly demonstrates that there is nothing inherently wrong with the capacity of Aboriginal people to deal with the academic depth and rigor that is so valued in the western intellectual domain (Behrendt et al. 2012). Anecdotal data suggest that the post-schooling education experience for Aboriginal people is more amenable to concepts of “cultural diversity and contextual learning,” and therefore post-schooling institutions are better able to

provide knowledge and skills that enhance the cultural identity and heritage of Aboriginal students rather than diminish it.

Decolonization Imperatives, Justice, and Self-Determining Education

Most Australian schools are Eurocentric in their orientation and focus, including those schools with significant Aboriginal student enrolments. The assimilation imperatives that defined the early colonial attempts to “educate” Aboriginal students still operate beneath superficially modern education policies and practices. The assumption is still that the colonizer society has the power to define non-Aboriginal values and behaviors as inherently desirable, without any need or right of choice, decision-making, or self-determination by Aboriginal people themselves.

Unquestionably, one of the pivotal factors underscoring the failure of non-Aboriginal education systems to meet and accommodate the educational needs and aspirations of the great majority of Aboriginal students is the assimilationist model embedded, both implicitly and explicitly, in successive government policy and programming approaches to Aboriginal education (Hickling-Hudson and Ahlquist 2003).

Whenever Aboriginal people have advocated educational equity, non-Aboriginal people, who are largely responsible for government policy development and implementation, have interpreted this call for equity a call for “sameness.” The response has usually been the development and introduction of policies that are designed to facilitate access, a flawed strategic approach that merely opens doors wider to institutions and systems that have historically failed, frustrated, and marginalized Aboriginal peoples. The access model incorporates a “*guest relationship*” wherein non-Aboriginal people create and administer the terms and conditions that regulate Aboriginal involvement and participation in education systems.

What is commonly referred to, as Aboriginal education, is simply a set of access strategies that are designed to facilitate Aboriginal participation in non-Aboriginal systems of education, to equip them for participation in non-Aboriginal economic systems and ways of life. Issues of cultural affirmation, strategies to mitigate racism and social marginalization, as well as the need for social and restorative justice are rarely incorporated into public or private Aboriginal education policies. The limitations of the “access model” are especially evident at the schooling level of education (Lewthwaite et al. 2015).

Increasing access to resources may be desirable, but it implies a passive, consumer role rather than a position of agency and voice. Access does not necessarily lead to empowerment, the “power to make decisions about the future from a position of knowledge, optimism and strength, confident about one’s rights, relationships and place in the scheme of things” (Gordon 2015). Moreover, access and empowerment, like inclusion, are conceptualized as beneficial things to be granted, or withheld, by those who hold power over those who do not. Only a model of sovereignty, defined

above as “the social and political freedoms and resources to make decisions for socio-political change and development within the context of cultural survival and celebration,” can provide a fully adequate basis for success in Aboriginal education.

When the key defining elements (there are others) of the “Guest Paradigm” are effectively addressed in a positive way, the potential for positive learning experiences and outcomes for Aboriginal students are greatly enhanced, enabling Aboriginal students to move beyond the guest paradigm (See also Ockenden 2014). All students, irrespective of race, culture, gender, or faith, are entitled to expect that they will participate in schooling that affirms their identity and equips them with skills and knowledge needed to find their place in modern society. Sadly, schools are failing far too many young Aboriginal people, and tragically, many of these failed young people end up as statistics in juvenile justice centers, and there is no doubt that poor schooling is also a contributing factor to the alarming rate of Aboriginal youth suicide (In comparison with deaths in custody, Australia has been slow to collect data on causes of youth suicide; it would be desirable to see studies here like the Canadian work of Hallet et al. 2007. In Western Australia, where the number of suicide deaths in the Kimberley region alone in 2012 exceeded the Australian Defence Force fatalities in Afghanistan, the WA Mental Health Commission names “poor education outcomes” among the top ten key issues for Aboriginal mental health, and associated suicide rates, http://www.mentalhealth.wa.gov.au/mental_illness_and_health/mh_aboriginal.aspx).

Dreaming a Better Future

This chapter is not about the past. It is about today and the future and argues the need for decisive action if Aboriginal Australia is to move beyond the mere survival that characterizes the contemporary journey of our nations. Aboriginal nations and their leaders must engage in a transformative process to reconceptualize and create a space that is truly liberating, a place where once again Aboriginal nations will be truly self-determining. The transformative process that is advocated is essentially an educative process; all struggles for freedom and human rights are as much evolutionary as they are revolutionary, in that new knowledge and experiences awakens the desire for change, and this awakening creates the need to challenge and reject the Eurocentric teachings of colonialist systems and their assimilationist objectives.

This is not to suggest that elements of the “other” systems have no value: they do, but this argument is more fundamentally concerned with the need for grounded cultural knowledge and affirmation, the need for a culturally focused primacy of place and purpose (See also McCarty and Bia 2002). Aboriginal culture and identity is a complex framework of component parts, the core of which is country (not geography, but a living, relational ecology of place) and the symbiotic kinship structures and relationships that define our identity. Cultural knowledge, traditional values, language, and the interrelatedness of all living things are embedded in the cultural grouping to which we belong (Across the diversity of Indigenous Australia, there is remarkable consensus about the nature of Indigenous culture. Among many

similar definitions is this, from Andrews et al. (2006): "... accumulated knowledge which encompasses spiritual relationships, relationships with the natural environment and the sustainable use of natural resources, and relationships between people, which are reflected in language, narratives, social organisation, values, beliefs, and cultural laws and customs ..."). Culture, including language which is a transmitter of culture, is a learned behavior, it is not innate or something that we are born with, but rather something into which we are born and over time and teaching we become acculturated. Culture involves knowing whom we are connected to, our country and language and traditions that have sustained Aboriginal peoples in Australia since the beginning of time.

The transformation that must occur requires attention at a variety of important and interrelated levels. The first and most critical level of transformation is at the individual level. Individual Aboriginal people must seek to understand and embrace the core elements of our identity, what makes us different from other cultural groups and what makes us who we are as a people. Schools have a critical role in ensuring that Aboriginal students are affirmed culturally while also providing enhanced academic development opportunities (Hollins 2015). However, for this new knowledge and skills base to be effective, the Eurocentric methods and ways of "knowing and doing" must be rejected and cast aside, or critically evaluated from a position of sovereign choice, to select what is of value and discard what is not. New models of education leadership and advocacy will need to be developed: leadership and advocacy models that are grounded in Aboriginal philosophy and that are firmly and inextricably linked to community, country, and culture.

In the interest of balance, it is only fair to acknowledge that some improvements have been achieved in terms of the participation and retention rates of Aboriginal students in school-based education. However, the fact remains that most Aboriginal students experience failure, setting them up for a range of denials and abuses throughout their lives.

Hope and Inspiration and Transformational Pathways to Success

There are, of course, great examples of creative and innovative models to inspire Aboriginal education leadership; I have had the great privilege to visit with one and to work as a critical friend with another. The first is Dr. Ann Milne, Principal of the Kia Aroha College in Auckland, NZ, and the other is Mr. Brian Debus, now retired, who was the Principal of Menindee Central School in remote NSW during my involvement with the school as a critical friend.

Dr. Milne has been the inspirational leader of Kia Aroha College for many years and has recently announced her retirement. I visited the college in 2011 and I was struck by the creative and innovative approach to learning that permeated the college (Milne 2011). Lasting memories from the visit are of being welcomed by the students in their language and of being taken on a tour of the college where students celebrated their language and culture and embraced the rigor of learning across a number of subjects. One memorable observation was a class that was learning

strategies to deal with racism that the students would inevitably encounter in modern New Zealand society. The Menindee experience is somewhat different from that of Kia Aroha College, but inspirational parallels can be drawn between the two schools. Menindee is a work in progress, and during Brian Debus's term it was slowly starting to turn the negative aspects of the school around (McCausland and Vivian 2010). Brian Debus was the first and only white principal that I have known who hosted Aboriginal people into his home for regular social events. Education leaders such as Dr. Milne and Mr. Debus, though non-Aboriginal, are education warriors who inspire and challenge the teachers who they lead to embrace change and to transform the learning experiences of students in their charge. Both Dr. Milne and Mr. Debus epitomize what can be done by working with parents and community to create a positive learning environment for their students.

In the midst of the systemic failure of Aboriginal education described above, there is hope and inspiration. This hope and inspiration can be found in the actions of non-Aboriginal people who are also disenchanted and frustrated with conventional methods of education. Many families, including some Aboriginal families, have opted for home schooling as a means to educate their children. Others have opted to radically transform the way that education is designed and implemented. One such initiative involves the work of Templestowe College, operating within the public education system of Victoria. Many of the principles and education philosophies of Templestowe College resonate because they resemble and are aligned to many of those espoused by Aboriginal people over many years. Addressing the question of what makes Templestowe College different from conventional schools, the College says:

Well a lot of things actually. Most schools expect the students to fit in with the school, rather than the school trying to adapt to best meet the needs of the individual student. We think very carefully about the direction the school is heading. We want to be leaders and innovators, not followers and we want to inspire these qualities in our students. We believe that the education programs that we are now putting in place will be replicated in many schools in 5 to 10 years' time, simply because the existing model of education does not work for so many students. (The College's educational approach was outlined in Hutton (2014) and on the College website, <http://www.templestowec.vic.edu.au/default.aspx>)

The college offers a number of innovative and creative learning options for their students, including more than 100 elective subject options; students can make up their own subject; students can "radically accelerate" their learning program, attempting VCE subjects from Year 8; most students complete VCE over 3 or more years; students may take more than 6 years to complete their secondary studies; there are no compulsory subjects after completion of foundation literacy, numeracy, and science; each student has an individual learning plan (ILP); and students complete home learning not homework. The college uses technology extensively to assist students with their learning, and each lesson has its own clear "learning intention" and "reason for learning." The students are provided with teacher feedback on their learning progress every 3 weeks, and students enrolled with the college contribute to the design of the college's curriculum.

Obviously the advent of Templestowe College, and perhaps other similar innovations such as the reported growth in home schooling (Up from 2802 in 2011–12 to 3343 in 2014–15 in NSW. Board of Studies, Teaching and Educational Standards NSW, *Annual Report 2014–15*. Sydney: BOSTES, p. 87, https://www.boardofstudies.nsw.edu.au/about/pdf_doc/bostes-annual-report-2014-15.pdf), demonstrates a level of broader frustration with current Australian education systems for non-Aboriginal students. So there should be no surprise, and even less refuting, the claim that non-Aboriginal education systems continue to fail Aboriginal students by not providing positive and affirming learning experiences.

Conclusion and Future Directions

As argued, sadly schools are failing far too many young Aboriginal people; tragically, many of these failed young people end up as statistics in juvenile justice institutions and undoubtedly poor schooling also contributes to the alarming and unacceptable rate of Aboriginal youth suicide. The challenge in these ever-changing and demanding times is to develop an educative process to engage Aboriginal youth in positive learning experiences and outcomes by utilizing policies and processes that ground them culturally while also allowing them to develop the skills and knowledge for them to enjoy the fullness of life. Every Aboriginal generation will create and live its own journey in its own way. But heritage, a sense of cultural connectedness and purpose, is critical to the enjoyment of a full, culturally affirming and meaningful life journey.

The current model of political advocacy means that Aboriginal people and our communities are rarely in a position to celebrate what it means to be Aboriginal, and results in fatigue, demotivation, and what noted Maori educator Professor Graham Hingangaroa Smith calls “the politics of distraction” (Smith 2009; Regrettably, a number of other recent publications fail to acknowledge Professor Smith, who has been using this term for well over a decade). This politics of distraction cripples our ability to more effectively plan for future generations; the fundamental experience of Aboriginal peoples is limited to survival, not celebration. No genuine and sustainable change is possible until such time as the minds and hearts of Indigenous Australians are freed from this spiritually and culturally debilitating reality.

Colonialism; dispossession; social and political marginalization; the destruction and contamination of cultural values and traditions, including those embedded in Aboriginal education *sui generis*; the denial of basic human rights and freedoms; and innumerable other abuses have all contributed to the current positioning of Aboriginal peoples in contemporary Australian society. Such positioning generates “war zone” conditions and spawns the social and cultural destruction that many Aboriginal communities are struggling daily to survive. These “war zone” conditions are manifest in far too many Aboriginal communities and are the consequence of weapons of destruction that are more psychological than physical (The phrase “war zone” ironically distracts from the recognition that the colonisers did actually wage a prolonged war of both physical and cultural invasion: a war that arguably

continues in the repeated media uses of this phrase to stigmatise Aboriginal communities and sensationalise the consequences of dispossession. One of many such examples is Madigan (2016)). Government public policy and societal attitudes, not to mention the role of the churches, have all contributed, over time, to the creation of these crippling “war zone” conditions. There can be no retreat from this reality.

There is no question that colonialism, across the extent of Indigenous experiences throughout the world, has critically damaged, but has never destroyed, Indigenous peoples and cultures. Assimilationist and Eurocentric education has and continues to be one of the tools that has severely contaminated Indigenous cultures and has served to relegate Indigenous peoples to the margins of modern society. In Australia, white political leaders, and many in mainstream Australia, seem to suffer a form of “collective cognitive dissonance” when it comes to the question of acknowledging the invasion and the murderous brutality that characterized Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal contact. Equally of concern is how some modern Aboriginal politicians seem to have succumbed to the seductive nature of neoliberalism and the politics of distraction defense.

Any system of education that seeks to accommodate and respond to the learning needs and aspirations of Aboriginal students must be structured to allow the opportunity for them to achieve academically while also being proud and grounded in their Aboriginal identity and culture. Increasingly, Indigenous peoples in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the USA, and other Indigenous contexts are rejecting the assimilation imperatives of Eurocentric education. Culturally informed and responsive systems of education are emerging, systems that provide opportunities for Indigenous peoples to be educated to both compete and survive in modern society while at the same time embracing and celebrating our cultures and identities.

Successive generations of Aboriginal warriors have been entrusted with the responsibility of never allowing the embers from earlier battles to be extinguished and the legacy of resistance and the uncompromised veracity of unceded sovereignty must be the basis upon which a honorable and principled struggle for our rights and freedoms, including those that shape the nature and scope of education, must be based. The virulent and contaminating forces of colonialism are ubiquitous and with modern society’s enchantment with materialism and greed Aboriginal people must be more vigilant than ever. We owe it to those who have gone before and it is our legacy to those who follow.

Aboriginal education must serve to enhance Aboriginal identity and culture and provide students with the skills and knowledge to celebrate life in modern society. It must also honor the past in order to capture the future. Nothing more – nothing less.

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Liberate the Base: Thoughts Toward an African Language Policy

9

Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o

Abstract

In this chapter Ngũgĩ raises debates and practices evident in many colonized societies which are at the heart of postcolonial theories, that of Indigenous languages, and the knowledges they hold. Ngũgĩ argues there are four perceived barriers to the establishment of an African language policy that form an orthodoxy difficult to shift. However, drawing on the work of language “border communities” and the work of the *Jalada* project, he shows how an African language policy can be developed that reflects current practices that empowers Africa and its peoples and protects its knowledge base.

Keywords

African languages · Language policy · Translation · Multilingualism · *Jalada* project

Recently I published a collection of essays with Seagull Press, under the title, *Secure the Base: Making Africa Visible in the World*. When two armies fight, they protect their own base, while they try to destabilize and even capture their opponent’s. Both sides gather intelligence about the other’s base through covert and overt means. But suppose the spies sent to the other side are held captives or willingly enjoy the reception, so that instead of sending back what they know, they give away the information about their own base? One side is said to lose a battle when their base

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is overrun by the enemy forces. If the defeated want to fight back, they try and secure their base. The security of one's base, even when two armies are cooperating to achieve a jointly held tactical or strategic end against a third, is necessary. So either in opposition or in cooperation, fighting units keep their bases secure, and not in disarray.

In the history of conquest, the first thing the victorious conqueror does is to attack people's names and languages. The idea was to deny them the authority of naming self and the world, to delegitimize the history and the knowledge they already possessed, and to delegitimize their own language as a credible source of knowledge and definition of the world, so that the conqueror's language can become the source of the very definition of being. This was with the English conquest of Ireland, Wales, Scotland, or the Japanese conquest of South Korea; Europe's conquest of the Māori and other natives of New Zealand; or the natives of Australia; of South and Northern Native America; or the USA's takeover of Hawaii; or the Norwegian, Swedish and Finnish domination of Saami people; to ban or weaken the languages of the conquered, and then impose by gun, guise or guile, their own language and accord it all the authority of naming the world. It was also done with the enslaved. African languages and names were banned in the plantations and later in the continent as a whole, so much so that African people now accept Europhonicity to define their countries and who they are: Francophone, Anglophone, or Lusophone.

I invite you to keep in mind the image of the base and the relationships between bases – hostile or hospitable – as I offer some notes toward an African language policy and the role of inter-African language translation in that process.

Some of course may want to argue that African countries have many languages, hundreds even? But hundreds of languages also mean there are hundreds of communities that use them, and these communities constitute the geographic nation! This linguistic picture confronts policymakers as a nightmare; and they think that if they can ignore the nightmare long enough or frighten it away with more emphasis on European languages, the nightmare will vanish and they will wake up to the bliss of a harmonious European language-speaking African nation. So they engineer a massive transfer of resources from African to European languages. Ninety percent of the resources earmarked for language education goes to European ones and a minuscule percent to African languages, if at all. But reality, however, is stubborn, and they wake up to the same nightmare. European language speakers in any one of the African nations are at most 10% of the population only; the other 90% are African language speakers.

Ironically, in some countries, the colonial period had a more progressive language policy, which ensured basic literacy in mother tongue. That was how I came to learn Gĩkũyũ. But at Independence, the 4 years' elementary education in mother tongue was scrapped. Through and by every means possible, children were immersed in English from kindergarten onward. This resulted in a generation of Kenyans who could barely speak mother tongue, or who could speak it but could not read or write it. Belatedly the state tried to rectify the damage and introduced mother tongue as subject and even produced some texts to meet the need, but these half-hearted efforts were later abandoned. In most schools, the hour earmarked for mother tongue is used

for further drilling in English. What began in the colonial era, the delegitimization of African languages as credible sources and basis of knowledge was completed and normalized in the postcolonial era.

Where English was now equated with the gateway to progress and modernity, African languages came to be seen as barriers to this glittering thing called progress and modernity. In Kenya, whenever and wherever a speaker's mother tongue made the speaker not able to pronounce certain English sounds, he was denounced as "shrubbing" English. He had brought bush and darkness to obscure the light and clarity of English. In an article he recently published in the *Jalada* of 15th September 2015 under the title "Writing in African Languages: A question for our times," Mũkoma wa Ngũgĩ tells hilarious stories of African students in Kenya laughing outright at one another for "shrubbing" English.

Clearly this view of African languages as synonymous with the darkness of the bush becomes a big barrier to imagining and therefore crafting a practical language policy. Another barrier is the fundamentalism of monolingualism. A nation is not really a nation without a common language to go with the commonality of territory, economy, and culture. In this context, African languages, because of their huge numbers, are seen as anti-nationhood. Monolingualism is seen as the centripetal answer to the centrifugal anarchy of multiplicity of languages. European languages are seen as coming to the rescue of a cohesive Africa, otherwise threatened by its own languages. It is in the same vein as what colonial military expeditions touted as the pacification of primitive tribes; only now, in the postcolonial era, it is the linguistic pacification of languages of anarchy and blood. The difference is that now it is the African governments and policymakers who are at the head of the linguistic pacification programs. In the colonial era, the slogan behind the pacification was ending tribal wars – Hobbes's war of all against all in a state of nature; now in the postcolonial era, it is ending ethnic wars fueled by African languages. The subtext is that African languages are inherently incapable of relating to each other, but ironically they each can relate to English, especially when Anglophone writing dives into them for a proverb or two to spice their literary offering to a europhone modernity of monolingualism.

In reality, there are very few, if any, monolingual nations in the world. What most have is an officially imposed language as the national language: the language of power. The language of power is a dictatorship of the monolingual on a plurality of languages, and it negates the human right to one's language.

For Africa, and generally the postcolonial state, this dictatorship was first imposed by imperial powers, who put their language at the center of the universe, the source of light. The postcolonial state merely nationalized the already linguistic dictatorship, which in effect means foreign languages assuming the mantle of the identity of the national. In reality, it is simply the borrowed language of the 10% but spreads across the nation. This acquired national language has the double character of being both foreign and elitist. And yet this is what is touted as its advantage: that it is equally accessible to the 10% of each linguistic community and equally inaccessible to all the constituent communities. So its accessibility to the elite, but its inaccessibility to the majority, is therefore what makes it the best language to

unify the country. The European language-speaking elite thus sees itself as constituting the nation. European languages become the knight on a horse rescuing the postcolonial state, otherwise trapped within the linguistic House of Babel, by enabling communication across a problematic plurality.

The third barrier arises from fears of being left out of the heaven promised by globalization. This arises from the earlier colonially rooted notion that African languages are not modern enough and that European ones are the only ladders to global heaven. If Africa promotes its languages, the continent will miss the train to heaven. But globalization is a function of finance capital, its dominance in the world, and a logical development of historical capitalism from its mercantile phase, through its industrial, to its present phase where, as finance capital, and aided by technology, it smashes all state barriers to its movement. There must not be any barriers to movement of capital across state borders, but there have to be barriers, even actual physical walls, to prevent the movement of labor across state barriers in pursuit of what that finance capital has stolen from their regions. The result, as I have stated elsewhere in my book *Secure the Base* (Ngũgĩ 2016), are states too weak to interfere with the operation of finance capital but strong enough to police the population, should they dare to do something about it and its negative impact on their lives. For example, in the postcolonial state, police and the military have been used many more times against the population than against any external threat from elsewhere. The joint military exercises, which the Western powers have with the militaries of the postcolonial state, have never been for purposes of a jointly perceived threat from a third country; otherwise, they would also be having joint military exercises on the soil of France, Britain, and America.

But, for some reason, globalization – despite the control of resources by corporate capital from the West – is seen as a good thing, and African languages seem to stand in the way of the elite receiving their share of “global goodies.” In my recent book, *Secure the Base* (Ngũgĩ 2016), I have tried to make the distinction between globalism and globalization. Globalization is really “gobblization” of other people’s resources by a greedy corporate elite protected by the might of imperial powers. Globalism is a form of social networking of peoples across race, regions, and religions, and it tries to mobilize people against corporate greed and its divisive tactics of divide and conquer.

The fourth barrier to a comprehensive and all-embracing national policy is the conception of the relationship of languages in terms of hierarchy, with the officially sanctioned language, sitting at the top, as the language of power, law, justice, education, administration, and economic exchange. If that language is the former colonial language and they want to replace it, they can only think of choosing one African language among the many to occupy the same position in the hierarchy. The prospect of “the one” becoming the new language of power rings alarm bells in the speakers of other languages.

Hierarchy is not inherent in plurality. The plural can relate either vertically as in steps of a ladder – a hierarchical relation – or horizontally as when people link arms to form a line or a circle, a network. Both are relational, but the hierarchical one means the energy of the higher suffocating the lower, while the network means shared synergy from the contact.

Together, the four barriers form a kind of orthodoxy, with the assumptions behind it normalized as self-evident truth. The orthodoxy becomes an invisible boulder rock that cannot be moved, the very thought of moving it making the mind tired. The prospects of the hopelessness make us not even make a gesture.

Border communities challenge that orthodoxy. These communities that exist on either side of national boundaries speak a variety of languages, but the relationship between the languages is not hierarchical but rather “networkingly.” Hierarchy is a question of power. It assumes that some languages are more of a language than other languages, but the notion of a network assumes a give and take, and that there is no language which is more of a language than another language.

Of course border communities do face the challenge of a member of one language group being able to communicate with the member of another. They solve this through multilingualism: most are polyglots. But in addition to that, sometimes there develops a lingua franca among them, but this lingua franca functions differently from the language of power. A language of power assumes that for it to be, other languages must cease to be. It desires to replace or silence all the other languages. But a lingua franca assumes the existence of coequal languages. It simply facilitates communication and dialogue among language equals. The condition of the existence of one is the existence of all. The lingua franca helps facilitate the give and take of a network of languages. It does not replace them. Such a lingua franca is often a distinctive language but known by most other language speakers, in addition to their own.

Translation – a kind of dialogue or conversation among languages – is another challenge to the orthodoxy. The *Jalada* translation project, an instance of that challenge, is unfolding before our very eyes. *Jalada* is an online literary journal run by a Pan African Collective, a group of young people who come from different parts of the continent. *Jalada*’s chief editor, Moses Kilolo, comes from Kenya. *Jalada* itself is an online journal in English, but ironically, what has created the waves is not their English writings but their translation project. In a recent article in the online journal, *Africa is a country*, Mũkoma wa Ngũgi described the effort as a revolution in many tongues. This was very strong praise for their first and, so far, only translation issue. I feel honored that this first translation issue features my own story, *Itũika rĩa Mũrũngarũ: Kana Kĩrĩa Gĩtũmaga Andũ Mathiĩ Marũngĩ*, translatable as The Upright Revolution, or How Humans Began to Walk Upright.

I first wrote the story in Gĩkũyũ for my daughter, Mũmbi, in 2012 as a gift. In my family we have developed a tradition of the gift of stories and poems for birthdays and mother’s and father’s days, in place of material gifts (or in addition to them). I have found it a much better deal for whereas material gifts perish and are forgotten, the gift of stories, whether published or not, lives on and never loses its luster. Stories are forever. The story, *Itũika rĩa Mũrũngarũ*, or How Humans Came to Walk Upright, tells about the competition between the legs and hands to see which pair is more essential to the body. It is a titanic struggle, whose consequences have impacted the course of human history and civilization. It is really a fable. Once delivered as a gift, I put the story aside and forgot all about it until the *Jalada* group, through Mũkoma wa Ngũgĩ, approached me for a contribution to their inaugural

translation number. I gave them the only story at hand. The result has been astounding by any measure.

The story was translated into 54 African languages (The story is available in Gĩkũyũ, Amharic, isiNdebele, isiZulu and Xitsonga, Amharic, Dholuo, Kikamba, Lwisukha-Lwidakho, Ikinyarwada, Arabic, Luganda, Kiswahili, Hausa, Meru, Lingala, Igbo, Ibibio, Somali, Nandi, Rukiga, Bamanankan, Lugbarati, Shona, Lubukusu, Kimaragoli, Giriama, Sheng, Ewe, Naija Languej, Marakwet, as well as Afrikaans, English, and French and few others to make 54.), the most translated single story on the continent, according to *The Guardian* that carried the news analysis of the phenomenon. It is indeed rare for the publication of a story to become news, but several newspapers carried reports on the *Jalada* translation feat. Recently a Sunday magazine from Bangalore State in India carried a Kannada or Tamil translation for their three million readers (**From:** Kumar S., the editor in email **Sent:** Tuesday, April 12, 2016: to Moses Kilolo. In the email, thanking the *Jalada* group, he says the story was published on 10th April; *Sunday Magazine* was read by more than 30 lakh people, and it got very good response (NB one lakh is 100 000).) for a story originating in an African language, that in itself is another story. Translations into more languages in and outside Africa continue, and they are hoping to release another issue with the new batch of translations.

Translations as such are not new phenomena in Africa. Of the evening stories that left a mark on me as a child was the one about a father, his son, and their donkey, who, trying to live up to every opinion of neighbors and strangers as to who should carry whom, end up carrying the donkey on their shoulders. Later, when I learnt to read and write, I was very surprised to come across the same story, but with the added pleasure of illustrations. The image of a donkey hanging upside down from a pole supported by the shoulders of the father and son, with the market crowd laughing at their foolishness, still lives within me.

The storyteller in the evening must have oralized the story from its literary source, a process that I have described in my book *Globalectics: Theory and Politics of Knowing*, as the oralization of the literary. It is only last year in Irvine, 70 years after my childhood encounter with it, that I made another discovery, thanks to my YouTube lessons in Spanish. The story was a free translation and adaptation of the Spanish story, *Padre, Hijo, O Caballo* by the medieval Spanish writer, Don Juan Manuel. Only that in the Gĩkũyũ language version, *le Caballo*, the horse, becomes the donkey. Whatever the sequencing, the story, through translation, was now part of my Gĩkũyũ culture.

The Bible in Gĩkũyũ, another part of my culture, was a translation of a series of translations, English, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Aramaic all the way back to whatever language that God, Adam, and Eve used in the Garden of Eden. I was very impressed by the fact that Jesus and all the characters in the New and Old Testament spoke Gĩkũyũ! Even God, in the Garden of Eden, spoke Gĩkũyũ!

This inheritance from translation is not unique to Gĩkũyũ or Africa. The Bible in translation similarly had an impact on the growth of many languages in the world. The translation of the Greek and Latin classics into English, French, and German not

only aided in the growth of the languages, but the same classics, in their translation, have made an impact on the study and development of drama, poetry, and philosophy in general. It is impossible to imagine Shakespeare without translations. He worked within a culture where translations from other languages into the emerging national tongues were the literary equivalent of piracy for silver and gold on the high seas, a phenomenon I first mentioned in my book on the politics of memory, titled *Something Torn and New: Towards an African Renaissance* (Ngũgĩ 2009).

The *Jalada* translation project then has clearly followed on one of the most consistent threads in world cultures, but similar translation trends in Africa. The East Africa Educational Publishers have brought out Kiswahili translations of most of the classics of African fiction originally written in English, French, and Portuguese. In the article titled “Revolution in Many Tongues,” Mũkoma wa Ngũgĩ has detailed other efforts in this direction, citing, for instance, Boubacar Boris Diop of Senegal who has set up a publishing outfit, Ceytu, dedicated to publishing Wolof translations of major classics of African thought, such as Frantz Fanon’s *The Wretched of the Earth*. In 2014, SUNY Press bought out a book *Listening to Ourselves: A Multilingual Anthology of African Philosophy*. Brought together and edited by the African-Caribbean-Canadian intellectual Chike Jeffers, this volume carries essays on the different aspects of philosophy but written originally in African languages including Amharic, Dholuo, Gĩkũyũ, Wolof, Yorùbá, and Akan. As far as I know, these essays are among the very first in modern times that have African philosophers philosophizing directly in an African language. The volume does also carry translation into English versions, but it is worth noting this reverses the old order which is translations from the European into the African language.

But the real breakthrough in the *Jalada* project is not just the fact of translation – this has always been done – it is their emphasis on inter-African language translations. This centrality, from one African language to other African languages, is crucial if we are going to change the terms of debate and even the paradigm. In this one issue, more than 30 African languages were in direct conversation, the most in Africa’s literary history. But there were also translations into languages outside Africa, that is, English, French, Portuguese, and some of the Indian languages. In short the *Jalada* translation issue, in practical sense, has made the arguments that many of us from Dhlomo and Vilakazi in the South Africa of the 1940s; Cheikh Anta Diop in the 1950s; to my 1984 publication, *Decolonizing the Mind*. And it is simple: that African languages have been and still are legitimate sources of knowledge and that thought can originate in any African language and spread to other African languages and to all the other languages of the world.

But for African languages to occupy their rightful place in Africa and the world, there have to be positive government policies with the political will and financial muscle behind the policies, the publishers and writers too, and the academic institutions as well. It has to be an alliance, including patriotic private capital, and I am glad to see that amidst us is Baila Ly from Guinea Conakry, who, I am told, is a very successful businessman and supports African languages. It was a Kenyan business enterprise that came up with an endowment that helped in the founding of the Mabati-Cornell Kiswahili Prize for African literature. So the entire language

enterprise calls for a grand alliance of government, private capital – particularly Africa-based – academies, universities, publishers, writers, translators, interpreters, and readers.

A meaningful and practical policy has to start with the assumption that every language has a right to be, and each community has a right to their own language, or the language of their culture. That means equitable resources for their development as means of knowledge and culture. Such languages will not see other languages as threats to their own being. As in border communities, a language of communication across regions can emerge without threatening the individuality of the other languages. In such a situation, it can only strengthen the linguistic network.

You could have, at the very least, a three-language policy for every child: their mother tongue, the lingua franca, and whatever is the most useful language of global reach, that is, the reach beyond their communities. In the case of East Africa, for instance, this would mean mother tongue plus Kiswahili plus English. But there could be other innovations around such a policy: for instance, the requirement of a fourth, which must be other than the mother tongue, that is, any one of the other several people's languages. In any African country, we can offer rewards for showing additional knowledge of African languages; we could even link promotion to such knowledge. If you have two judges equally qualified fighting for promotion, then the one who demonstrates competence in African languages within the nation gets extra points. This could be extended to the entire civil service and the academic establishment. And certainly nobody in the world should get a job as an expert of things in Africa without them demonstrating a knowledge of one or more African languages spoken within their field of research and expertise. Every interview for such academic positions, in Africa and the world, should include questions like: How many African languages can you read and write? Have you ever published a paper in an African language in the field of your expertise? A combination of some of these tactics and requirements can only result in the empowerment of African languages.

This can help in the complex give and take among languages and cultures. The human cultures should reflect that of nature, where variety and difference are a source of richness in color and nutritional value. Nature thrives on cross-fertilization and the general circle of life. So also the human culture, and it is not an accident that cultures of innovation thrive at the crossroads of travel and exchange. Marketplaces of ideas were always the centers of knowledge and innovations. In his book, *Discourse on Colonialism*, Aimé Césaire once said that culture contact was the oxygen of civilization.

Translation, the universal language of languages, can really help in that generation of such oxygen. Translation involves one distinct unit understanding signals from another distinct unit in terms of itself, for instance, within or between biological cells. So, translation is inherent in all systems of communication: natural, social, and even mechanical. Nature is multilingual in a multicultural sense but also interconnected through continuous translation. Translation is an integral part of the everyday in nature and society and has been central to all cultures; but we may not always notice it.

But while it is true that translation is the common language of languages, hierarchies of power and domination distort its full function as our common heritage. In more equitable relations of wealth, power, and values, translation can play a crucial and ultimate role of enabling mutuality of being and becoming even within a plurality of languages.

In the article in which Mũkoma wa Ngũgĩ described the *Jalada* translation issue as ushering a “revolution in many tongues,” he also said that “in translation, there are no indigenous, vernacular, native, local, ethnic and tribal languages producing vernacular, native, local, ethnic and tribal literatures, while English and French produce world and global literature. There are only languages and literatures.” (Mũkoma wa Ngũgĩ, *A Revolution in Many Tongues*, in *Africa is a Country*, April 8, 2016.)

I will end with where I began: securing African languages should be part of a whole vision of Africans securing our resources, for as I told the *Jalada* group, when I gave them my story, “*Itũika rĩa Mũrũngarũ*”:

The cruel genius of colonialism was to turn normality into abnormality and then make the colonized accept the abnormality as the real norm . . . The moment we lost our languages was also the moment we lost our bodies, our gold, diamonds, copper, coffee, tea. The moment we accepted (or being made to accept) that we could not do things with our languages was the moment we accepted that we could not make things with our vast resources.

So our language policies and actions should empower Africa by making Africans own their resources from languages – making dreams with our languages – to other natural resources, making things with them, consuming some, and exchanging some. Then, and only then, can Africa become truly visible in the world under its own terms and from the security its own base.

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Part II

**Indigenous Governance: Restoring Control
and Responsibility over the Education
of Our People**

George J. Sefa Dei and Jean-Paul Restoule



Indigenous Governance: Restoring Control and Responsibility over the Education of Our People

10

George J. Sefa Dei and Jean-Paul Restoule

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Abstract

Indigenous Governance has a wide-ranging impact among the Indigenous peoples. The levels of impact are legal-juridical, political, and economic in connection to educational institutions. This section focuses on Indigenous systems of governance with implications for education, learning, and teaching. The chapter conceptualizes Indigenous Governance and its manifestation to Indigenous and alternative educational sites. The legacies of colonialism and colonial settler-hood as well as the urgency for Indigenous self-determination have centralized Indigenous governance in the public domain. This has also been necessitated by the resiliency and agency of Indigenous ways of knowing and praxis. There is an eruption of an antithesis to the dominant conception of governance. It is defined by a rich historical knowledge of Indigenous communities having their own systems of government. Such an indigenous presentation of governance is holistic, open, community based, and liberating. It is an anti-oversimplification of Indigenous peoples' political culture often masked in racist explanations of

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inherent moral and cultural shortcomings of Indigenous communities. At the global level, particularly the Canadian contexts, self-government agreements allow self-determination, sovereignty, and upholding of treaty agreements of Indigenous populations. These agreements provide self-control to education, health, social, and economic development. However, the chapter notes that many theorists have critiqued Canada's long history of settler colonialism that never meets or respects the sovereignty of Indigenous groups. Global governance of Indigenous rights is an urgent matter. We approach this question drawing a link between Indigenous Governance and global governance.

Keywords

Indigenity · Indigenous Governance · Political culture · Colonialism and settler colonialism · Land · Resistance

Indigenous Governance: Towards an Introduction

We begin a discussion of Indigenous Governance recognizing and acknowledging our presence, as well as belongingness on the territory of the Huron-Wendat and Petun First Nations, the Seneca, and most recently, the Mississaugas of the Credit River. Internally, the legal definition of what constitutes as Indigenous has yet to be agreed upon or defined. It is important to note that Indigenous groups had their own system of governance prior to European colonialism, contemporary questions surrounding self-government, and the overall status of Indigenous groups. Indigenous groups have always fought for governance of their own lands. The push for the sovereign recognition of Indigenous groups; this is not a right that Indigenous groups hope to be granted from the nation/colonial state but a desire to return to preexisting conditions prior to European contact. In this discussion we follow Meyer (2012) in defining "Indigenous" groups as those who: "(a) identify themselves as indigenous groups, (b) established their cultures and social institutions prior to European colonialism, and (c) continue to maintain those traditional ways of life to this day" (p. 329).

Indigenous Governance is a major topic for Indigenous peoples from the multilevels of societal institutions from legal-jurisdictional, political, economics to educational institutions. This section focuses on Indigenous systems of governance with implications for education as broadly defined. We conceptualize Indigenous Governance and how such governance is manifested in Indigenous and alternative educational sites outlets. Contributions in the section also examine how such Indigenous Governance offer lessons for re-visioning schooling and education in multiple global and transnational contexts. We bring an international dimension to discussions of "Indigenous" and "Indigenous Governance" by making connections to different orientations of Indigenity.

The subject of Indigenous Governance has increasingly been very much on public discussions given the legacies of colonialism and colonial settler-hood and the urgency for Indigenous self-determination and sovereignty. There is resurgence in talk of Indigenous Governance given that what is deemed Indigenous is and was never lost. Indigenous is simply being claimed to assist us in positing and pursuing a

new “politics of futurity.” In examining Indigenous Governance there is the imperative and the ontological reality of counter-representations informed by Indigenous cultural epistemes. For Indigenous Governance to be effective, it cannot rest on an understanding of Indigeneity that has and continues to be produced and projected through the colonial imagination. The “Indigenous” resides in bodies, cultural, spiritual and psychic memories, histories, and cultural knowledges and how these can inform counter-visions of society. Discussions about Indigenous Governance attests to the intellectual agency of Indigenous peoples to articulate own lived realities, conditions, and experiences without being interpreted through Eurocentric conceptual frames of thought and Euro-colonial conjectures of modernity. The spiritual is a core axis of articulating an Indigenous Governance. There is the understanding that the spirit and spirit ontologies are relevant in articulating how Indigenous Governance should be valued, validated, and approached. We cannot de-spiritualize Indigenous cultures in the Eurocentric negation of the “spirit/spiritual” as legitimate site of knowing.

The history of development in the Global South has been peppered with critiques of nation state governance denying the rich historical knowledge of Indigenous communities having their own systems of government prior to the advent of European colonization. In Africa today there continues to be the myth that the continent suffers from a shortfall in good governance or that contemporary African development is impeded by bad governance. Such misguided readings undercut the historical evidence and undermine the possibility of history and Indigenous knowledge contributing to “genuine prosperity, economic integrity and fiscal good governance” (Lauer 2007; p. 289).

There has been an oversimplification of Indigenous peoples’ political culture often masked in racist explanations of inherent moral and cultural shortcomings of indigenous communities. There is much to be learned from Indigenous publics of governance least of which is the prospects for Indigenous self-determination. We know that Indigenous systems of governance have been developed from the “origins of [Indigenous and ancient] civilizations . . . featuring , . . . notions of judicial process, third party [cultural] arbitration, executive authority by [Elders and traditional] Councils sanctioned by the impartiality of ancestral power and consensual decision making fuelled by the will to accommodate every viewpoint via compromise rather than will to dominant via the tyranny of the majority opinion” (Lauer 2007, p. 299 citing Wiredu 1988). In thinking through possibilities for the future, Indigenous peoples need to reclaim our ancestral knowledges to confront the continuing “alienation, popularization and corruption of [our] traditions, [cultures] and imagery through . . . unauthorized reproduction and commercial exploitation by [non-Indigenous peoples]” (Howes 1996; p. 138). Part of this task is to resist the spurious claims to Indigenous expertise and knowledge by the dominant.

At the global level and, particularly, in Canadian contexts, self-government agreements with Indigenous populations allow for sovereignty and uphold treaty agreements. This agreement allows for more control of education, health, social and economic development, and other control of jurisdictions. Many theorists have critiqued Canada’s long history of settler colonialism and not meeting the

demands and respecting the sovereignty of Indigenous groups (Manuel 2015; Kulchyski 2007; Lowman and Barker 2015; Regan 2010). One of the central emerging issues stems from many land disputes and the ongoing settler colonial project. Settler colonialism differs from tradition colonialism because of the development of nationalism and the settler's possession of the land.

Global governance of Indigenous rights is an urgent matter. We approach this question drawing a link between Indigenous Governance and global governance. Global governance is a broader term than "government." According to Meyer (2012), there are several dimensions to global governance. Global governance is a theoretical and an analytical concept, global political trends exist (examined through cases studies, empirical data). The role of non-state actors and global civil society also are theorized and explained through the concept of global governance. Therefore, when examining Indigenous rights, these dimensions are all to be examined; in addition, the classification of who is considered Indigenous is also a complex highly political issue.

Indigenous groups have not acted as a monolith. While some bands and indigenous communities have pushed for the recognition of self-government, others have rejected this notion. Globally, neoliberal development policies continue to push Indigenous groups out of their lands. Transnational enterprises have strong economic interests for national resources such as minerals, oil, forests, and other lucrative resources found on Indigenous lands. Conceptually, the right to own their own land is central to Indigenous peoples (Meyer 2012). Globally, Indigenous populations have been demanding the rights to own their ancestral lands; self-determination is also a controversial issue surrounding Indigenous rights. Self-determination is limited and succession groups are not recognized. Full sovereignty is not recognized, only self-rule is recognized or the participation of government matters that pertain to Indigenous groups. In 2007, the United Nations finalized the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP); it states that it "recognizes that Indigenous peoples, in exercising their right of self-determination, have the right to autonomy or self-government in matters relating to their internal affairs" (Meyer 2012; p. 330). Not all countries adopted the UNDRIP; it was only in 2010 that Canada adopted this policy. Globally, several issues emerged following the implementation of the UNDRIP, firstly the CANZUS groups (includes Canada, Australia, New Zealand, United States), all resisted the UNDRIP (Meyer 2012). Some issues raised included the definition of Indigenous which some African nations argued was problematic; it would be an issue to classify some groups as Indigenous over other groups. There was a push to limit who was considered Indigenous, and the exclusion of certain groups from protection was a central issue in debates about Indigenous governance.

Colonization entails that Indigenous self-determination is commandeered by the colonizer's sovereignty since colonization is not the appropriation of one's land but also of political authority, cultural self-determination, economic capacity, and strategic location (Green et al. 2003; p. 52). Slowey (2001) also argues that an internal division has set in the first nation's communities over the resource development of traditional lands. There are those who do not mind exploiting the land for profit while others refuse to use their natural resources for such financial gain and adhere to their cultural

beliefs. This division is a resistance to cultural assimilation, another important part of colonization. Key fragments of colonization are losing hold on Indigenous peoples, with globalization ironically now a tool against colonization due to it loosening the hold of state sovereignty and citizenry over Indigenous people.

In Canada, several generations of Indigenous youth were subject to mandatory residential schooling in an attempt to eradicate our languages, cultures, and existence as Indigenous peoples. A rallying cry and policy that united Indigenous people in opposition to assimilation was a 1972 document called *Indian Control of Indian Education*. On page 1, the goal was straightforward and simply stated: “We want education to give our children the knowledge to understand and be proud of themselves and the knowledge to understand the world around them” (National Indian Brotherhood 1972, p. 1). When education was managed and run from outside our Indigenous communities without parental involvement or consent, many of our people started to forget who they were and many learned to be ashamed of being Indigenous. To take back control of education has meant taking back all elements of control including how it is governed.

Since this landmark document 45 years ago, taking control of how education is managed and run is a key facet of self-determination movements generally, but especially within Indigenous education. Indeed, many years ago, Mohawk educator Diane Longboat (1987) noted that there are many forms of control over education: curricular, human resources, financial, and others. While the federal government of Canada made much of its handing over of control over First Nations education in the 1980s back to First Nations, what was actually happening was a devolution of mere administration and not true control (Longboat 1987). The key points of education control remained with the Crown, whether provincial or federal. Struggles continue to this day to wrest control back, and the more control First Nations and Indigenous peoples have over how education is governed, the more control we will have over what we are able to do to ensure the next generation knows who they are and how to interact with the world around them.

Investigating what it means to have control over governance in education George Dei and Jean-Paul Restoule sought out contributions reflecting on this question in numerous Indigenous contexts globally. The contributors and contributions demonstrate that the linkages between governance and education can be interpreted broadly and liberally and the influence over education depends on a wide range of freedoms including the recognition of Indigenous self-determination and Indigenous knowledge as valid ways and systems of knowing. Governance influences Indigenous student success at every level from K-12 and into postsecondary education and contributes to the vitality of Indigenous cultural and spiritual expression. Looking at diverse global contexts and a wide range of educational applications from within Indigenous communities to changing mainstream institutions, the chapters in this section ultimately emphasize that control of governance leads to greater educational outcomes, stronger Indigenous cultures, and healthier Indigenous bodies, minds, and spirits.

In Lewis Asimeng-Boahene’s ► [Chap. 11, “Issues and Prospects of African Indigenous Systems of Governance: Relevance and Implications for Global Understanding”](#) the author writes about the continuing stigmatization of non-Western, in

particular, African, Indigenous knowledge systems. With a number of examples drawn from African Indigenous educational settings, Asimeng-Boahene argues that lessons from African Indigenous knowledge systems can help to re-vision schooling and education in the globalized contexts we find ourselves in today.

George Dei looks at developing governance structures in counter/alternative educational spaces through the lens of the role of Africentric schooling in Ontario and Canada. Asking such questions as how do we conceptualize Indigenous Governance for an Africentric school? How is such governance manifested in Indigenous and alternative educational sites outlets? How do Indigenous systems of governance offer important lessons for re-visioning schooling and education in Euro-American contexts, Dei's discussion is informed by a search for Indigenous philosophies for critical education working with local analytical concepts and ideas to enhance youth learning outside of the conventional school system.

The notion of which cultures are represented within the school council and governance bodies is taken up by Edward Shizha in his ► [Chap. 13, "Building Capacity for Indigenous Peoples: Engaging Indigenous Philosophies in School Governance"](#). As he notes, "parental involvement is strongly influenced by ethnic or cultural backgrounds that are different to the school (Berthelsen and Walker 2008; Mansour and Martin 2009). Schools should spend time building positive school-community relationships so that Indigenous peoples get involved in decision-making processes that promote the aims and goals of the school and the aspirations of the students." The tensions inherent in education and schooling come to the fore as we seek to engage more Indigenous parents to participate in running the schools. As schools were set up with a civilizing mission, teaching and reproducing Eurocentric culture, advocating acculturation and assimilation, the space for Indigenous philosophies and governance is contested and necessarily politicizing. Nevertheless, Shizha argues for the need for partnership with the community to create the roles and space where Indigenous parents can run the schools and make the necessary changes to include Indigenous epistemologies to support our youth.

In Filiberto Penados' ► [Chap. 14, "Indigenous Governance and Education in Belize: Lessons from the Maya Land Rights Struggle and Indigenous Education Initiatives,"](#) we learn about a long-fought struggle affirming the rights to land of the Maya of Southern Belize. Penados discusses the Alcade system of governance that predates colonial administrations and is being co-opted as a means of control. How the Garifuna and Maya have avoided and resisted colonial attempts to control and conquer their education initiatives is an inspiring example of what's possible. Penados engages the question of Indigenous governance's implications for education by examining the role of the Alcades in the Maya land-rights struggle and the Indigenous education initiatives in Belize.

Maaka, Wong, Perry, and Johnston, in their chapter on ► [Chap. 15, "Indigenous Leadership: A Complex Consideration,"](#) draw heavily from the wisdom of Māori and Hawaiian cultural proverbs to elaborate on how leadership can be represented or fulfilled. They consider what it is that inspires Indigenous people to follow others

and in the process arrive at insights on the health of Indigenous leadership, and Indigenous leadership ascension and succession. While many of their examples are rooted in particular cultural contexts, the resulting observations will likely resonate with Indigenous people from many diverse regions around the world.

Shifting focus to postsecondary education reform in Australia and recent calls for the adoption of Indigenous leadership, perspectives, and governance to help improve Indigenous outcomes in the sector, Maggie Walter, and Wendy Aitken outline the potential hazards that come with these positive changes in *Indigenous Governance Within the Academy: Negotiating the Space*. Similarly concerned with avoiding the pitfalls of co-optation and tokenism, the authors warn of the need for university members to be highly aware and make visible the deep cultural assumptions and entrenchment within tertiary education. As the authors state, lessons learned in Australia have salience for the fate of Indigenous Governance within higher education sectors, especially other Anglo-colonized first world nation states.

And Olga Skinner and Beth Leonard use Indigenous spaces theory to offer a critical look at the University of Alaska's attempts to engage with Indigenous knowledge and increase the Indigenous student body. The paper *Indigenous Struggles Within the Colonial Project: Re-envisioning Institutional Discourses and Governance in Higher Education* "examines key public discourses at the University of Alaska Fairbanks (UAF), including strategic governance plans related to the creation and expansion of physical and intellectual landscapes for Indigenous peoples." While there are many good goals and intentions stated within the institution's academic plans, the authors question how well they ultimately encourage a critical consciousness among its members and engage in a pedagogy of place that is situated within Indigenous ways.

Njoki Wane with Rose Ann Torres and Dionisio Nyaga bring a focus to spirituality and its role in Indigenous resistance in their ► [Chap. 18, "African Indigenous Governance from a Spiritual Lens."](#) They argue that if spirit is missing in any aspect of people's lives, then there will be an experience of imbalance in the community consequently affecting every aspect of governance. With examples drawn from Kenya, the authors remind us that there is remarkable commonality of Indigenous Governance from different Indigenous groups of the world and that every decision-making practice must incorporate all aspects of human being, the mind, body, and spirit.

John Jerome Paul, Lisa Lunney Borden, Joanne Tompkins, Jeff Orr, and Thomas Orr ask whether the master's tools can dismantle the master's house and come up with a surprising answer. Examining the governance model and achievements of the *Mi'kmaw Kina'matnewey*, a community-based organization that provides intermediary educational services and organizational representation to Nova Scotian Mi'kmaw communities seeking to exercise enhanced self-governance in education, the authors argue that MK has transformed Eurocentric schooling into a decolonizing and transformative force in Mi'kmaw communities. Mi'kmaw culture, language, and identity are thriving under this model, and Indigenous communities around the world can learn from the example.

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Issues and Prospects of African Indigenous Systems of Governance: Relevance and Implications for Global Understanding

11

Lewis Asimeng-Boahene

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Abstract

African indigenous systems of governance have remained prey to tradition, Western labeling, colonization, as well as African nostalgia. The overall result has been that African systems of governance have been slurred and reduced to the footnotes of serious academic discourse. The purpose of this chapter is to highlight the traditional architecture of the African indigenous systems of governance and their relevance to modern global schooling and educational systems. As in Renaissance Italy throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when a great multiplicity of organizational systems, namely, dictatorship, monarchy, democracy, and theocracy, existed within a fairly small geographical area and often under similar socioeconomic environments, so too in traditional African societies do we find a great variety of political systems within relatively close proximity to one another. It is this very diversity that is of great significance in understanding African political philosophy, which serves as the overarching goal of this paper. The chapter discussion covers the issues and prospects of what African indigenous systems of governance entail in terms of their relevance and implications for global schooling and education. After a discussion of the methodology employed and the conceptual and theoretical analysis for the paper, this chapter addresses precolonial traditional systems of governance, the impact of colonialism on the transformation of African traditional institutions and the status of traditional institutions in the postcolonial era. The next discourse examines the relevance and implications of Indigenous systems of governance for modern-day schooling and political education for global understanding.

Keywords

Indigenous systems of governance · Decentralized: Consensus-based · Stateless · Acephalous · Non-stratified · Centralized: chieftaincy political system

Introduction

African indigenous systems of governance continue to be victims of legends, Western stereotyping, colonization, as well as African Romanticism. The net end product has been that African systems of governance have been denounced and reduced to foot notes of serious academic discourse. Consequently, those observers interested in ascertaining the philosophical bases of African indigenous systems of governance are faced with considerable challenges. On the one hand, the indigenous African political structures that existed before the arrival of the colonizers displayed a multiplicity of structural differences across the continent. On the other hand, when faced with the challenge of examining the political beliefs behind these systems of governance, the researcher of African political thought must rely on a variety of sources including, the evidence written by external visitors to the continent, oral traditions that endured within the societies, archeological and linguistic patterns, and mostly Africa's diverse political structures (Potholm 1979).

Inevitably, African peoples adopted political systems that reflected the political philosophies functioning within their societies. However, the vibrancy and diversity of such sociopolitical heritages continue to be misunderstood and unacknowledged. It is in view of this missing intellectual ore that this paper seeks to highlight the degree to which the structural complexity of Africa mirrors certain basic suppositions about the nature of societal interaction, and connections between power and authority, hence their systems of governance. In Africa, like as in Renaissance Italy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a great variety of political systems within relatively close proximity to one another existed in traditional African societies. It is this very diversity that is of great significance in embarking on serious attempts at understanding African indigenous governance (Potholm 1979).

Consequently, my vested interest in this chapter is to share with readers, the underlying issues of many African indigenous systems of governance, which explain the persistent political patterns that have occurred in the various parts of the continent, among peoples of diverse linguistic and racial groups with totally varied cultural and historical circumstances. This leads me to begin this chapter by firstly describing the methodological process and the underpinning conceptual framework. This is followed by contextualizing the precolonial indigenous systems of governance. Thirdly, the roles of community elders in the traditional governance are highlighted. This is followed by a critical discussion of traditional governance under colonial and postcolonial settings. The last deliberation focusses on the future directions of indigenous governance in the modern era of globalization.

Methodology

This paper employed a qualitative research method. The qualitative approach was chosen because it allows the researcher to gain insight into the organizational structures and settings, social processes, and poignantly underscores the importance of the personal narratives on the lived experiences of the respondents (Strauss 1994). The inductive properties of flexibility and amenability available in qualitative methodology allow me to discuss the issue through my personal and lived experiences as an African, through my research and scholarly visits to various African countries and through my acquired knowledge about traditional systems of governance. In essence, the paper, which is theoretical in nature, extracts its arguments from documentary sources of data such as legal frameworks and other related policies, journals, textbooks, articles, magazines, dissertations, research reports, and relevant materials and publications from the Internet related to the study. Multiple strategies were employed to ensure the trustworthiness and credibility of the paper. These include, among others, engaging other researchers to critique the script to reduce research bias through triangulation and accounting for personal biases which may have influenced my conclusions (Morse et al. 2002).

Conceptual and Theoretical Analysis

The theoretical framework for this paper is underpinned by two conceptual analyses namely, the debate of whether traditional governance systems are relevant in modern governance and also the theory of political participation.

The Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) (2007) Report identified three different schools of thought about the relevance of African indigenous systems of governance. In the first school are those that believe that traditional institutions belong to historical relics (Fatile 2010). They argue that these institutions not only serve as hindrance to socioeconomic development, but are also divisive and expensive to run. Apart from these, the traditional institutions are viewed as partners to colonial masters who abhorred democracy and as such do not belong to the newly found post-colonial independent state (ECA 2007). Among the arguments advanced by these views are that:

- Chieftaincy has been corrupted by the colonial state and sometimes by the support of the despotic postcolonial state and is, thus, no longer accountable to the populace (Zack-Williams 2002; Kilson 1966).
- Inhabitants under traditional authorities, as in South Africa, live as “subjects” instead of as citizens of the state, and democratic governance would not be achieved while such systems continue to prevail (Mamdani 1996; Ntsebeza 2005).
- Chieftaincy enhances ethnic loyalties as chiefs represent the rallying points of ethnic characteristics (Simwinga, quoted in van Binsbergen 1987, p. 156).
- The hereditary nature of chieftaincy makes it discordant with democratic governance, which entails competitive elections as one of its foundation stone (Ntsebeza 2005).

The second school of thought stresses the areas of potential contribution of traditional institutions of governance. This polar opposite view asserts that traditional institutions are indispensable for political transformation in Africa, as they represent a major part of the continent’s history, culture, and political and governance systems. This view attributes the ineffectiveness of the African state in bringing about sustained socioeconomic development to its neglect of traditional institutions and its failure to restore Africa’s own history (Davidson 1992). This view is corroborated by Dore (2011) who argues that when policy overlooks history, culture, and social milieu, efforts and resources can be wasted on poorly envisioned policy. However, the ethnic institutions, by themselves, are not an adequate stipulation to empower traditional institutions to ease the transformation of social structures. Contingent on their landscape, traditional institutions, as learned from experience, may alter development and democratic transformation as they undergo constant change (Dore 2011). It is likely, however, that political and economic development would be more effective when widely shared institutions and cultural values are employed (Ejiofo 2004; ECA 2007; Fallers 1955). This school of thought contends that traditional rulers can play better roles in the political process as they

have advisory roles to government in administration at both national and subnational levels. Secondly, they play a developmental role by adding to the endeavors of government in mobilizing revenue and resources, sensitizing their subjects to government's program on matters like health issues like immunization and HIV/AIDS campaigns, voter registration, etc. Third is their function in terms of conflict management, as has been acknowledged among traditional rulers (Osakede and Ijimakinwa 2015).

The third school of thought postulates an eclectic argument (Ejiofo 2004). Though it recognizes the limitations of the traditional institutions during the period of colonialism, it emphasizes the fact that "traditional institutions constitute crucial resources that have the potential to promote democratic governance and to facilitate access of rural communities to public services" (ECA 2007, p. 11). Perrot et al. (2003) share this argument when they opine that the destiny of African (traditional) leaders appeared to be sealed just before independence; as they were accused of just serving the colonizers and deemed a useless institution. They further argue that the existence of these traditional leaders was no longer an issue in these days as some of the same government officials, university members, and the literate elite who previously criticized them are now enthroned playing the roles of traditional authority.

This chapter is also conceptually underpinned by the political participation theory, which emphasizes the inevitability of all-embracing political practices and procedures that unite social forces making them the foundations of the democratization practice (Sapru 2008). The theory further argues that traditional rulers in any political society are the lifeblood of the democratic organization through their involvement, contribution and participation in the political process. Thus, conceptualizing different schools of thought about whether traditional governments are germane in modern-day governance and political participation theory as a theoretical framework helps readers to identify, analyze, and transform debate and engage in discussion about the issues and prospects of African traditional governance.

Contextualizing the Precolonial African Indigenous Systems of Governance

"Governance," as a concept, implies those procedures that encompass establishing the rules for the use of power over groups of people living within a certain politicogeographic area and settling conflicts among such people over such rules. Hence, governance can be referred to as the regulation of a wide range of units and engaged in many different ways with no agreement on its latitude when engaged to define the political or community governance. There was significant heterogeneity in political centralization and decentralization across African ethnicities before colonialism. Thus, traditional institutions of governance involve the indigenous political organization where leaders are appointed and installed in conformity with the prerequisites of their local laws and customs (Murdock 1967; Orji and Olali 2010). It should be recognized that prior to colonization, African societies had rich political, economic, and social traditional institutions that oversaw social control, the

allocation of resources, and law making. The essence of any governing institution is to preserve the customs and traditions of the people and to manage conflicts arising among or between members of the community by the guiding principles of laws and customs of the people. Traditional institutions are the custodians of the people's norms, cultures, and practices. In most African settings, selection of persons into the offices of traditional institutions is hereditary or by selection or election using traditional methods. The method of selection of the occupants of traditional institutions differs among ethnic groups and communities. Hence, traditional institutions are representations of indigenous people's rights, privileges, laws, customs, and traditions (Khapoya 1998; Potholm 1979).

There are many schools of thought about the types of political systems of governance in Africa, given its size. There were societies in Africa that based the holding of political power on kinship. Some political systems integrated the idea that positions of authority should follow traditional kinship of inheritance, while others insisted that political power should be based on merit. Still others felt that political power should be shared by various interest groups within society. Some African political systems insisted that political power belongs to one group within society – a class, an organization, or even a racial caste. Some African political systems were democratic; others were despotic (Potholm 1979; Reagan 2005).

It is therefore not surprising that contextualizing and resolving conceptual issues about the identity/concepts of African indigenous governance systems is one of the many challenges confronting scholars, philosophers, historians, anthropologists, and educators, as they cannot be pigeon-holed by a single definition. African societies are characterized by fragmentation of various aspects of their political economy including their institutions of governance. The highly contextualized governance systems represent a set of cultural, traditional, and local instruments or mechanisms through which communities organize, manage, and coordinate their activities and consumption of resources. These are passed from generation to generation and currently function in parallel to the modern institutions. The processes and practices that apply will differ greatly given the environment in which they are applied (Ayithey 1991; Khapoya 1998; Potholm 1979; Reagan 2005).

Different Types of Indigenous Forms of Governance Structure in Traditional Africa: Precolonial Era

Since traditional governance systems tend to be culturally defined, there is no universal definition of a traditional governance system. Hence concepts like traditional, nonformal, informal, customary, indigenous, and nonstate governance systems are used interchangeably in different contexts to refer to localized approaches by communities to attain justice within the established system of governance (FIDA-Kenya n.d.). Consequently, not all traditional systems are or were the same. In certain societies and, in particular, large centralized polities, where a traditional leader could rely on his own army or police force, the process resembled more closely that of the formal state system.

Despite their intricate diversity, due to a number of intersecting structures mutual to most traditional systems, much of the modern-day literature classifies African traditional institutions of governance into two types, based on their precolonial forms: (a) the consensus-based systems of the decentralized precolonial political systems, and (b) chieftaincy of the centralized political systems (Ayittey 1991; Khapoya 1998; Potholm 1979; Reagan 2005; Robert 1972). The following discussion helps to clarify the similarities and differences of the two categories.

Decentralized or Consensus-Based Political System of Governance in the Precolonial Africa

Generally, decentralized or consensus-based systems of governance, which are generally also known as egalitarian or nonstratified, acephalous, decentralized, or stateless systems of governance, were political systems without any enduring or established system of power and authority. Decisions were communally made in different circumstances, especially, at informal community meetings. In large parts of Africa, many precolonial political systems were highly decentralized with law making, social control, and allocation of resources carried out by local bodies, such as lineage groupings, village communities, and age sets. Societal power was shared among the local groups. Such societies were ruled by elder members or councils chosen from different lineages of the community. The Nuer of Sudan, the Kikuyu of Kenya, and the Ibo people of Nigeria are examples of decentralized systems. However, their values were not all the same; the Nuer had rigid traditional political structure, and were, therefore, extremely resistant to change, whereas the Kikuyu and the Ibo who were more participatory in their traditional political systems were quite adaptable to change (Ayittey 1991; Khapoya 1998; Potholm 1979; Reagan 2005; Robert 1972).

In these kinds of decentralized societies, social groups like age-sets and secret societies played very strong roles in maintaining order and discipline and harnessing the resources of the community for mutual purposes. These types of systems defended against autocracy and tyranny by eradicating centralized political authority, generally replacing it with strong social and cultural mores and practices related to communal governance. As Williams (1987) commented:

It was therefore in the societies without chiefs or kings where African democracy was born and where the concept that the people are sovereign was as natural as breathing. And this is why in traditional Africa, the rights of the individual never came before the rights of the community. . . . These self-governing people did not have a Utopian society in any idealistic sense. Theirs was a practical society in every way. Their laws were natural laws, and order and justice prevailed because the society could not otherwise survive. Theirs was, in fact, a government of the people; theirs was, in fact, not a theory, but a government by the people; and it was, in fact, a government for the people. (p. 170)

It should be established that the fundamental principles that guide the consensus-based systems include the lack of concentration of power in an institution or a person

and preventing the development of a rigid structure. The settlement of conflicts in such consensual systems consists of a narrowing of differences through negotiations rather than through confrontational processes that produce winners and losers. This system is centered on respect for the rights and views of the individual, as individuals can veto the opinions of the majority. However, individuals are also expected to respect the wishes and interests of the community by accepting compromises, as they can face various forms of community censure, including social isolation, if they fail to do so. This system of accommodation prevents conflicts between minority and majority segments of a community (Legesse 1973).

Another important aspect of this kind of system is that it prevents the existence of political and social gaps between the governed and those who govern, as all eligible members of the community participate in both the creation and enforcement of rules and regulations. Among the well-known examples are the Ibo village assembly in eastern Nigeria, the Eritrean village *baito* (assembly), the *gada* (age-set) system of the Oromo in Ethiopia and Kenya, as well as the council of elders (*kiama*) of Kikuyu in Kenya, Tallensi of Northern Ghana, the Sukuma of Tanzania, and the Nuer of Southern Sudan, where decisions are largely based on consensus (Montagne 1931; Alport 1964).

Attributes of Centralized or Chieftaincy Political System in the Precolonial Africa

A centralized or chieftaincy political system puts the onus of power and decision making on a central authority. Africa has been the place with numerous highly centralized states. Africa has also observed the rise and fall of major empires. Some of these empires were urbanized, economically complex, politically, and culturally sophisticated, and in their era, some were among the most notable civilizations in the world (Reagan 2005). Centralized systems constituted the majority of the diverse indigenous political systems in precolonial Africa and varied extensively in terms of their organizational structure, size, degree of independence, subjugation to other groups, and so on. This form of government, which existed throughout Africa, comprises the Baluba of Zaire, the Asante of Ghana, and the Xhosa in South Africa, the Haya, Alur and Lange of Uganda Hehe and Shanbala in Tanzania, the Bemba in Zambia, and the Oyo in Nigeria (Potholm 1979; Busia 1968; Khapoya 1998).

Population pressures, coupled with other demographic factors, ecological factors, and political factors, often led to the fragmentation of these chiefdoms (Ayittey 1991; Reagan 2005). The level of centralization and concentration of power in the hands of the leaders in these indigenous systems differed from place to place. In some cases, such as Ethiopia and Rwanda, the rulers enjoyed absolute power. In most other cases, the power of the rulers was controlled by various arrangements, including the institution of councils (Beattie 1967). The level of development of the mechanisms of checks and balances also varied from place to place. In some cases, such as the Buganda of Uganda and the Nupe in Nigeria, the formal institutions of checks and

balances and accountability of leaders to the population were rather weak (Beattie 1967). In other cases, such as the Asante of Ghana, the Tsana of Botswana, and the Busoga of Uganda, the systems of checks and balances were better defined with constitutional staff to the chiefs to check the power of the leaders and keep them accountable (Busia 1968; Jones 1983; Coplan and Quinlan 1997).

Chiefs played major roles in many areas. They were judges and maintained the rule of law. They served as military leaders and led in wars. They were the custodians of communal ideals and enacted rites and customs that sustained the moral and cultural values of society. In some societies, like the Asante of Ghana, the chiefs were directly responsible for the observance of regulations about the exploitation of nature and the resources of the land, as the traditional worldview postulated a bond between a ruler and the health of the environment (Busia 1968; Brempong 2007).

Common to most of the centralized African kingdoms, unlike the decentralized societies, was the metaphysical view of the king as “the actual embodiment of the kingdom, and [the related idea] that there is a mystical union between the two” (Ayittey 1991, p. 151). In other words, the kingdoms were generally based on a “divine kingship” model. This concept also requires legitimacy based on the popular acceptance of the king. As Kopytoff (quoted in Ayittey 1991) explained:

The crucial point in Africa was that legitimacy had been conferred by the people by way of the “consent” of their symbols. . . being the creation of subjects, the African ruler’s legitimacy rested on an implicit contract that could be withdrawn. . . Under a satisfactory ruler, who had lived up to his nurturing obligations, the subjects would present the patrimonial perspective on rulership, in which the ruler is the absolute “owner” of everything. Similarly, the good ruler would state publicly his rule rested on the happiness of the people and on their consent. (p. 152)

Thus, in the centralized systems, there was a central control, leaders gave directions, directives were obeyed quickly, leaders held information, the structure was top down, leaders were ultimately responsible, and reward was according to individual role.

The Role of Community Elders in the Centralized and Decentralized Traditional Governance

Akwakora te ho ansa na wo woo ohene (Asante proverb). To wit “An old man was in the world before a chief was born.” This proverb underpins the value that traditional societies place on gerontology, irrespective of the traditional form of governance.

Every society has its cognitive enforcement officers or gatekeepers who together delineate the fundamental cognitive landscape of the people and principally superintend the approved depiction and the defense of the societal norms (Assimeng 2006). Consequently, among the traditional African societies, the above-mentioned policing or gatekeeping role is performed mostly by the adult members through the supposed acquisition of a library of ideas. They are considered to have accumulated the knowledge and wisdom of the society, which is stored in their heads. No wonder

then, that, the Akan of Ghana everyday references elders because of their professed wisdom found in wise saying and proverbs, such as “Each time an elderly dies it is as if a library had burned down.” In addition to acting as guides to the land and its flora and fauna, the elders convey knowledge to youngsters through moon light tales, and thus watching over their learning process. There is also a reverence of filial piety, the veneration and respect for the elderly which is equated with wisdom. This is nostalgically expressed in the famous African maxim that states “Wo ne panyin a due,” woe betides anyone who has no elder person to offer him/her advice (Asimeng-Boahene 2014).

In Ghana, elderly women are much revered due to their supposed knowledge acquired through lived experiences . . .hence the popular Akan notion of consulting the “old woman”: “Yekobisa nana aberewa,” (we are going to consult with grandmother) for counsel anytime there is a deadlock or difficulty in making a decision. In addition to their roles in teaching, community elders are also consulted in assessment of judicial matters/processes, such as land-tenure issues and marital affairs in traditional governance system. This type of believed oral knowledge of elders offers diverse ways of understanding the African world and its traditional governance and assumptions that are normally quite different from those seen in Western frames of reference (Asimeng-Boahene 2014).

African Traditional Institutions of Governance: Under Colonialism

The colonial exploitation and manipulation of the African institutions of traditional rule for its imperial reasons is well known (see Brempong and Pavanello 2006). As earlier noted, prior to colonialism, traditional rulers were both the political, social, cultural, and economic administrators of their various localities. They were integral parts of the African culture which made certain of harmony and stability in the society. However, the state of affairs changed when colonial rule was imposed on African societies. It was at this epoch that traditional rulers were subordinated and became instrumental for the attainment of the goals of the indirect rule or direct rule system of the colonialists (Fajonyomi 1997). It was the stretch of the power given to traditional rulers under the native authority system that created some sort of animosity between them and the educated elite in the period toward political sovereignty (Kirk-Greene 1965).

Traditional rule and its systems of succession in the period of independence were undermined by features of colonial governments. Colonial rule meant the abolition of the sovereignty of the traditional states and their subordination to the colonial authorities, represented by the district, Provincial and Chief Commissioners, and the Governor. The colonial government undertook the right of recognition of existing or newly appointed traditional rulers, which destined the right to accept or reject the choices of the king makers. Thus, the practice by the colonial government of the right to enthrone and dethrone traditional rulers undermined the traditional system of government by consent in areas like the Akan of Ghana (Brempong 2007). Hence, African institutions of governance were fundamentally distorted during colonialism

and the accompanying fundamental restructuring of African political structures and socioeconomic systems. The colonial state brought the different African political systems under centralized systems.

Impact of Colonialism on Decentralized Systems

In the decentralized traditional systems, social control had been carried out through communal consensus. The colonial state invented chieftaincies to whom they gave some types of authority and imposed hierarchical rule in the system, such as those of the Ibo of eastern Nigeria, the Tonga in Zambia, the Masai in Kenya, and the Savannah areas of Ghana (Brempong and Pavanello 2006). Inevitably, the old system ceased to be the institution known to its people. In some situations, the “invented” chiefs used their power to enrich themselves, and some differentiated themselves from their communities by subverting traditional political values (Tosh 1977). In many other cases, however, the invented chieftaincies were unsuccessful in displacing the consensus-based governance structures (Gartrell 1983). For instance, the warrant chiefs appointed by the British colonial state were unable to replace the traditional system of village council among the Ibo of Nigeria (Uwazie 1994). The Eritrean village *baito* (ruler) also survived colonialism largely in one piece. The district administrators appointed by the colonial state acted principally as tax collectors and the village heads appointed by such administrators largely presided over village assemblies and declared the consensus that came out from an assembly’s discussions rather than taking decision making roles.

Impact of Colonialism on Centralized Systems

The impact of colonialism upon authority systems was much greater, as it largely transformed the form and content of governance and, thus, the relations between chiefs and their communities, as Coplan and Quinlan (1997) indicate in the case of Lesotho. The colonial power either demoted or eliminated African leaders who resisted colonization or rebelled after colonization. Leaders who submitted to the British colonial rule were mostly incorporated into the colonial governance structure of indirect rule, which was designed to provide the colonial state with a viable low-cost administrative structure to maintain order, mobilize labor, enforce production of cash crops, and collect taxes. This process of incorporation severely weakened both the formal and informal mechanisms of accountability of traditional leaders to the population by changing the power relations between chiefs and their communities. Under colonialism, chiefs could be removed from power only by the colonial administration. Chiefs were also given control of land, thereby curtailing the ability of ordinary people to shift their allegiance to other chiefs (Busia 1968).

Consequently, the imposition of colonial rule and its legitimization through the various ordinances meant to a great extent the loss of traditional authority. Consequently, colonialism transformed a number of chiefs with some modifications into

mere civil servants of the colonial state (Brempong and Pavanello 2006). However, this view is often exaggerated as the roles of Hausa chiefs in Nigeria, for example, were affected differently by colonialism, with the power of those in Niger reduced more severely (Miles 1987). As intermediaries between the colonial state and local people, chiefs were expected to maintain peace and order within their communities. To be effective administrators, chiefs had to maintain their legitimacy with their communities (Coplan and Quinlan 1997).

This required that the chiefs should ease the encumbrance of colonialism by interceding with colonial authorities on behalf of their people and by protecting the interests of their communities. In some cases, chiefs also rebelled against colonialism when unable to persuade colonial administrators to modify some of their policies. For example in the past, the African kings/chiefs and elders were totally relied upon for executive, legislative, and judicial control of the society, Colonialism negatively affected this centuries-old traditional conflict resolution. This was replaced with the establishment of colonial styled courts which practiced colonial laws, foreign pattern of governance, and cultural traits. Finally, colonization shaped the political structure of African colonies to be in line with the needs of the metropolis. It ensured that African economic and political structures both in form and content served the interest of their colonial governments. This, to all intents and purposes was a disservice to Africa as colonization attempted to either eradicate or weaken traditional forms of governance through various ordinances as the way they did with indigenous knowledge systems.

African Traditional Institutions: Postcolonial Era

At independence, most African countries inherited a hybrid and disconnected system in which modern governance systems were superimposed on traditional institutions. Thus, the traditional rule and its systems of succession in the period of sovereignty were also subverted by aspects of Postcolonial governments. The enactments by the colonial and postcolonial governments on traditional rule diminished the customary roles of the traditional rulers. They were, for instance, no longer war leaders, law makers, or law enforcers. The significance of their role as priest chiefs was greatly reduced under the onslaught of Christianity and the exigencies of colonial rule that discouraged traditional activities like annual festivals, for example, as in Asante (Ghana), colonial rule discouraged the major festival of "Odwira" in the fear that it would rekindle what they thought were the dying embers of Asante nationalism (Brempong 2007).

Decolonization represented another landmark in the transformation of African traditional institutions of governance, especially the institution of chieftaincy. The abolishment of the colonial system of indirect rule left in flux the role of the upper echelons of chiefs and their relations with the new African states. Many of the African nationalists, first-generation leaders, such as Houphouet-Boigny (Ivory Coast), Sekou Toure (Guinea), Leopold Senghor (Senegal), and Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana), saw chiefs as functionaries of the colonial system and chieftaincy as an

anachronistic vestige of the old Africa that had no place in the postcolonial political landscape. Inevitably, African nationalist leaders, therefore, often pursued policies to Africanize the bureaucracy without indigenizing the institutions of governance. The new political elite, which increasingly grew self-serving and autocratic, also could not tolerate the existence of contending points of power (Economic Commission of Africa (ECA 2005). As they banned opposition parties, they also dispossessed chiefs of the bureaucratic positions they held within the indirect-rule system of the colonial state. Burkina Faso, Guinea, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe, among others, attempted unsuccessfully to strip chiefs of most of their authority or even abolish chieftaincy altogether. In many cases, in efforts to enhance its own legitimacy, the new elite, especially among the second generation of African leaders, attempted with varying degrees of success to co-opt traditional leaders.

Despite these ambiguous efforts, chieftaincy has continued to operate with large numbers of supporters, especially in rural areas. As an ECA study (2005) notes, chiefs often operate as custodians of customary law and communal assets, especially land. They dispense justice, resolve conflicts, and enforce contracts. They also serve as guardians and symbols of cultural values and practices. Unfortunately, chiefs currently operate largely in an informal setting without clear definitions of their authority. Some countries that have realized the resilience of the institution, such as South Africa and Uganda, are still grappling with how to incorporate chieftaincy and monarchy into their modern governance structure.

Consequently, it could be argued that, to some extent, postcolonial political narratives have, with time, transformed chieftaincy into a vital institution of the modern state due to the idea that the traditional institutions have preserved of their precolonial nature and character. With that, I now turn to the views challenging the relevance of indigenous governance.

Factors Responsible for the Waning Influence of Traditional Rulers in Governance

There are a number of factors that have contributed and are still contributing to the gradual loss of relevance of traditional rulers in governance in recent times. Fatile (2010) posits that some of these factors are self-inflicted by the traditional institutions themselves while others are systemically engendered. Thus, there is no doubt that traditional rulers have gradually witnessed erosion of their power while the power of the elected politicians in the political parties increased. Key issues that have contributed to the waning influence of the traditional rulers include:

- **Diminishing scope of influence:** The creation of new states/regions/provinces and local government areas have further limited the “kingdoms” overseen by the traditional rulers.
- **Social disquiet:** This is attributed to the moral decay in the society, lack of respect for elders, and legally constituted authority including traditional institutions.

- **Misuse of privilege:** The problem of giving chieftaincy titles and honors to less deserving members has created a society with false values and negative role models.
- **Globalization:** This global socioeconomic and political interconnectedness has contributed in the waning influence and interest in monarchies and traditional institutions in the developing world generally.
- **Politics:** Party politics have been and continue to be played in a manner that undermines the influence of traditional rulers over local voters.
- **Conflict of interest:** This is a continuing issue between local government authorities and traditional rulers, about who should do what in local community matters.
- **The economy:** The dwindling economic fortunes affecting traditional rulers have further eroded their influence and authority.
- **Self-inflicted challenges:** Partisanship in politics, lack of integrity by some money-for-chieftaincy policies, in-fighting undermine traditional values, etc.)
- **Socioeconomic and cultural changes:** These changes have resulted in lack of precision about genealogical relationships, while new ideas have generated uncertainties about the constructs of authenticity for rights in succession to stools and skins, as in the case of Ghana (Brempong and Pavanello 2006; Nworah 2007).

Relevance and Implications for Global Understanding of Indigenous Systems of Governance

As already noted, debate over the relevance of traditional institutions in modern-day societies continues to capture headlines. The relevance of traditional institutions, especially chieftaincy, to the transformation of African economies and governance systems for global understanding, schooling, and education is highly disputed in postcolonial writings, especially, among stakeholders, educators, politicians, Africanists, and traditional rulers (Osakede and Ijimakinwa 2015). Despite the declining power of traditional rulers in modern governance, their political systems, to some extent, continue to be relevant in the discharge of certain administrative functions. It is on this basis that this chapter may be timely and necessary to re-examine the relevance of traditional rulers in indigenous systems of governance and educational systems in modern governance structure as there are areas of significance which normally remain unrecognized and unexplained. These include the following:

Conflict Resolution

The African continent remains beleaguered by many internal conflicts that spring from problems of nation-building. One area where the traditional system of governance has shown tremendous success is in conflict resolution. Utilizing the norms of customary laws, disputes such as land, chieftaincy succession, criminal, and civil cases are arbitrated or resolved at the traditional levels. Indigenous methods of conflict resolution include traditional disputes resolution, peace-making, family or

community gatherings, and traditional mediation. All these benefit from the traditional methods of resolving problems and to the methods of restoration and reparative justice (Okrah 2003).

Expansion of Public Services

Public-service delivery in Africa is generally poor. An ECA study (2005), for instance, uncovers that less than 31% of the population of the countries in the survey sample voiced approval with the provision of service in their local governments. The lack of political backbone, the inability of the governments, and the absence of local participation in the strategy and distribution of service account for the poor delivery of service. Involving traditional institutions by the states can go a long way toward the improvement of service delivery in various ways. This is suggested because traditional authorities can mobilize local communities for political participation, thereby empowering them to play a part in influencing policy on the distribution of public services. Traditional authorities also have the potential to support the efforts of the government in service delivery by participating in the administration of justice and by mobilizing human and financial resources for expanding educational and health services (ECA 2005). African traditional values, thus, not only converge with modern democratic values, but also have the potential to complement the mechanisms of modern democracy by filling the gaps in the applicability of modern democratic mechanisms. They can also bring overlooked groups of society, including the peasantry, into the political process and improve the chances of gaining entree to public services for such communities.

Management of Resource-Based Conflicts (Land-Tenure System)

Another area of possible contribution of traditional institutions is in the mitigation of resource-based conflicts. The communal land tenure system that is prevalent in much of Africa is the foundation of many of the political structures and democratic values. The communal tenure system opens up access to land for all members of the community. Until economic development creates access to different prospects, the communal tenure system remains a critical instrument for cutting rural unemployment, poverty, and inequality. It also makes the preservation of traditional democratic values and rural self-governance possible. Easing source-based conflicts is likely to require respect for the traditional land rights of local communities and their involvement in decision-making as well as in sharing the benefits of land and other resource allocation (Okrah 2003).

From the above relevant roles played by traditional rulers, it is not surprising that, a growing number of African countries, including some of those that had previously attempted without success to strip chiefs of their power or to completely abolish traditional institutions, have realized the political currency that chiefs possess. For example, Uganda and Zimbabwe have taken measures to reinstate and to integrate

chiefs into their governance structure. These two countries have also now conceded to the political risks or opportunity costs involved in abolishing chieftaincy. Chiefs have become “vote-brokers” in rural areas and exercise meaningful informal control over the state’s intervention in local affairs (Von Trotha 1996). As vote-brokers, they side themselves with the powers that offer the best chances for upholding their positions and promoting their interests.

The following factors further attest to the relevance of indigenous institutions in modern political times by the chiefs and other traditional leaders. Among others, indigenous institutions continue to play the following important roles:

- **Family assets:** The traditional rulers serve as custodians of family assets including lands, among others.
- **Responsibility to work for the development of the community:** The material advancement of a community and the maintenance of its peace and unity are considered as one of the major duties of a chief or traditional leader.
- **Cultural leadership:** Chiefs and other traditional leaders exemplify and oversee deep-seated cultural values and practices, e.g., fertility of the land, taboos, festivals, etc.
- **Agents of peace:** The traditional leaders provide the assurance upon which new mixed governance structures can be established since chiefs serve as custodians of and advocates for the interests of local peoples within the bigger central political framework.
- **Control over land:** Most of the land holders maintain their lands through forms of “customary tenure”; access to, and use of, land is still controlled or managed in practice (even if not legally) by chiefs, family or family heads.
- **Political representation of the community and community identity:** The role has led to the frequent involvement of chiefs in party politics, either as “brokers” for the mobilization of support, or as powerful actors in their own right (Ayittey 1992; Brempong and Pavanello 2006; Crook 2005; Okrah 2003).

Consequently, notwithstanding the overall minimal knowledge about African traditional systems of governance, the above piece can serve as lessons from African judicial systems of governance for global understanding as it has lighted the various roles the indigenous African systems of governance continue to play in the modern day Africa. This piece has provided information for better understanding of how Africa is combining a modern-day system of governance which is predominantly Western-centric with precolonial indigenous systems of governance. It may be probable to find similar indigenous practices and philosophies in other parts of the world.

Future Directions

The following ideas are recommended for future direction for prospects of African indigenous systems of governance.

There is the need for a paradigm shift. Indigenous institutions must be willing to initiate change as it has become necessary for a renovation of the institution to gain a footprint in this era of globalization. With this approach in mind, there should be a substantive adaptation of traditional approaches on the part of outside development partners toward commitment to indigenous traditional cultures. Thus, there is the need to bolster and rejuvenate traditional institutions of governance by starting to embrace these informal and traditional approaches to issues like conflict management and peace-building among local communities. The involvement of the traditional approaches are not only relevant but sacrosanct to African traditional setting in conflict management and peace-building so that the traditional institutions would regain their nearly lost respect and values in attempt to revive the kind of influence they wielded during the precolonial era.

Consequently, integrating traditional authorities into the modern governance structure should be considered as a way of making African indigenous systems of government more relevant and meaningful for today's schooling and political education for better global understanding of the traditional governance systems. To the extent that African traditional political values and customary laws are essential to the continent's transformation, the role of the authorities who are engaged in the practice and maintenance of those values is indispensable. Chiefs, especially those at the grassroots level, and elders in the decentralized political systems, are the leaders in the practice of those values and they form an integral albeit informal part of the governance structures of rural Africa. As von Trotha (1996) notes, chiefs and village heads under civil chieftaincy constitute a valuable resource in informing the state about the interests of local communities as well as in mobilizing rural populations for active engagement, not only in development activities and the distribution of public services, but also in the national political process.

Unlike government-appointed administrators, lower-level chiefs and village leaders live in conditions largely similar to those of their communities. They share common interests and think like their people. As a result, they are better equipped to represent the interests of their communities than are government-appointed administrators, who are accountable only to the political *elite*. Partnership in development between local traditional leaders and government administrators is also likely to promote cooperative state-society relations that are sorely absent in Africa. However, even though incorporating these leaders has not been controversial, the state has invariably underutilized the traditional leaders at the grassroots level and has not done enough to integrate them into the formal governance structures. This practice needs to be revisited.

Again, in this era of globalization, there should be a study, evaluation, and compilation of "socially desirable" customary laws and usages. This means researchers must unpack the existing stereotypical typology about Africa governance systems to make it possible for outside observers to learn more about the complex characteristics that are lost in its generalizations about Africa. Such insights make it possible for observers to identify the attributes of the various types of traditional institutions that can be used to promote development and democratic governance and those aspects that are incompatible with democratic governance and

need to be changed. Without access the true picture of the characteristics and dynamics of traditional institutions, it will be difficult to understand why they have remained resilient and to determine the possible impacts they can make to the fostering of democratic institutions that are harmonious with African authenticities and value systems. This idea is better captured when we recognize the perspective of Basil Davidson (1969) on these issues when he summed up that:

In the end, it will be a matter of knowing how the civilization of the past can be remade by a new and bold vision. The Africans sorely need their modern revolution: profound and far-reaching in creative stimulus, unleashing fresh energies, opening new freedoms. The world's experience, may help. But the structures that are needed will have to stand on their own soil. Perhaps this is only another way of saying that these new structures, as and when they emerge, will be nourished by the vigour and resilience of native genius, by all the inheritance of self-respect and innovating confidence that has carried these people through past centuries of change and cultural expansion. (p. 317)

The above iterations highlight that the indigenous traditional institutions can become a strong mobilizing metaphor. As already pointed out, the chiefs, among others, can serve as a link for grassroots development schemes in the communities, consequently, making traditional institutions a strong mobilizing force.

Conclusion

Let me conclude. It is heart-warming to reflect and highlight the issues and prospects of African indigenous systems of governance as an educator. In this chapter, I have contextualized the precolonial indigenous systems of governance by discussing the different types of indigenous forms of governance structure in precolonial era and their attributes. I also highlighted the role of community elders in the traditional governance; examined traditional governance under colonialism and post colonialism. Lastly, I focused on the future directions of indigenous governance. I trust the readers will notice that traditional rulers are very important in many traditional settings in Africa. Though some of their powers and vigor in the communities continue to wane in postindependence Africa due to a number of factors, they remain resilient and continuously play a very significant role in terms of cultural leadership by informally managing conflict, control over lands, arranging peacemaking meetings, and political representation of the community and community identity.

Hopefully, in a world so divided along *isms* in terms of race, gender, class, religion, and political ideologies, I hope knowing something about issues and prospects of African indigenous systems of governance can stimulate a debate to serve as a provocation of ideas on current situation of indigenous systems of governance and their potential relevance for better understanding in this era of globalization whereby the world has become increasingly interdependent and interconnected.

Admittedly, in such undertakings, we are likely to raise more issues that we can concretely address about the whole gamut of indigenous governance. However, I see this as an important first step. It may be possible to identify similar indigenous

practices and philosophies in other parts of the world that share common realities and, thus, making peoples and nations ostensibly connected in terms of systems of governance. It is this reality that has given me the license to discuss the characteristics of African indigenous governance systems through my personal and lived experiences as an African, through my research and scholarly visits to various African countries, and through my knowledge acquired from various literatures about formal and informal indigenous governance of Africa.

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Indigenous Governance for Africentric School Success

12

George J. Sefa Dei

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Abstract

As a key proponent of the establishment of Africentric schools in Ontario and Canada, my paper will explore the possibilities of enhancing learning outcomes for Black/African, Indigenous, and marginalized youth in counter/alternative educational spaces. The focus is development of a governance structure that takes into account the central tenets of Afrocentric education with parents and local communities as key foundational players in the school's governance. Among key questions for engagement are: how do we conceptualize Indigenous governance for an Africentric school? How such governance is manifested in Indigenous and alternative educational sites outlets? How do Indigenous systems of governance offer important lessons for re-visioning schooling and education in Euro-American contexts? The discussion is informed by a search for Indigenous philosophies for critical education working with local analytical concepts and ideas to enhance youth learning outside of the conventional school system.

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Introduction

The chapter explores Indigenous systems of governance with implications for Africentric schooling and education in Canada. In 2009, after a long community struggle for improvements in Black/African Canadian education, the Toronto District School Board (TDSB) in the province of Ontario opened an Africentric school at Sheppard Public School, Toronto, to cater for junior Kindergarten to grade 6. The School was the first of its kind by a major school board in Canada. The Africentric school is largely viewed as a small-scale pilot study, not set up as a broad model of segregation as its opponents have argued. The School is an optional model of education where students go on voluntary basis and are not forced to be there because of their Black or African identity. Furthermore, the School is open to all students who share in its philosophical principles and ideals, that is, entry to the School is not based on race or ethnicity. Originally the School was primarily intended as an “ameliorative” program to respond to some of the pressing challenge of Black education and academic advancement (see also Lawrence 2009).

Early test results of the school in 2010 revealed some successes: the Africentric school had 81% of its students above the provincial standard of the EQAO tests, well above the 70% across TDSB, and 70% for the province; students of the Africentric school were 8–10 percentage points above the rest of the province in reading and mathematics (Vukets 2011). It is therefore not surprising that in 2014, TDSB opened a second Africentric school, Scarborough’s Winston Churchill Collegiate in Toronto at the secondary level. Unfortunately, in later years the Africentric school at Sheppard has faced some growing problems that have impacted its initial success (see James et al. 2015).

It is important to reiterate some of the philosophical principles and the political-intellectual project of an Africentric schooling. Africentric schools are conceptualized as “community institutions” pushing for a special position of the teacher imbued with a decolonizing spirit to “save our children” from mis-education and under education of conventional schooling. The school has close relations and bonding with parents and community Elders. The school teaches about self, identity, culture, history, and heritage, fostering a collective racial pride as critical for enhancing social and academic success of Black/African students in particular. But it is generally understood such pride does not necessarily guarantee academic success for students. Education success, it is understood, entails collective hard work engrained in principles of reciprocity, sharing, responsibility, mutual interdependence, respect for the Elderly, authority, and the power of communal ancestral knowledge. The principles of Africentric schooling are built on the Afrocentric idea of the centeredness of the [African] learner, the promotion of [African] cultures, identities, history, as well as Black agency and resistance (see Asante 1991; Dei and Kempf 2013). Afrocentricity

as a guiding principle and philosophical idea is a theory of social change (Mazama 2003; Asante and Mazama 2005, 2010) to advance the social, cultural, emotional, and spiritual development of the African learner. The Africentric school works with the Ubuntu moral philosophy—community, mutual interdependence, sanctity of activity, interconnections, and social responsibility (see Letseka 2014, 2016). For the Africentric learner, there is a groundedness in the community knowledge and African intellectual traditions. The promotion of a strong African identity is upheld as consequential for schooling. This identity is complex and yet firmly African in terms of a social, spiritual, and emotional identification as well as psycho-cultural and political rootedness in African peoples' histories and struggles. There is also a place accorded to African spirituality in learning and the search for Black/African and Indigenous excellence in education.

Even after 6 years it is fair to argue that the Africentric school in Toronto is a “work in progress.” Compounding institutional and systemic challenges of funding, leadership, community control, and developing a clear vision and mandate for Black education remain significant challenges. There is also the challenge of how action research (e.g., learning from lessons of the school for mainstream education through partnerships) and success of the school can translate to assist all students in mainstream schools. There is also the problem of developing a truly Afrocentric curriculum and pedagogic initiatives as a cornerstone of the school. The central role of parents, elders, and communities has not always been adhered to leading to conflict and internal strife between school administrators, parents, and the local community. In effect, key issues of vision and leadership have become perennial challenges of the school. Other growing problems and challenges are stakeholders in the school understanding the Afrocentric idea and its principles and what it means to put into practice. There has also been a growing community chorus to go beyond having “just one school” and to set up such schools at the elementary, secondary, university, and other tertiary levels.

The subject of this chapter is not so much a look at this particular school as an examination of some of the basic ideas that propel the Africentric school to be different from the mainstream school. In this context, this chapter examines how Indigenous governance brings some uniqueness to the Africentric schooling idea.

History and Context: Long Standing Issues of Race, Schooling, and Education

Research on minority and Indigenous education on Ontario and Canada has identified the systemic challenges impacting on students' academic success (e.g., representation, knowledge, reframing the “deep curriculum” – Dei et al. 1997, 2000; Solomon 1992; Codjoe 2001; James and Shadd 2001; Kelly 1998). There is the issue of youth disengagement and push-out in schools (e.g., bodies physically present but absent in mind and soul). The salience and silence of race (e.g., the legacy of anti-Black racism) is compounded by colonial settlerhood to deny the dreams and aspirations of many Canadian and Indigenous youth. Compounding these problems

are the discursive manipulations of schooling success and educational failures in which schools would take credit for success but then blame and pathologize local families, parents, and communities for “problems.” As noted elsewhere (Dei 2008), neoliberalism and its educational agenda has sought a deliberate deployment, interrogation and re-appropriation of the language of education reform (e.g., standards, accountability, excellence, competencies, quality, (human) capital). A very liberal notion of inclusion has depoliticized difference through “standardization recipes” according to Lewin (2000); and what hooks (1989) long ago rightly noted as pursuit of “sameness as provocation that terrorizes” (pp. 22–23).

What critical educational research tells us when it comes to Indigenous, Black, and minority youth education is that we seem to be adding stories to a weak foundation through cosmetic educational changes. We as a society are expecting success while reproducing the status quo that has maintained the systemic impediments to effective schooling for the youth. There is still an on-going search for a level playing field for all youth by addressing the “poverty of school culture” in terms of the processes of educational delivery (teaching, learning, and administration of education). The long standing pioneering research studies by critical scholars such as Apple and Weis (1983), Apple (1999), Ladson-Billings (1994), McCarthy (1990), King (2005), Fine (1991), Gillborn (1995), Giroux (1981), and Willis (1977), Brathwaite and James (1996), James (2000) have all attested to this fact of minority education in Euro-American context.

There are multiple complicities in the making of the perceived “educational crisis.” Schools, educators, school boards, policy officials, local communities, parents, and students themselves are all differentially implicated. We have not learned much from international and cross-cultural comparative lessons of promoting educational success. There is an unquestioned faith in integration which has stymied a critical discussion of counter schooling options for different bodies. We have not tapped into wealth of Indigenous cultural knowings about educating learners. It is here that examining Indigenous concepts and conceptions of schooling and the governing of schools may offer some lessons. Such schools are conceptualized and operationalized differently to respond to some of the alienating aspects, including the colonial hierarchies of conventional schooling.

Counter-visioning schooling in North American contexts also requires a theoretical prism for understanding educational challenges and the need for educational change. A decolonial educational praxis that engages antiracism and transgressive pedagogies may have potential for radical educational transformation. Such educational praxis takes into account the question of identity, culture, pedagogy, and politics of schooling. Identity is linked to schooling as inclusive of racial, class, gender, sexual, [dis]abled identities of learners. Education must recognize the saliency of race and social difference (class, gender, sexual, disability, culture, etc.) as consequential in schooling. Students go into schools with their identities as raced, classed, gendered, sexualized, and [dis]abled. A recognition of the relative saliencies of different identities and the situational and contextual variations in intensities of oppression is significant in devising solutions to educational problems

facing diverse communities. There is also the severity of issues for certain bodies (e.g., Black, racialized, and Indigenous bodies) to consider.

Conceptualizing Indigenous Governance

In this brief review of the literature, I explore Indigenous governance, while simultaneously providing reasons why colonial governments resist Indigenous governance. I also look at how colonial projects were used to test the relevance and effectiveness of Indigenous governance. I discuss the reasons of acknowledging Indigenous governance, the way forward, as well as critique existing literature of governance.

Indigenous communities worldwide had their form of government before European colonization. Such governance was often built on the premises of love, faith, and commitment to the people and the community. For many Indigenous communities around the world, love is the foundation upon which all relations are built. Love sees beyond the imperfection of the community. It enables leaders to perform their given roles without coercion. Love sees beyond every person's ability and skills. Through love, Indigenous peoples live in a state of harmony. Indigenous life before colonialism revolved around respect, reciprocity, collaboration, and unity. Indigenous peoples see power as a quality that everybody possesses. This way of looking at power was demonstrated among Indigenous peoples through teaching young ones their culture and way of life. Power resides within the local culture and percolates through the community in different measures (Torres and Nyaga 2016). Young ones were taught community values and culture as a way of preparing them for leadership roles. Some of the teachings young ones received involved healing practices. Healing process was a powerful process of governing communities. Power is discussed as part of Indigenous governance in relation to healing the people and the community. Indigenous governance sees power as fluid in that everyone has the capacity to exercising power (Dei 2000; Foucault 1980; Torres and Nyaga 2016). This means that the people chosen to lead the community are guardians of community power.

It is significant to note that in creating a pan-Indigenous identity, we must distinguish between nations and peoples. Leanne Simpson's analysis of Gdoo-naaganinaa provides a specific example of how precolonial nation-to-nation relations on Turtle Island were driven by mutual sustainability, respect, and (possibly) love. As she notes at length, describing Anishinaabe leadership:

This reciprocity is also reflected in the qualities of traditional leadership. To reproduce the qualities prized in a traditional leader – respect, honesty, truth, wisdom, bravery, love, and humility – our ancestors practiced relationships with children that embodied kindness, gentleness, patience, and love. Children were respected as people, they were encouraged to follow their visions and to realize their full potential while living up to the responsibilities of their families, communities, and nations. This was the key to creating leaders with integrity, creating good governance, and teaching future leaders how to interact in a respectful manner with other human and nonhuman nations. (Simpson 2008, p. 33)

Indigenous governance is an effective and useful tool in solving social issues facing the society (O'Malley 1996; Larson et al. 2008; Njoh 2015). For example, the current form of national government of Canada may be attempting to incorporate some aspects of Indigenous governance. Reed (1999) captures the nature of Indigenous governance in Canada pointing to key principles of sharing, reciprocity, cooperation, generosity, courage, and wisdom:

Most Aboriginal societies valued individual responsibility and independence, but they also believe in the importance of sharing. Cooperation was key and consensus was a central part of decision making. Indigenous leaders should be responsible to the needs and desires of their people. Among the Siksika (Blackfoot), leaders gained recognition and authority on the basis of their courage, generosity, honesty, and wisdom. They governed only as long as they had the confidence of their people. (Reed p. 10)

Colonial governments realized the importance of working with Indigenous forms of governance for effective administration of communities. It was very clear to colonial administration that as much as Indigenous community leaders were chosen to lead their communities, they had to work in solidarity with other members of the community (see Lauer 2007). Indigenous peoples cherished individual contribution and freedom as embedded in the spirit of community belonging. Ross (2006) discusses the rules guiding Aboriginal and Indigenous peoples' practice, noting among them "the ethic of non-interference, the ethic that anger should not be shown, the ethic respecting praise and gratitude, the conservation-withdrawal tactic, and the notion that the time must be right" (pp. 13–14). Each of these principles plays a great role in Indigenous governance.

How Indigenous governance deals with social issues within communities does not make sense to the colonizer. According to the colonizer, they are irrational and emotional. In fact, colonial governments intimate that these principles of sharing, reciprocity, and generosity are "rigid" and unhelpful to individual freedoms. Nonetheless, Indigenous peoples adore their community and the principles that guide them. They do so because they are involved collectively in creating those principles that serve their communities' best interest. As such they identify with such principles and abide by the rules governing them. Each member of the community has a role to perform. Individual contributions are valued and seen as contributing to the well-being of the community.

The power that exists in this community is not totalizing, in fact, it encourages everybody to work hard for the benefit of all (see O'Malley 1996, p. 318). O'Malley (1996) defines Indigenous governance as "attuned to nomadic existence, reflect[ing] far more fissionable and temporary arrangements and non-corporate forms, in which kinship, age, gender and sacred knowledge and status are central principles" (O'Malley 1996, p. 315 quoting Keen 1989). Other Indigenous scholars have articulated their views of Indigenous governance. Tauli-Corpuz (2006), an Igorot scholar from the Philippines, states that "at a very early age our parents and elders taught us basic values deemed Indigenous values such as respect for nature and ancestors, honesty, and love for Mother Earth" (p. 13). Doxtater (2011) describes the Indigenous governance in Kanataronnon community, noting that:

the well-known model of Indigenous governance is said to have influenced the liberal and socialist nation-states' political philosophy. In the Indigenous model male 'chiefs' perform a judiciary role. Influenced strongly by Indigenous mothers (matrilineal descent), an 'executive' branch includes aides, counselors, mediators, health specialists – any skill or duty used to manage the affairs of the nation. Finally, the right and freedom of the people to govern over their own affairs around 'fires' as special interest groups are 'representative' of the people's will. Consensus building is the central requirement between the judiciary, executive, and representative domains. (390)

Colonization has long been deeply implicated in the erosion of such Indigenous governing processes. One of colonialism's most effective tactics for dismantling Indigenous governance is the construction of the "Indigenous" as something primitive that must be abandoned. For example, Tauli-Corpuz (2006) explains that the people in her Igorot community never considered themselves to be "poor" or "underdeveloped" until they faced globalization. With time, Tauli-Corpuz and her community came to see themselves through the eyes of the colonizer. They were conditioned to believe that the Igorot worldview was an obstacle to development, civilization, and prosperity. By positioning Indigeneity as primitive and Western neoliberalism as progressive, colonial governments are better able to establish hegemonic power.

Ironically, even as the colonizer works to dismantle structures of Indigenous governance, colonial governments take up and appropriate Indigenous ways of governing to address certain social problems (O'Malley 1996; Njoh 2015; Larson 2011). We see this double-edged maneuver – stamping out Indigenous structural power while simultaneously appropriating specific elements of Indigenous governance into colonial systems of power – all over the world. For instance, Australian government tries to appropriate Ngaanyatjarra culture (O'Malley 1996); Japan attempts to ignore Ainu people (Larson 2011); Cameroon exasperates their way of governance through bypassing the people of Meta (Njoh 2015); and the United Nations insists in giving advice to Indigenous People (Tauli-Corpuz 2006). Admittedly, while these examples may not fully present the hypocrisy of simultaneously dismantling and appropriating Indigenous governance, they do point to the acknowledged strengths of such forms of governance in colonial nation states.

How do we account for such development trends? In neoliberal societies, state and national governance is built on principles of power from the top, greed, ownership, fame, individuality, and corruption. In fact, neoliberalism has fostered the spirit of individualism, greed, selfishness through its false praise of individual hard work, personal sacrifice, and meritocracy. At least on paper, leaders are elected with the hope of serving their constituencies and work in between and beyond borders of race, class, ethnicity, gender, ableism, religion, age, and other forms of differences. Leaders in colonial governments are expected to create a space of love and respecting diversity, a space where all community members are welcome to contribute their talents, skills, and time for the benefit of the whole; a space where the notion of racism, classism, ageism, homophobia, and other forms of division, hatred, and prejudice are avoided; most of all, a space where centers, margins, and borders must be eliminated so that there is a continued flow of respect, recognition, and unity to all. We must be thoroughly critical of colonial governance. There is the absurdity

of a colonial system that seeks to benefit all while erasing and ignoring social difference. What is on paper is a far cry from what we have witnessed and continue to witness in the supposedly neo-colonial era. But even if this is the case, why have state-run projects and programs aimed at bettering the community so often resulted in alienation, exploitation, and oppression? One needs only look at the tragic consequences of contemporary state governance in a number of African countries (see also Lauer 2007)!

In examining the simultaneous attempts by colonial power to extinguish and appropriate Indigenous governance, we encounter a basic truth: Indigenous governance poses a threat to colonial power. The practice of Indigenous governance, therefore, is a means of both resurgence and resistance (Dei 2000). However, such resistance cannot be effective if it does not consider its relationality to systems of colonial power. For example, O'Malley (1996) examines features of Australian policies of self-determination for Aboriginal peoples, in order to explore systems in which resistance in the form of Indigenous governance can [influence the (?)] establishment of [policy and] regulations. O'Malley discussing contemporary governmentality argues that the approach "privileges official discourses, with the result that it becomes difficult for it to recognize the imbrication of resistance and rule, the contradictions and tensions that this melding generates, and the subterranean practices of government consequently required to stabilize rule" (p. 311). Referencing Foucault (1980), he points to the fact that "power comes from below" and that resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power. Resistance can actually be an essential part of and provider to projects irrespective of success and not just integration into colonial projects. O'Malley (1996) argues that if resistance is viewed and positively incorporated in government, it may result in creating spaces of productivity and cooperation.

O'Malley (1996) further describes liberalism as a system that focuses on technologies and appropriation of Indigenous governance. This appropriation of Indigenous governance creates challenges to colonial governments "...even when the programme is successful in its major goals, liberalism may incorporate alien and contradictory practices and assumptions. . . such work is subterranean in the sense that to be successfully effected, it must not violate the authenticity of the Indigenous governance in the eyes of the programmers and the programmed" (p. 313). Hence, when a state-run program is built upon appropriated concepts of Indigenous governance, the program will often fail. On the other hand, if Indigenous governance is effectively *incorporated into* (rather than appropriated by) a liberal system of power, "the resultant arrangements. . . may contribute to liberalism's eclecticism and adaptability through the addition of new concepts, techniques and principles of governance" (O'Malley 1996, pp. 313–314).

To fully understand the relationship between colonial and Indigenous systems of governance, we must also examine the issue of Indigenous self-determination within colonial societies. True self-determination would pose a tremendous threat to colonial power. Liberal governments have traditionally imposed restrictive parameters on Indigenous autonomy and sovereignty, often excluding Aboriginal and Indigenous Peoples in government positions such as managers, teachers, and

community advisors (O'Malley 1996). Writing in the Japanese context, Larson et al. (2008) argue that there is a long way to go before Ainu people can fully enjoy and exercise true self-determination: “despite . . . [the] international legitimacy [that the Ainu struggle has received], the institutional structures of the Japanese state mediate the effects of international influences and limit Ainu domestic self-determination and participation in governance” (p. 55). Indigenous peoples claim that “domestic policies based on cultural promotion and Ainu welfare provide few points of direct contact between Ainu leaders and the Japanese bureaucracy; further, these points of contact tend to be isolated from the parts of the bureaucracy most subject to international influence” (p. 55). It is contended that, “additionally, actors in the Japanese government exposed to global normative pressures have little direct interaction with Ainu specialists” (p. 56). The Japanese government does not want to recognize Ainu people as Indigenous peoples because their folklore is invisible (see Larson et al. 2008 for further discussion). Similarly, we know the Igorots in the Philippines have not been recognized by the colonial state because it is assumed their practices are outdated, not useful, and therefore invalid (Tauli-Corpuz 2006). This problem is compounded by the erroneous and often racist assertion that Indigenous peoples are “uneducated” and cannot understand the processes of globalization, acculturation, liberalism, as just some examples, and therefore, there is no point of including them in the current governance. We maintain that notwithstanding such negative and problematic views of Indigenous governance, there are projects instituted or that can be instituted that bear true glimpses of what Indigenous governance is and should be about. At a microlevel, we turn to the case of the Afrocentric school in Toronto, Canada.

Indigenous Governance, Schooling, and Education: The Case of the Africentric School

This section of the edited collection concedes school governance to be a major topic for Indigenous peoples with implications for educational institutions and communities. Clearly Indigenous systems of governance have implications for the effective running of schools to ensure educational success as broadly defined. Given that education is pursued in transnational contexts, it is also important for discussions to bring an international dimension to both concepts of “Indigenous” and “Indigenous Governance.” In this regard, this chapter applies Indigenous governance to Africentric education and educational leadership within such an institution and particularly, the way Indigenous governance informs and frames school-community structures and relationships.

It is already noted that Indigenous governance is built on the premises of love, faith, and commitment to people and community (Dei et al. 2000). Schooling is about the love of learning. In pursuing this love of learning community comes together to recognize the contributions of everyone to the collective. Beyond the imperfections of learners, the idea of schooling as community ensures that the success of one becomes the success of all. Similarly, one's failure is our failure. It

is this principle of community, sharing, reciprocity, love, and caring that undergirds an Africentric school. School governance is built on these principles and teachers, students, staff, and community are expected to be more than the individual and the self. School governance is entrusted in the hands of a collective leadership with assigned roles and responsibilities that ensure collective success. Through love, the members of the Africentric school community live in a harmony. Indigenous life before colonialism revolved around respect, reciprocity, collaboration, and unity.

Exploring the schooling and educational implications of Indigenous governance, we argue that Indigenous governance is bottom up, inclusive, and very holistic. There are no clear lines of demarcating authority and responsibility. This does not mean chaos nor anarchy but a sense of collective decisioning that involves the school and the local community in every sense of a collective partnership. Indigenous governance in Africentric schooling is about collective leadership from local community, parents, educators, and school administrators as well as students. There are chains of accountability even in this style of collective governance since the running of the school, in terms of the delivery of education, teaching, learning, and administration of education is left in the hands of bodies working in collective partnership. Conventional schooling accords much power and authority to school boards and Ministry of Education that usually provide the funding of educational institutions. Even when these funds are taxpayers' money, school rules demarcate these formal institutions as the final arbiters in funding decisions many times relegating the roles of local community and parents as taxpayers and funders of schools into secondary roles. The funding decisions determine broader questions of the "deep curriculum" (Dei et al. 1997) defined to include the culture, climate, and socio-organizational lives of schools, as well as school management, policies, and procedures. The traditional governance structures end up disempowering local communities, parents, students, and to some extent classroom teachers. With the Africentric schooling, funding is provided by local communities as primary taxpayers and not the state. This perception is important since it places communities and parents at the center of school governance.

The school is structured to break down any false separation between "school authorities," "parents and communities," and "students." Indigenous governance of the Africentric school is rather a collective style of governance where the local community (including parents and community workers as Elders) provide guidance and vision for the school, working alongside school administrators, school board officials, teachers, and students to effectively run the school. Each of these bodies has respective and interrelated roles of governance. For example, questions of respect and discipline are handled by Elders, parents, and students, financial governance by school board officials and Council of Elders and parents; school rules and regulations are set by teachers who are guided by school board policies devised collectively with the local communities and parents. Responsibilities of classroom teaching and learning, while left for trained educators and students, will seek to include parents and Elders coming into the school as teachers to impact community communal knowledge and wisdom. School curriculum, classroom instruction, and pedagogy are all matters worked collectively with local communities and parents.

These are not romantic nor utopian ideals but something to guide the operation and governance of the school. It calls for a rethinking outside the proverbial box for a different approach to school governance. School governance is a question of leadership, and specifically collective leadership. It works with Indigenous ideas of community, collective, relations, interconnections, holism, shared vision, shared stakes, social responsibility, and collective accountability.

As argued in another paper (Dei 2017), conventional models of leadership usually tout managerial/bureaucratic leadership, instructional leadership, and transformational leadership, moral/ethical leadership, and participative leadership, situational and contingent leadership as critical skills for social transformation. While these are significant, they do not help us understand the varied conceptions that different communities have of leadership and the fact that in Indigenous and African communities, leadership is less about individual attributes and skills than shared community expectations and roles (see also Portelli and Campbell-Stephenes 2009; Solomon 2002).

Governance as Indigenous leadership is by a “community of leaders.” Leadership is principally about equity, centering spirituality, and is community-driven. It is leadership that is bottom-up and emerging. An African/Indigenous centered governance perspective sees leadership as not about a romantic or charismatic persona. Leadership is not about the individual (Brathwaite and James 1996). Such leadership however signifies the heroics of collectivities to resist domination, colonization, and oppression and to ensure that local peoples design their own futures and agenda. It is a leadership based on serving the community rather than the other way around. It is a leadership meant to involve the community, in such a way that power relations are spread out to all. This is manifested in decision-making processes where everyone is considered an important part at the table. It is a kind of leadership where everyone has something to contribute and participate without being victimized (Dei 2017).

African Indigenous governance through collective leadership does not imply any “absolute interiority.” Such governance recognizes the agency and power of the Indigene to name what constitutes leadership in cultural contexts (see also Hountondji 1997, p. 18 in a related context). An African conception of leadership is spiritually informed and spiritually based. It is about developing ethical and social responsibility to all humans and nonhumans as sharing the Earth space. It is leadership that is nurtured by the Land and the teachings of Mother Earth. It is leadership that we each live and breathe. It is possessed by all. It is about the ethics of caring for everyone, including the nonhuman. African leadership is about respecting the sanctity of life and developing interpersonal relations that affirm the bond of the individual, group, and the community. Such leadership works with consensus decision making and upholds the integrity of the group. Indigenous African governance embraces African Indigeneity and what local cultural knowledges teach about traditional governance as collective, shared, inspirational, spiritual, and responsibility-laden. It is also governance through traditional styles of collective leadership that cultivates the community’s capacity to articulate its own issues and concerns and looks for genuine home grown solutions to problems. This vision of Indigenous African governance through communal leadership identifies local

struggles for political, cultural, spiritual, social, and educational liberation as a motivation factor for social and educational change.

How is Such Governance Manifested in Indigenous and Alternative Educational Sites/Outlets?

In articulating a connection between Indigenous governance, schooling, and education, we must begin to think and act anew, that is, something radically different than the conventional practice of educational delivery. The structures and processes of educational delivery such as teaching, learning, and administration of education must be reassessed and reframed in ways that centered Indigenous ideas and philosophies of education and educational governance. It is contended that the “administration of education” as a question of Indigenous governance is critical to counter-visioning schooling and positing a new educational futurity. But, as already noted, school governance in an Indigenous paradigm is not simply about the administration of education. Indigenous governance comprises all the decision-making processes that relate to the socio-organizational lives of schools, as well as the macrosocial and political forces for educational delivery. Clearly, the notion of community and the collective as put forth within a framework of Indigenous governance does not mean doing away with the individual leadership, personal accountability, and self-responsibility. In fact, as noted within the Africentric school, specific personnel can be charged with assigned administrative responsibilities and this certainly can be understood as a personal responsibility. But such responsibility is rendered in the common/community good. Individuals charged with school administrative responsibility have to answer to questions informed by the community welfare. The whole point about school transparency is that assigned formal school leadership, working with educators, students, parents, and the local community are in an alliance or working partnership for effective educational delivery.

I will now give some concrete examples of how Indigenous governance is manifested in counter schooling. The configuration of Indigenous governance in the Africentric school has the wider community as the overall oversight “body” for the school (Brathwaite and James 1996). Elders, parents, and local community groups are responsible for providing vision, guidance, and leadership (Dei et al. 2000). Community and youth leaders identify needs and concerns that schools must address to enhance education and educational outcomes for all learners. Teachers, instructors, and pedagogues are charged with program matters, curricular, and instructional initiatives relating to the broad matters of teaching, learning, and administration of education. Official school bodies such as universities, colleges, school boards, and the Ministry of Education, for instance, take responsibility of much broader administrative, logistical, infrastructural support and structures which go beyond individual schools and classroom educators. The main point is that there is a synergy between these bodies and their responsibilities are not simply shared but connected and intricately linked for the success of educational delivery.

Increasingly one of the challenges faced by contemporary schooling and education is the question of youth discipline (see Dei and Simmons 2016 and many others). Discipline is a governance issue in the sense that it relates to rules and regulations set in school to create conducive learning environments for learners to develop respect for self, peers, group, and society. Discipline is about self and collective comportment for the collective good. Any school that is unruly and full of in-disciplined learners is ungovernable. So discipline is a critical aspect of school governance in any school. In the Africentric school, the emphasis is on teaching discipline rather than enforcing discipline. This marks an important departure from conventional schooling where there is usually too much emphasis on merely enforcing school rules of conduct and behavior to achieve youth compliance. While this is important we believe discipline is more than “laws enforcement.” In the Africentric school educators/authorities working within school board guidelines will set the parameters for the official rules and regulations and disciplinary measures appropriate to the traditions of the school (Dei 2017). These rules and regulations are part of the official curriculum. However, these rules are always more than the written code of conduct. There are the official and then the unwritten rules that must be taught to each learner as requirement for being part of a larger collective. While the responsibility is equally placed on the learner to teach herself or himself the official and unofficial rules of social conduct, the responsibility is a social act and contract. They must be taught and learned. Thus, these rules and regulations must always be set in consultation with students, educators, parents, community workers, and local communities to ensure a “buy in” of all parties. Any concerns emanating from disciplinary rules, procedures, and measures must be appropriately dealt with by a committee representative of the different bodies and stakeholders. Community Elders have responsibility to assist educators not only in enforcing discipline, but also in teaching discipline. Teaching discipline includes educating about the local cultural resource knowledge relating to individual and social responsibility, respect for oneself, peers and authority, and the upholding of the traditions of the school for enhancement of learning for the collective success of all. The Indigenous ideals of respect, tolerance, fairness, justice, mutual interdependence, probity, and accountability are all ingrained in local cultural norms and community Elders, parents, and the larger citizenry duly obliged to socialize their youth into the teachings and acceptance of these cultural norms. The adult becomes a parent/guardian and a teacher, not only to their own children but to the children of the larger community as whole.

In the Africentric school, there is a co-creation of school curriculum involving Elders, parents, teachers, and students (Dei 2017). School teachers by virtue of their professional training take leadership on curriculum matters working within Ministry of Education and school board guidelines and official mandates of the curriculum. But the “co-creation” involves prior consultations and involvement of different bodies to develop a sense of collective ownership to the process (James 2010). The curriculum is understood as a way of life for schooling and a path to follow. The curriculum is not a straitjacket to wear literally. Enforcing the curriculum is a governance issue. When all parties do not have buy-in in the process of curriculum

construction, it is fraught with challenges and perils. For example, there is the school knowledge and off-school community knowledge. Education must tap into all diverse forms of knowledges (see Banks 1993). The curriculum development must tap into local cultural resource knowledge which are usually embodied in cultural custodians as elders and parents, as well as the “street knowledge” that young learners acquire. The latter knowledge may include popular culture, arts and folk media, and other contemporary forms of media education.

Similarly, classroom pedagogy must ensure that the diversity of lessons is taken into account in delivering education. This may entail using multiple and multifaceted teaching methods. Through an Indigenous governance framework, this approach entails bringing in elders, parents, and community workers as “teachers.” Teaching becomes a “pedagogy of community and community knowledges” and the pursuit of Indigenous governance entails the school site is a welcoming place for all with knowledge to share. It is the responsibility of school leadership through Indigenous governance requirements to acknowledge and to make actionable the understanding that everyone counts such that the school becomes a conducive place for learning and sharing of knowledge and ideas. The use of multiple teaching methods as classroom pedagogy also helps in diversifying the school curriculum for multiple learners (James 2010). Indigenous pedagogies which include the application of traditional knowledges and holistic and sustainable approaches to teaching and learning would help support critical understandings of their communities and the teachings of history, culture, identities, etc. As noted elsewhere (Dei and Simmons 2016), diversifying evaluation and assessments methods may include using orality as equal to written text whereby students are given opportunities to attend a community event or participate in organizing an event and have access to other “teachers” as community elders and cultural custodians.

Lastly, funding is a question of school governance. Educational funding has always been a source of tension between schools, school administrators, and local communities (James 2010). Given the centrality of the local community in the Africentric school, the funding question brings some implications of community support and resources. Funding for the Africentric school has community basis, as it is the community which “owns” the school and must therefore contribute to its funding. Such community funding is not simply supported by the idea of Indigenous governance. The principles of Indigenous knowledges justify the place of community in funding matters. Community funding serves to justify a collective governance structure for the school as community members have contributed to sustaining the school.

Conclusion: Indigenous Systems of Governance and the Re-Visioning of Schooling and Education in Euro-American Contexts

It has long been maintained that educational leadership has a direct bearing on academic success and the promotion of effective learning outcomes for youth (see Fullan 2001; Leithwood et al. 1999, 2004; Hargreaves and Fink 2006). Could

we also insist that such leadership can be the springboard to put into place counter-visions of schooling and education? So what type of education will we have if we place the principles of Indigenous governance at the center of schooling and education? How does Indigenous governance help us to re-imagine our worlds and communities – towards a new vision of schooling and education? The counter-visioning schooling and education requires adopting new approaches to educational delivery. This new approach is about teaching, learning, and administration of education. Earlier discussions have emphasized this triplet of teaching, learning, and administration of education as part of the Indigenous governance for the school. In re-visioning schooling and education, we need to break away from the colonial hierarchies of schooling and embrace a sense of collective ownership and undertaking for success for all. The question of leadership and governance as collective is key to educational success. Collective leadership and governance means shared responsibilities and accountability for education success (Hill 1990, 2008). It also means ensuring school authority works for the local community, including the students, parents and other bodies. It means authority as not simply legitimated power but entrusted power with expectation to deliver social success that is broadly defined. It means authority as bestowed with a sense of leadership and vision. Indigenous leadership is also having the foresight to think creatively outside dominant paradigms or the mainstream thinking. It is about working Indigenous knowledge systems that embrace sharing, reciprocity, mutuality, accountability, transparency, and ethics. Authoritarian leadership is about power and the enforcements of rules and regulations not necessary caring about ensuring that all learners have access to the valued goods and services of society that make success happen. Indigenous governance also works with Indigenous principles of community, social responsibility, ethics of caring, mutual interdependence, and reciprocity.

The implication of foregone is calling for a new way of delivering education to learners that breaks away from the competition, individualism, individualized success, as well as the colonial hierarchies and the privileging of some experiences, knowledges, and identities at the expense of others that afflict conventional schooling. In re-visioning schooling and education informed by principles of Indigenous governance, there is a need to return politically, intellectually, culturally, and emotionally to a spiritual base of learning and knowledge production. This is about centering spirituality in schooling and education to connect social identities to schooling, education, and knowledge production (see also Magnusson 2000). Indigenous ontologies highlight a need to challenge and decenter Western epistemologies and to revitalize Indigenous theories and cultural practices, values, and worldviews and to bring accountability and transparency to schooling and education (Nelles and Alcantara 2014). The call for Indigenous governance in schooling is to represent community and community knowledge and to place such cultural knowledges that value relationships, connections and interdependence as the core of schooling and education (see Mila-Schaaf 2008; Smith 1999 in other contexts). Indigenous governance then becomes a springboard and motivator for achieving academic and social success.

For many learners, the academy [like other institutional settings] can be a hostile, unfamiliar place – dismemberment, depersonalization, and becoming intellectual

imposters who are not true to authentic selves. There is a need for resistance and healing of selves and bodies to make us whole again. Indigenous governance offers us guiding principles that help bring people into a collective and community and to pursue a more holistic approach to schooling and educational change. The possibilities of Indigenous governance for counter-visions of schooling and education embrace humility, respect, compassion, love, sacredness of activity, and the sanctity of life. Such school governance seeks a connection between the learner, educator, knowledge, and the social community and environments within which learning takes place. This is a far cry from the alienating cultures of conventional schooling which stress individualism, rights, individual academic success over community building, collective responsibility, and social success.

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Building Capacity for Indigenous Peoples: Engaging Indigenous Philosophies in School Governance

13

Edward Shizha

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Abstract

School governance and the involvement of indigenous communities and parents in the affairs of the school contribute significantly to the school performance and educational outcomes of indigenous students. For indigenous peoples and communities, parental involvement is strongly influenced by ethnic or cultural backgrounds that are different to the school culture. There is merit in predicting that parental involvement in school governance increases school enrolments and participation by children from indigenous communities because parental involvement may motivate both parents and students to identify with the school and its programs. Schools should spend time building positive school-community relationships so that indigenous peoples get involved in decision-making processes

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that promote the aims and goals of the school and the aspirations of indigenous students. This chapter revolves around the assumption that there are very few indigenous peoples who take up positions in school councils or school boards, not because they are not willing to, but because of structural and systemic disadvantages and cultural “impediments.” The chapter argues for the establishment of the school-community partnership and the inclusion of indigenous philosophies of school governance within the school in order to build capacity for the local indigenous peoples for them to contribute to the running of the local school. Because schools are institutions within communities, the chapter recommends that effort should be made to facilitate interaction between indigenous communities and school structures through the integration and acknowledgment of indigenous philosophies and epistemologies and rapidly promote indigenous structures and processes of governance.

Keywords

Capital · Collectivism · Indigenous peoples · Parental engagement · Peoplehood and personhood · Postcolonial theory · School-community relations · School governance

Introduction

There is a considerable body of research documenting the poor student and school performance for indigenous students (Hughes and Hughes 2012) resulting from perceived nonparticipation of their parents in school affairs. School governance and the involvement of communities and parents in the affairs of the education of their children contribute significantly to the school performance and educational outcomes of the students. For indigenous peoples and communities, parental involvement is strongly influenced by ethnic or cultural backgrounds that are different to the school culture (Berthelsen and Walker 2008; Mansour and Martin 2009). Schools should spend time building positive school-community relationships so that indigenous peoples get involved in decision-making processes that promote the aims and goals of the school and the aspirations of indigenous students.

This chapter revolves around the assumption that there are very few indigenous peoples who take up positions in school councils or school boards, not because they are not willing to, but because of structural and systemic disadvantages and cultural “impediments.” The issue of indigeneity and indigenous governance philosophies in education are fraught with tensions because of the general role played by the schools in reproducing the dominant Eurocentric culture and the acculturation and imagined civilizing role played by the schools. The chapter argues for the establishment of the school-community partnership, the introduction and cementing of indigenous philosophies of school governance, as well as the revision of the leadership roles within the school to build capacity for the local indigenous peoples to contribute to the running of the local school. Indigenous peoples are dynamic and seeking participation in institutions that affect them and their children. Consequently, this reveals their

commitment to the construction of democratic governance that transforms them into stakeholders in the local and national polity (Mindiola 2006). Political involvement of indigenous peoples has increased in the past decade in response to the neoliberal development model, which places further emphasis on individual interests, and therefore, as a philosophy, contrasts with indigenous demands for recognition as “peoples” and recognition of their collective rights. This chapter suggests that schools as political systems should generate spaces for dialogue and negotiation among political stakeholders, to achieve broad social consensus or to develop effective school governance actions.

Unpacking School Governance

To start this discussion, it is pertinent to explain governance and school governance. The concept of governance is not new; it has always existed but understood differently in different societies. In Western societies, governance has been concerned with structures, processes, authorities, responsibilities, and accountabilitys on how institutions or organizations are run and controlled, while in indigenous communities, it encompasses the flexible collective decision-making process. According to Martin McNeill (2008), governance is about leadership, direction, and control of an organization with its primary functions being to establish the organization’s strategic direction and aims; ensure accountability to the public for the organization’s performance; and assure that the organization is managed with probity and integrity. Another explanation of governance is derived from the Governance Working Group of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences (1996) which describes governance as the process whereby elements in a society wield power and authority, and influence and enact policies and decisions concerning public life, and economic and social development.

Drawing on from earlier views of Caldwell and Harris (2008, p. 10), school governance may be defined as “the process through which the school builds its intellectual, social, financial and spiritual capital and aligns them to achieve its goals.” The issue of school governance is complex. It borders on the questions of leadership, accountability, and responsibility in decision-making. As Plecki et al. (2006) note, education governance opens up debates on the role of stakeholders in the control and management of schools. The debate poses questions such as: “Who is in charge?” “Who is accountable?” “Who is responsible?” (p. 2). In addressing these questions, the importance of governance efficacy as one of the essential drivers for creating an equity context through which school reform occurs should be considered. Governance efficacy is the power of school boards, among others, to change the face of education in their communities through positive and appropriate policymaking, equitable resource allocation, and transparent accountability for all stakeholders (Scott 2009). Accountability involves ownership of management and decision-making processes. As more and more people seek to have their voices heard, and take an increasingly active role in education policy and politics, the picture of who has control of schools becomes obscured. When it comes to school governance, most

people confuse it with leadership. Leadership is simply a component of governance as Plecki et al. (2006) argue that governance is about improving education leadership and is not leadership per se. Rather, school governance creates the framework through which high-quality participatory leadership can be exercised.

While governance might have multiple meanings, it may be described as involving different structures, processes, and participants depending on the level of the public educational system and the awareness and conscientization of the local communities to be involved. Duflo et al. (2015) view school governance as a form of school-based management that involves transferring decision-making authority over some school operations to local school-community members through a participatory mechanism. The local school-community members comprises of parents or community leaders, teachers, and heads/principals of the schools. The Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD] (2014) describes school governance as school management that is directly or indirectly conducted by a public education authority, government agency, or governing board appointed by government or elected by public franchise. From this definition, it can be assumed that if parents or communities are to be involved in school governance, they would be elected by public franchise. According to the OECD, with an increasing variety of education opportunities, programs, and providers, governments are forging new partnerships to mobilize resources for education and to design new policies that allow the different stakeholders to participate more fully and to share costs and benefits more equitably. Again, the involvement of communities is implied in the “different stakeholders” participation. Parents are often expected to be partners with teachers and principals in order to better meet the learning objectives of their children (Zhao and Akiba 2009). Studies conducted by OECD (2014) found that parental involvement in school activities were limited to activities such as volunteering in physical activities, in extracurricular activities, and in the school library or media centers, assisting a teacher in the school, appearing as a guest speaker, or assisting in fundraising for the school. Involvement of parents was not extended to making decisions about hiring of teachers, decisions on tuition and curriculum issues nor financial accountability; issues that were decisions that were made the responsibility of the principals.

Caldwell and Harris (2008) believe that the debate on school governance has focused too loosely on structures, roles, responsibilities, and accountabilities at the exclusion of capitals that exist within these structures and roles. Instead, Caldwell and Harris propose that governance should be seen as “the process through which the school builds its intellectual, social, financial and spiritual capital and aligns them to achieve its goals” (p. 10). While the structures and roles are a necessary element of governance, they are also equally necessary management and leadership processes, which require some form of capital – a type of resource that can be expended to enable the maximization of processes. Looking back at the capitals that schools utilize for governance purposes, intellectual capital is described as the levels of knowledge and skill of all of those who work in or for the school. Reviewing international research, Barber and Mourshed (2007, p. 16) conclude that “the quality of an education system cannot exceed the quality of its teachers.” Here I might also

add that the quality of parental and community involvement contributes to the quality of the education system. Schools cannot exist outside the communities that surround them. Therefore, communities also provide indigenous intellectual capital that is not usually tapped into by school officials. Social capital is also a very important cog in the function of the school. The term social capital refers to “the strength of formal and informal partnerships and networks involving the school, parents, community, business and industry, indeed all individuals, agencies, organizations and institutions that have the potential to support and be supported by the school” (Caldwell and Harris 2008, p. 59). Indigenous parents and communities contribute immensely to the social capital if the school administrators open their doors to the voices of community leaders and parents. They contribute spiritual capital that can bring sanity and stability in the schools. Spiritual capital is a relatively new concept, which is currently finding its place in economics and business (Zohar and Marshall 2004) as well as in education. Spiritual capital is “the strength of moral purpose and the degree of coherence among values, beliefs and attitudes about life and learning” (Caldwell and Vaughan 2012, p. 178) held by the school and members of the wider community. It involves the ethics and values shared by members of the school and its community. Schools that utilize the services and participation of their communities in school governance are likely to benefit from both the spiritual capital and the social capital that are the backbone of indigenous communities. Unfortunately, school management tends to be concerned more with the monetary resources, or financial capital, than with other forms of capital. However, while monetary resources are important, exclusive reliance on building financial capital in schools and school systems is unlikely to result in significant increases in student performance (Hanushek 2004). The capitals discussed are crucial elements in the interdependence of governance, leadership, and management. These are not separate functions to be exercised by different individuals but complementary approaches to issues that face both communities and school administrators (McNeill 2008). The capitals contribute to governance efficacy, which strengthens school management when power and control are participatory along with the policymaking and proactive support of a school board that take into account parental and community values and ethics (Montecel 2005).

Postcolonial Theory, Property, and School Governance

What is termed “postcolonial” is a very fluid concept defining a historical period, particularly when examining the experiences of indigenous peoples worldwide. While some, for example, in Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean may have attained political independence, there are others in North America, Australia, New Zealand, and South America who are still under colonial oppression. Therefore, in light of these different historical experiences and epochs, Ashcroft et al. (1989) state that:

We use the term ‘post-colonial’, however, to cover all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day. This is because there is a

continuity of preoccupations throughout the historical process initiated by European imperial aggression. (p. 2)

In the same vein, Stephen Slemon (1991) acknowledges the multidimensional meanings of the “postcolonial” when he points out that:

Definitions of the ‘post-colonial’ of course vary widely, but for me the concept proves most useful not when it is used synonymously with a post-independence historical period in once-colonized nations, but rather when it locates a specifically anti- or *postcolonial discursive* purchase in culture, one which begins in the moment that colonial power inscribes itself onto the body and space of its Others and which continues as an often occulted tradition into the modern theatre of neo-colonialist international relations. (p. 3)

Postcoloniality denotes a type of condition of societies, peoples, and cultures that went through and continue to experience European imperialism. Postcoloniality defines the relationships between indigenous peoples experiences during colonization and their current experiences within the legacy of Eurocentric social institutions such as experiences with school cultures and the way schools are governed and managed.

In their seminal discourse, *The Fourth World*, Manuel and Posluns (1974) explain the effects of contemporary colonial processes and note that the colonial system is “always a way of gaining control over another people for the sake of what the colonial power has determined to be ‘the common good’” (p. 4). People can only become convinced of the colonial common good when their own capacity to imagine ways in which they can govern themselves has been destroyed. The “common good” becomes what is defined by shape-shifting colonial elites (Alfred 2005). Frantz Fanon describes this process as an ongoing dialectic:

Colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the native’s brain of all form and content. By a kind of perverted logic, it turns to the past of the oppressed people, and distorts, disfigures, and destroys it. This work of devaluing pre-colonial history takes on a dialectical significance today. (1963, p. 210)

Fanon points out that the most important strength of indigenous resistance, unity, is also constantly under attack as colonial powers erase community histories and senses of place to replace them with doctrines of individualism and predatory capitalism. Postcolonial theorists’ formations of power work to disrupt “historical racist views and structural inequities that have emerged through the practices of colonization” (O’Mahoney and Donnelly 2010, p. 443). Recognizing, representing, and creating space for others through participatory engagement requires challenging structural inequalities and adopting a lens that is open to worldviews that vary beyond those typical of Western school elites that see schools as their private property.

Blomley (2004, p. 99) argues that property is a “vector of power” whereby people gain specific entitlements that are shaped and maintained by the ways in which property is defined. These entitlements establish and perpetuate social relations, so that those who benefit from particular property formations have an interest in

ensuring that these are preserved. There is thus an inherent school politics that defines schools as working spaces of Western administrative elites. For indigenous peoples, the process of colonization has entailed transformations in the definition of property relations that have challenged both their relationships to property and their understandings of what determines their relationships with other people (cf. Dempsey 2011). Therefore, when it comes to their relationship with the Eurocentric schools and Western administrators, they find themselves marginalized from this “Western property.” The exclusion of indigenous peoples from the school space and decision-making tables questions the nature of their relationship to power and control within the school sites. Gombay (2015) raises a very pertinent observation in relation to power and property control. In the encounter between indigenous peoples and the colonial state lies a question about who has the power to determine the social and conceptual practices that establish and maintain school property. Within the social relations and practices of school governance are questions of who owns the school and who has the power to make decisions affecting the running of the school? Is school governance a participatory regime or a question of the elite bulldozing their decisions through the power structures that control the school? It would appear as if the experiences, social relations, and institutions that define how the school and its resources are understood and used are defined from the Eurocentric approaches of colonial powers that render indigenous perspectives invisible by legitimizing the appropriation and silencing of indigenous peoples’ cultural heritages regarding participatory consultations and collective decision-making agreements in school governance.

Indigenous Peoples and School Governance

Around the world, indigenous people have been historically marginalized and rendered invisible in most social and economic institutions. Their contributions to school knowledge and decision-making processes are misrecognized, misinterpreted, and misclassified as irrelevant to modernity and scientific jurisdictions (Shizha 2016). However, Paulo Friere and Antonio Faundez (1989) have argued that “. . .indigenous knowledge is a rich social resource for any justice-related attempt to bring about social change” (cited in Semali and Kincheloe 1999, p. 15). The inclusion of indigenous peoples’ voices in school governance is transformative and a form of social change. There are assumptions that parents of indigenous students are not interested in the education of their children and taking part in school functions and activities. Contrary to this assumption, Chenhall et al. (2011, p. 11) argue that the issues of “invisible” parents was an exaggerated problem. They found that many engagement approaches often assume that the invisibility of indigenous parents is associated with an aversion to school institutions and a naiveté of the importance of schooling. Arguably, “invisibility” is not equated to lack of interest in or deficit of schooling culture but it is a consequence of systemic discrimination that promotes the self-interests of Western educators whose control of the education system is defined as having the ability to “get the job done,” rendering forthright

indigenous peoples' engagement "unnecessary." The participation of parents of indigenous students in school governance is viewed from a Western colonizing Eurocentric perspective that views indigenous people as not having the required cultural capital to get involved. This deficit model theory tends to place indigenous people at a disadvantage and silences their voices (Shizha 2013). The deficit theory masks the colonial mentality of the school elite who view themselves as "experts" who do not need the input of "backward people."

Indigenous Peoples' Participation and the Cultural Deficit Model

Chenhall et al. (2011) warn against indigenous parental engagement strategies being based on a cultural deficit model, which involves an "ideal" parental standard that is based on a Western middle-class parental archetype, which invalidates and delegitimizes different forms of involvement from across plural or diverse ethnic, racial, cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds. The Western middle-class parental archetype reinforces the marginalization of already marginalized parents and fails to promote "higher standards" for their students. Walker and Berthelsen (2010) also argue that schools are biased to represent and to promote more middle-class values, and this places many parents from indigenous backgrounds at a disadvantage. To overcome the cultural deficit model, the inclusion and consultation approach, which takes cognizance of indigenous parents' contribution to school governance, should become the most preferred mode of inclusiveness rather than the integrationist approach that seeks to incorporate indigenous parents into the formal Eurocentric school governance policies, approaches, and philosophies. Integrationism promotes the domination of the oppressed while inclusion and consultation have the effect of emancipatory and empowerment possibilities. The shift should be from the objectives of integration to that of respect for identity of indigenous populations and to promote increased consultation with and participation by parents of indigenous students in the decisions affecting them and their children (Rodríguez-Garavito 2010).

Parental Engagement as a Community Responsibility

Parental engagement also includes advocating or negotiating on behalf of communities. For engagement in the indigenous context, it is important for the school to establish a dialogue within the whole community rather than developing relationships with the individual parents (Emerson et al. 2012). Schools must ask what they can do to make parents feel more confident and comfortable with school involvement and to provide activities and resources that empower communities. The difference between the participation of indigenous and nonindigenous parents in school affairs is "as much, if not more, defined by social class and affluence as by culture" (Chenhall et al. 2011, p. 14). The engagement with schools tends to be associated with the family's level of social capital (Higgins and Morley 2014),

financial capital, as well as intellectual capital. More often than not, indigenous people are not defined by their possession of these capitals. While it might be true to some extent that they do not have sufficient financial capital, the same cannot be said about their social capital and intellectual capital. Their social networks as defined by their ability to mobilize their community members have adequate and extensive indigenous intellectual capital that can be tapped into by the school. It is a complex task to define what is meant by parental engagement or involvement (Emerson et al. 2012). However, there is a difference between merely involving parents in school activities and engaging parents in their children's learning. For indigenous peoples, engagement is a shared responsibility of families, schools, and communities that is based on indigenous peoples' philosophies.

What Are Indigenous Philosophies?

An important academic goal is to understand ongoing contestations in knowledge in the search to engage everyday social practices and experiences, as well as the social barriers and approaches to peaceful human coexistence (Dei 2011). Therefore, it makes sense to recognize and acknowledge indigenous knowledges and philosophies as legitimate sources or forms of knowledge that can shape successful and harmonious school governance. This section explores indigenous philosophies that can benefit school governance. This is essential because school spaces and structures are uncontestedly occupied and representative of colonizing practices that neglect indigenous peoples' worldviews and ways of knowing and living.

Community, Peoplehood, and Personhood

Community, peoplehood, and personhood are interconnected and inseparable synergies that are deeply rooted in indigenous peoples' worldviews and lived-experiences. Peoplehood models, which discuss the interconnected factors of community, language, and cultural practices, appear to have some promise for discussing the adaptability and resurgence of indigenous peoples and communities (Alfred 2005). Indigenous peoples have long understood their existence as peoples or nations embedded in community and peoplehood expressed in philosophies such as *Unhu* (in ChiShona, a Zimbabwean indigenous language) or *Ubuntu* (in Zulu, a South African indigenous language). Menkiti (2004, p. 324) argues that in Africa "morality demands a point of view best described as one of *beingness-with-others*," while Ramose (2003, p. 382) points out that "the logic of *ubuntu* is towards-ness," a relationship with others, a relationship that exhibits empathy and sympathy towards other humans. Indigenous communities around the world are communal societies, and it is this communalism which defines the peoples' perception of togetherness and being with others as the social whole. The indigenous peoples' philosophy of *Ubuntu* holds that community is essential to intersubjectivity, and that people are incomplete unless they maintain an active connection with others, their society or

culture. Intersubjectivity is shared as a mutual understanding of relationships with others and is closer to the notion of the possibility of being in the place where the others are. Thus, in the African context, *ubuntu* is grounded in a traditional African community (Letseka 2013). It is ultimately the lived collective and individual experiences of indigenous peoples that yield the most useful insights for establishing culturally sound strategies to resist colonialism, reclaim (Shizha 2015) and regenerate colonized school spaces and practices. Peoplehood, which is different from personhood, is the cornerstone of the collective and community life of indigenous peoples around the world.

While peoplehood implies the collective, personhood connotes the importance of the individual as a single entity, however, within the collective. Describing the notion of personhood, Gombay (2015) claims that:

Conceptions of personhood frame the ways in which individuals understand the expectations, responsibilities, and obligations that define their self-perceptions and shape their relations with others. As a person, one is a holder of rights and responsibilities that form the basis of citizenship. Notions of personhood and citizenship, in turn, have reflexive impacts upon the development of peoples' subjectivities, both internally in their understandings of who they are, and externally in their relations with others (p. 13)

What it is to be a person is a social construction founded on collective understandings determined by institutions that are constituted via norms governing peoples' behaviors. While peoplehood "speak of the inseparability and inter-dependence of selves and the collective" (Dei 2011, p. 4), personhood is anchored in colonial philosophies of individuality, individualism, citizenship, and the right to property, which does not emphasize the collective. Colonial administrators around the world had the notion that uprooting the individual from the community would weaken the communities and hence weaken the community's capacities to resist colonial rule and oppression, whittle their resolve, and silence their voices. Therefore, decisions on issues that affected the individual were left to the individual and not the community. This was the essence of the subject formation in the context of settler colonialism (Palmer 2011; Simpson 2014). In this sense, personhood would effectively render the internal arrangements of an indigenous community "opaque" (Riles 2011, p. 35) to external agents because of the looseness of the binding ties when the individual was made more important than the collective. Western jurisprudence conceives of a person as an individual who is a full subject of the law with attendant rights and obligations that determine how s/he participates in the public arena (Poole 1996). This notion of personhood contradicts the community views of *Unhu/Ubuntu* that state that "*umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*" (A person is a person because of people, or, A person is a person through other persons). This African indigenous peoples' adage reveals compelling truth about what it means to be a "human being" in the African sociocultural context. According to African indigenous teachings, personhood is understood as a process and the product of interconnectedness experienced and or achieved in the context of the community. Communities and the collective have practical consequences that strike at the heart of local politics, including school politics and how the school affairs should be controlled and

monitored. When individuals act independent of the community, their voices are not likely to be heard nor are they likely to be effective. The power to channel grievances, ideas, and controlling mechanisms is more effective when it is generated collectively under the ambit of the community rather than at the personhood level. According to Gombay (2015), in colonial school governance, the subject formation underscores how property configurations and the social relations on which these are based conceal looping relations among personhood, citizenship, and the subjectivity that require communities to be conscious of their collectivities. Bewaji (2004, p. 396) contends that:

The wellspring of morality and ethics in African societies is the pursuit of a balance of individuals with the communal wellbeing. It is not unusual to get the impression that African cultures extol the virtues of community, that moral obligations are primarily social rather than individual.

Participatory Engagement

Community life and peoplehood revolve around participating in community activities and commitment to the virtues of togetherness or *Unhu/Ubuntu* through participatory actions. Participatory and community-based engagement have recently been offered as one solution to address concerns about the politics of gathering, framing, producing, disseminating, and controlling knowledge about indigenous peoples (Shizha 2009). Participatory engagement involves getting involved in decision-making processes in actions that affect people and their communities as well as institutions that serve them. It disengages institutional pressures that work against the development and maintenance of meaningful, accountable, and nonextractive relations with indigenous communities (de Leeuw et al. 2012). It is a collaborative approach that is designed to ensure and establish structures for participation by communities affected by the issues being considered and representatives of institutions, such as schools. The engagement is meant to improve the running of the institutions taking into account the needs and concerns of local or indigenous peoples and their communities. Viswanathan et al. (2004) conclude that indigenous participatory philosophies emphasize co-learning about issues of concern and, within those, the issues that can be solved through reciprocal methods and transfer of expertise; sharing of decision-making power; and mutual ownership of the outcomes and processes of consultations. Following this process, the end result is incorporating the ideas, opinions, and knowledge gained by taking action or effecting social change to improve the well-being of community members and the educational institutions that serve them and their children.

Generally, participatory engagement has the ability to democratize knowledge, decision-making processes, and governance issues to advance community action and social change (Masuda et al. 2011). It reconstitutes power structures in the decision-making process by reinvesting it in the community-school partnership. This process can work to resolve unequal power relations due to differences in class, gender, and ethnicity that may exist between school administrators and indigenous leaders and

their communities. Constantly and reflexively, examining how power is manifested in school governance and then acting to make its exercise equitable and beneficial to those who are marginalized and reconstituting power structures aids in the decolonization of school governance and the politics of educational administration. Engaging indigenous peoples and their leaders in school governance can improve educational administration, empower community members, and improve the capacity of local communities. For many indigenous elders and educators, this participatory engagement embraces the notion of taking the best of both indigenous and nonindigenous worlds as knowledge bases and sources for understanding the needs of students and their schools, and as a means for relating sensitively and constructively in an increasingly intercultural world. Governance should, thus, entail a redefinition of the relationship between indigenous and national societies defined in intercultural terms but with a transverse character (i.e., school policies should be designed with the participation of indigenous peoples) (Mindiola 2006). This comes from realizing that there is a transformative power inherent in indigenous philosophies and, furthermore, indigenous ways can be used to foster empowerment and justice in a variety of cultural contexts (Semali and Kincheloe 1999) on the basis of collectivism.

Collectivism

Indigenous peoples rely on collectivism as their philosophy to life in their communities. Collectivism, as with peoplehood, is the idea that the individual's life belongs to the group. According to collectivism, the group is the basic unit of moral concern, and the individual is of value only insofar as serving the group (Biddle 2012). Society cannot escape the fact that human beings are both individuals and part of a collective. In a "collectivist" system, people think of themselves in terms of their affiliation with other people and their community (Yeo 2003) in an interactive dialogic community (Biddle 2012). Individuals in a society exchange ideas and learn from one another. This has always been the hallmark of a collectivist kinship system that exists among indigenous communities. The kinship system is a dynamic and complex social structure that defines how individuals relate to each other in terms of their roles, responsibilities, and obligations. In essence, collectivism refers to cultures in which people are interdependent and interconnected and are other-focused. By contrast, individualism refers to cultures in which people are more independent and self-focused (Beckstein 2014). Individualist ideologies tend to advocate individual rights and freedom from government and from collective controls and restrictions, while collectivist ideologies, on the other hand, endorse the idea of working cooperatively to solve problems. They hold that collective teamwork can accomplish more than individuals and competition can. They stress social harmony and cohesion over competitiveness (cf. Shizha 2009) and emphasize group goals and the common good.

Indigenous peoples, such as the First Nations in Canada (Simpson 2014) and Aboriginal peoples in Australia (Miller 2016), describe their traditional cultures as

having a strong sense of the collective. In matters such as land-holding, decision-making, and educating and raising children, many indigenous cultures emphasize thinking and acting collectively to achieve what is best for the common good, collective interest, collective responsibility, and adherence to collective norms. Members of a collectively oriented culture tend to see themselves as at one with other human beings but more importantly with the essence of life (Miller 2016). McIntyre-Mills (2014) refers to “the benefits of balancing individual and collective interests through socio-cultural solidarity and collective action for this generation of life and the next” (p. 46). If society is indeed to develop a “social contract which protects citizens” particularly “those who are voiceless,” then “the balance between individual and collective concerns needs to be redressed” (McIntyre-Mills 2014, p. 48–49). Indigenous elders and peoples see their involvement in governing social institutions that affect them and their children, such as schools, as empowering, and as a critical precursor to planning their livelihoods. Thus, indigenous leaders are not simply conduits for the subjectivity-shaping projects of the state and international development groups; nor are they simply acting in their own interest. Rather, they constitute and regulate new types of citizens to ensure the future viability of their organizations and political projects (Erazo 2010).

As pointed earlier in this chapter, parents, as the principal community members, are frequently constructed in deficit terms explicitly by school and educational authority officials. Conversely, parents construct teachers and schools as being in deficit, not knowing or ascribing to indigenous ways of communicating ideas and indigenous governance systems that are inclusive and communal. Sometimes they are likely to express their dissatisfaction by refusing to be coopted into hegemonic school governance that bestows all power and authority onto the heads of schools and other educational administrators while undermining the role of parents and their ways of mobilizing community engagement. Studies in India, for instance, indicate that sometimes parents internalize these deficit constructions of themselves in relation to schooling, which may negatively affect their children’s participation in schooling and their own participation in school governance (Balagopalan 2003). Parents may feel that the schools and their top-down hierarchical governance system, where all ideas and information are transmitted from the heads of school to parents, are exclusive and not taking parental and community voices into account. Indigenous parents believe in community mobilization and accountability that provide indigenous societies with solidarity and harmonious coexistence and guarded consensus on social and community issues that affect their lives. The education of their children becomes a social and community issue that affects them, hence the need to be empowered with authority in the decision-making process when it comes to designing policies and programs that affect their community schools.

Research in various African and South Asian contexts has shown how there is unequal access to participation in governance bodies according to socioeconomic status, race, caste, social class, location, political affiliation, and gender (Bush and Heystek 2003; de Grauwe et al. 2005; Rose 2005; Soudien and Sayed 2004). Even when elected onto school committees, some voices are inevitably heard above others. In South Africa, for example, this has been shown to result in skewed

participation in important activities such as selecting the medium of instruction and setting school fees (Soudien and Sayed 2004), which might have far-reaching implications for some children's access to and participation in schooling. At the same time, however, some commentators have noted that these participatory bodies have often not been mandated with genuine decision-making powers (Ahmed and Nath 2005; Therkildsen 2000; Watt 2001). Thus, parents and communities are expected to become further involved in schooling in a variety of ways but generally in ways determined by the school, laid down by central and/or regional or local government. Policy literature on community involvement continues to emphasize the need for capacity building within the community to enable them to participate in these ways (Bush and Heystek 2003) without questioning what it is they are being asked to be involved in (Rose 2005). Community participation in schooling has been judged to be working well in the rare instances where there are good understandings and relations between schools, communities, and local educational authorities, operating within a stable social context with a history of community mobilization and a genuine commitment to community decision-making (de Grauwe et al. 2005). However, in most cases, the lived-experiences of indigenous parents and their children are marginalized by the formal organization and procedures embedded in the school culture.

Why Indigenous Philosophies in Governance?

The key to progress toward a relationship between indigenous peoples and the state that is truly postcolonial is recognizing the rights of indigenous peoples to participate in the management of their lands through institutions and processes that reflect their cultural values and economic needs. For example, the United Nation's Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples stresses in Article 31 that "indigenous peoples, as a specific form of exercising the right to self-determination, have the right to autonomy or self-government in matters relating to their internal and local affairs, including [...] economic activities, land and resources management," and adds in Article 33 that, "indigenous peoples have the right to promote, develop and maintain their institutional structures" (United Nations 1993, p. 50). Schools are institutions with institutional structures that guide and control school governance culture. Henceforth, the declaration provides a justification for the involvement of indigenous peoples in the management and decision-making processes in schools in their communities.

Because schools are institutions within communities, efforts should be made to facilitate interaction between indigenous communities and nonindigenous governments and structures through the inclusion and acknowledgement of indigenous philosophies and epistemologies while remaining as close as possible to indigenous structures and processes of governance. Indigenous peoples have social, intellectual, and spiritual capitals that can impact the school as an institution and the practiced culture of school governance. Higgins and Morley (2014) argue that engaging parents in their children's education improves the children's educational attainment

and ongoing engagement in education, while Shizha (2009) claims that participatory engagement of parents and communities in resource usage and decision-making helps to bridge the gap between schools and communities they serve. The involvement of indigenous parents does not only lead to politics of recognition – recognizing the worthiness of indigenous distinctive cultural traditions – but it also ruptures and decolonizes the Eurocentric intellectual capital that negates the tensions between personal (Eurocentric) and collective (Indigenous) identities.

Little is known about the specific ways in which indigenous parental involvement in school governance and decision-making processes socialize their children in positive school-related behaviors or on the various parental engagements that influence children's school-related development. However, there is merit in predicting that parental and community involvement in school governance and management influences increased school enrolments and participation by children from indigenous communities because parental involvement may motivate both parents and students to identify with the school and its programs. The same predictive relationship was acknowledged by Mansour and Martin (2009) who point out that home and parental influences in school affairs have an effect on children's education because they predict student motivation and engagement. Further, Berthelsen and Walker (2008) report that positive parental involvement in their children's schools and schooling, beyond the potential educational outcome benefits for their children, also improved the parents' social and cultural capital. Parents who are involved in school governance are likely to acquire new ways of thinking and viewing the school, not only from their indigenous philosophical perspectives but also from the perspectives of other stakeholders, such as heads of schools and education administrators. Parents and communities that are involved in the governance structures of their schools develop a feeling of ownership and a form of community empowerment – a feeling of being part of the school and its activities.

Recommendations and Conclusion

Collectivism and communal responsibilities should be a philosophy that shapes contemporary school governance. Miller-Grandvaux and Yoder (2002) refer to community schools managed wholly by communities as one way of ensuring that indigenous peoples are empowered. However, there are complex relations between communities and government schools in some countries, leaving aside community involvement in nonstate provision of schooling (see Rose 2005). Even putting aside the questionable assumption that there is such an entity as a school community, there is the question of which community? Another of the problems of government policies is the notion of a school firmly embedded in a particular geographical community, whereas in fact, community members (in terms of school parents, for example) can be drawn from diverse communities, at considerable distance from the schools (Rose 2005; Soudien and Sayed 2004). Much of the policy literature assumes communities to be homogenous, harmonious, and static, whose resources can collectively be mobilized for a perceived collective community good (DeStefano

et al. 2007). However, Dunne et al. (2007) argue that communities are multilayered, with their own hierarchies, which are determined to an extent by age, gender, ethnicity, caste, and functions within the community. They are dynamic, as power relations are played out by community members on a daily basis in accommodation and resistance to the hierarchies. There is not just one experience or understanding of community-school relations within a particular community but multiple experiences and understandings, experienced individually and collectively (Dunne et al. 2007).

Schools within indigenous communities should increase community involvement since it is seen to be important in improving their children's enrolment and persistence in school as well as school accountability to the community. One way to mitigate the effect of alienation between communities and schools may be to recruit local teachers and school administrators. Local teachers are likely to be knowledgeable about the indigenous cultures and ways that can be used to mobilize parents into school programs where parental input is required. Local teachers are also important in providing the identity of the school. When parents see most of their own teachers being from their community, they develop a sense of belonging to the school and the school as belonging to them. A sense of identity is vital to creating positive relationships between the parents and the school or educational administrators. Identifying with the school increases political advocacy for greater community "ownership" and involvement in decision-making.

Another factor that can help bring communities closer to schools and empower indigenous peoples and give them a say in how schools function is integrating or teaching in the local language (see Shizha 2009). Indigenous peoples' intellectual capital and spiritual capital are intertwined with their languages. Parents should be given the opportunity to decide on a local language that should be used as a language of teaching and learning. This works effectively in communities where there might be more than one indigenous language spoken. This can also increase the likelihood of parental involvement in school work (DeStefano et al. 2007), which is often assumed to be likely to improve retention and achievement. Another aspect of formal parental involvement in school occurs through participation on governing bodies, school management committees, parent-teacher associations, and community education committees. A search of literature reveals no evidence of the involvement of indigenous peoples in school boards across the Canadian provinces. Structures are needed for the representation of indigenous rights and indigenous interests in school boards and teacher-parent associations. To overcome any cultural disadvantage inherent within education, indigenous parents need to be active and "interfere" with the school culture system to achieve positive outcomes.

This chapter is not based on research evidence collected from field work in schools to examine governance structures. It is a result of examining literature on school governance and indigenous peoples. What is required is to conduct field research that could answer the questions: What is the nature of the relationships between the various actors (local authorities, education offices, communities, and school staff), whose involvement in school governance and management tends to follow Eurocentric models? How are these relationships working with regards to indigenous peoples? How effective is the quality of governance and monitoring of

schools that exclude indigenous peoples' contribution and voices? Researchers in education and policy-makers should be involved in gathering and generating data that speaks to the need to build inclusive school governance structures. The challenge for school administrators is to build inclusive schools that are welcoming, flexible, and accessible to all students and parents.

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Indigenous Governance and Education in Belize: Lessons from the Maya Land Rights Struggle and Indigenous Education Initiatives

14

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Abstract

The “dialectic of resistance and colonization” produced the *Alcalde* system, a Maya form of governance allowed the Maya people to maintain a degree of autonomy and was central to both physical and cultural survival during colonial rule. In the last three decades, the *Alcalde* system has played a critical role in efforts to overcome the effects of colonization and exclusion, to revitalize their communities and to carve a space for a Maya way of knowing and being in Belize. Whether in the struggle to secure Maya land rights that has resulted in a landmark ruling in favor of the Maya at the Caribbean Court of Justice or in efforts to overcome the failings of the education system and dream a more

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responsive and decolonized educational practice that has resulted in the Tumul K'in Center of Learning, the principles and practices embodied in the *Alcalde* system have been instrumental. By examining the history, the principles and practices it embodies and the role it has played in the Maya land-rights struggle and the Tumul K'in education initiative, this chapter considers the limits and possibilities of what Maya governance might contribute to rethinking education.

Keywords

Indigenous governance · Indigenous education · *Alcalde* system · Belize Maya land rights · Student engagement

Introduction

On May 16, 2016, the police, at the instructions of the chairperson of the Toledo Maya Land Rights Commission, evicted Maya *Alcaldes* from the Commission's premises. The Commission is a government entity established to implement the Caribbean Court of Justice (CCJ) consent order (A consent order is a legally binding order issued by a court as a result of agreement by the concerned parties.) that affirmed Maya land rights. Shortly after the eviction, the chairperson issued a press release explaining her refusal to meet with them by stating that "the role of the Commission was to ensure that the Maya did not become voiceless" and that "the CCJ order did not grant a monopoly on the autonomy of Maya communities to anyone" (Amandala 2016). The *Alcalde* system is an indigenous form of governance. *Alcaldes* are traditional leaders who have been at the center of the Maya Land Rights movement and the court case that resulted in the consent order. They were at the Commission's office to represent Maya communities and communicate Maya disagreement with the way consultations were being carried out by the Commission because such consultations failed to follow Maya consultation protocol; violated international standards such as the International Labor Organization convention 169 (ILO 1989) and the United National Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UN 2008), and divided Maya communities. The "anyone" to whom the Commissioner was referring to was no other than the institution of Maya governance, the *Alcaldes*, the very actors that brought forward the court case that resulted in the consent order which the commission is established to implement. It was therefore perplexing, to say the least, that the Commission on the one hand proposed to guarantee the voice of the Maya people but on the other was refusing to meet with them and sought to delegitimize, the *Alcalde* system.

I begin by telling this story to highlight: the important relationship between indigenous governance and indigenous autonomy; the persistent desire of the state to be in control, and its continuous actions to undermine indigenous governance. At the same time, it serves to signal that in thinking about the relationship between education and indigenous governance, we need to consider not only how indigenous governance can contribute to rethinking education, but also how education can contribute to the vitality of indigenous governance. The colonial history and

contemporary role of the Alcalde System in the land rights struggle and indigenous education suggest that indigenous governance offers creative opportunities for rethinking education especially for those in the margins.

But before I proceed, let me introduce myself by telling a story to locate where I am coming from in writing about indigenous governance and education. When my grandfather was in his 90s he told us this story: During the Second World War, a young man from our Yucatec Maya community went to work in the agriculture fields in Europe. After spending a few months away, he came home. To welcome him, his mom served him his favorite drink, *pozole*, a drink made of coarsely ground corn mixed with honey which to enjoy properly one must keep shaking it otherwise the corn and water separate. Upon being served his *pozole*, the young man started shaking his bowl and drinking but strangely, paused and asked his mom: “mom, this is a nice drink, but what is it called?” Shocked, his mom wondered, “what did they do to my son in Europe” he has forgotten the name of his favorite drink. However, at the same moment, she noticed that he was shaking his bowl and relieved, she thought: “he might have forgotten the name, but he remembers how to shake it.”

At one level the story is a personal call to his Yucatec grandchildren from a community where many Maya practices were quickly disappearing, to not forget. At another level, it is a call to look for the “shaking,” for in the shaking there is hope. It is the starting point for decolonization and for rebuilding indigenous communities. The story of the *Alcaldes* is an example of such “shaking.”

Indigenous Governance: Locating the Alcalde System in the Broader Indigenous Governance Question

Central to indigenous struggles is overcoming the destructive legacy of colonialism, rebuilding indigenous society, and carving a space for indigenous ways of knowing and being. This, as Alfred (2009) notes, is a “constant fight” against a process that began with European colonialism, for “even as history’s shadow lengthens to mark the passing of the brutal age, the Western compulsion to control remains strong” (Alfred 2009, p. 8). Along these same lines, Quijano (2000) argues that what is called globalization is the culmination of a process that began with the constitution of “colonial/modern European capitalism as a new global power.” Quijano is helpful in understanding the underpinnings and operations of the colonial logic. He argues that coloniality operates on two foundational axes: the first is the “codification of the differences between conquerors and conquered in the idea of ‘race’, . . . that placed some in a natural situation of inferiority to the others” (p. 533). The other is a new way of controlling labor, land, resources and products.

This new structure was an articulation of all historically known previous structures of control of labor, slavery, serfdom, small independent commodity production and reciprocity, together around and upon the basis of capital and the world market. (p. 534)

Indigenous peoples' lands, resources, wellbeing, and ways of knowing and being are often sacrificed in the interest of others at the altar of these two axes. Indigenous struggles for self-determination are ultimately freedom from this control and the creation of a space for indigenous ways of knowing and being. This implies some form of self-government and what should be the focus and nature of indigenous governance?

For Alfred, one of the leading scholars of indigenous governance, "... a government that is not based on the traditional principles of respect and harmonious co-existence will inevitably tend to reflect the cold calculating, and coercive ways of the modern state." (Alfred 2009, p. 1). That is, it will replicate the very colonial discourse that indigenous peoples are trying to overcome. In Alfred's view, indigenous nations cannot be preserved unless action is taken to: restore pride in indigenous traditions, achieve economic self-sufficiency, develop independence of mind, and display courage in defending indigenous land and rights. For Alfred, this can only be achieved if we "recover our strength, our wisdom, and our solidarity by honoring and revitalizing the core of our traditional teaching" (p. 9). He, therefore, advocates for what he calls "self-conscious traditionalism" which he explains as:

... an intellectual, social and political movement that will reinvigorate those values, principles and other cultural elements that are best suited to the larger contemporary political and economic reality. (ibid., p. 16)

Within this "self-conscious traditionalism," he argues for an indigenous governance that is based on a "'Native American" political tradition: a commitment to profoundly respectful way of governing based on a world views that values autonomy but also recognizes a universal interdependency and promotes peaceful coexistence among all the elements of creation" (ibid., p. 14).

Placed in the context of the issues raised by Alfred, one can ask in what ways does the experience of the *Alcalde* System engage the actions that are critical to preserving indigenous nations? In what ways does the *Alcalde* system reflect an indigenous political tradition? Furthermore, does it reinvigorate those values, principles, and other cultural elements of Maya that can contribute to the larger contemporary political and economic reality? And finally, in what ways does it offer hope for overcoming the legacy of colonialism?

The Origins of the *Alcalde* System

Writing about the Maya during the colonial period, Bolland argues that

The dialectic of colonization and resistance in nineteenth century Belize resulted in the unusual adoption of an institution with Maya and Spanish roots into the British colonial system of local government, an institution that enabled the Maya to preserve a degree of autonomy in the colonial society. (Bolland 1988, p. 131)

The Maya roots of the *Alcalde* system are probably to be found in the pre-Columbine “town chief” the *batab* (Thompson 1930; Coe 2009). The *batabs* according to Coe (2009) were part of a Maya governance system that included: the *halach uinic*, a regional chief; the *batabs*, town leaders; the *a cuch cab*, a form of town council headed by the *batabs*; and the *ah kulels*, a set of deputies below the council. The *halach uinic*, notes Rugeley (1995), was lost in the Yucatan area as the Spaniards reduced Maya organization to the level of small local communities. The *batabs* along with the *a cuch cab*, those who carry the burden, and the *ah kulels* survived.

As part of their role, the *batabs* “gave audience to petitioners; administered local town upkeep and agricultural activities; acted as magistrate for those civil suits where both parties were of his town; and commanded the warriors of his town on the battlefield” (Coe 2009, p. 103). In other words, the *batab* was an overall leader involved in conflict resolution, justice, community organizing and development, resource management, and war.

The *batab* system was co-opted by the Spanish as a way of indirectly ruling the Maya villages in Yucatan (Farriss 1984). The Spanish never had the human resources to have a presence and completely rule over the Maya and therefore relied on the Maya’s own leaders to “maintain order, and keep tribute flowing” (Farriss 1984, p. 87). The Maya leadership became responsible for collecting taxes and organizing labor contribution to colonial projects. For a long period, reports Farriss, the only Spanish presence in Maya villages were the Catholic friars whose mission was both to Christianize and “civilize” the Maya. However, she notes, they lacked the capacity to exercise effective control. They could police and ensure outward compliance but could not control what happened inside Maya homes or heads. Intelligence on the Maya communities and their policing were in the hands of Maya elite and their “commitment to the new ways was grudging or ambivalent at best” (p. 96). Under these circumstances, the Maya in the Yucatan region had a significant degree of autonomy when it came to their own affairs. Resolution of conflict, the management of collective resources, organization of labor, organization of religious and community events, social welfare, and representation on behalf of the community was all in the hands of the local Maya leaders. For all intents and purposes, the Maya in the Yucatan region at the local level governed most of their internal affairs.

The *cajas de comunidad*, one of the institutions established during the early colonial period, illustrates the autonomy of Maya communities and the critical role local leadership played in collective survival. Spanish law established the *cajas de comunidad* as a self-help community fund for instances of epidemics, food scarcity, and for tribute payment to which all Maya had to contribute (Tanck de Estrada 1994). While the *Cajas* were established under Spanish Rule, Farriss (1984) notes, it was overlaid on Mayan systems that had little resemblance to the Spanish versions. The Maya raised funds through cultivation of community *milpas*, organized community production of goods, and even hired community members out to local haciendas. The local Maya leadership administered these funds reporting annually to the colonial governor. Farriss notes that they usually reported a zero balance of

payments and suggests that this was intentional in that they probably did not collect from community members the full tax they were required to do and they simply balanced expenses against revenue. Essentially, for the Mayas the *cajas* “were the portion of community resources used for local needs. . . which included tribute, church taxes, fiestas, or any other local expenditure” (Farriss 1984, p. 263). In other words, they exercised autonomy in the management of their finances thus contributing to collective survival.

Belize and the *Alcalde* System

Belize, formerly called British Honduras, is part of the Maya region. The Spanish never occupied Belize and the British eventually took possession making it the only English speaking country in Central America. British buccaneers settled in the mouth of the Belize River from where they could easily pirate Spanish ships transporting logwood. Eventually in 1667 when piracy was suppressed they themselves began to cut logwood close to the mouth of the Belize River. This not only meant a more permanent settlement but the importation of African slaves. As the buccaneers moved up-stream and shifted their attention to the extraction of mahogany, they came into greater contact with the Maya.

What form of Maya leadership the British encountered in Belize is not recorded, but it is likely similar to the *batab*. By the 1850s, there is evidence that the British encountered the *Alcalde* system in their efforts to incorporate the Maya and bring them under colonial control. In 1858 Superintendent Seymour proposed a bill that aimed “to legalize and define the position of *Alcalde*” which he explained his predecessors had allowed “Yucatec and Indian villages” to elect and present to them for appointment to the position. He proposed to make them something of a police officer, justice of the peace, and magistrate and to have them be nominated by the communities but appointed by the superintendent who would also have the power of suspension. When the legislation was passed, it did not even mention the point that the people would nominate their *Alcaldes* (Bolland 1988). Instead, the bill proposed that the *Alcalde* was to be appointed by the superintendent from individuals he judged to be adequate, and the *Alcalde* in turn was to appoint village police subject to the approval of the superintendent. In the process of legalizing and defining the *Alcalde*, the colonial administration, as Bolland notes, was imposing on it “British authority and legal concepts” (Bolland 1988, p. 136) and shifting the source of authority from the community to the colonial administration.

Despite Seymour’s bill, the reality was that the Maya *Alcaldes* seem to have continued to function as they had. In the 1880s, colonial Secretary Henry Fowler acknowledged the failure of previous policy noting that the Indians were scattered and that “no control was really exercised over them” (Henry Fowler (1887) as quoted in Bolland 1988, p. 146). Fowler proposed a renewal of the *Alcalde* system such that the Maya can be brought under “legitimate influence and control. . . and be converted from passive and indifferent subjects into loyal and willing settlers” (ibid.). According to Bolland, Fowler makes his intentions clear stating that this is “to

exact from them a strict adherence to the legal form of the colony” and “to draw them from their old traditions, and little by little to teach them our more exact methods of justice.” (ibid.). That Henry Fowler was still attempting to transform the *Alcalde* system in the late 1800s in order to bring the Maya more effectively under British rule suggest that despite British efforts, the Maya in Belize were about to enter the twentieth century exercising a fair degree of autonomy.

The Village Councils

The *Alcalde* system came under attack again in the 1940s with the introduction of the Village Council which is today regulated by the Village Council's Act (Government of Belize 2000b). The institution of village councils was first introduced by the colonial administration in the late 1940s (Moberg 1992) but established in different villages at different times. It was proposed as a mechanism that would allow community development through self-help – the community would provide labor and the government the financial resources.

The introduction of village councils coincided with the beginning of the independence movement in Belize and the birth of political parties. Moberg (1992) notes that it also coincided with what was happening in other areas of the British Empire emanating from the belief that the existing forms of traditional governance systems were autocratic and incompatible with democratic principles. He suggests “the intent, if not the stated goal, of such alternatives was to undercut established local authorities, creating new village leaders who derived their authority from electoral mandate” (Moberg 1992, p. 13). He concludes that the Village Council system resulted in the destruction of consensual politics and the demise of the *Alcalde* system, except those in the Toledo district of Belize.

The example of Succotz, a Yucatec Maya village in the Cayo District where the *Alcalde* system had been in existence since the 1800s, illustrates how this change from *alcades* to village council occurred. The village council was introduced to Succotz in the 1960s. For a very short period, the *Alcalde* system co-existed with the Village council but was quickly abolished completely. How the abolishment of the *Alcalde* system happened is not clear, but as far as local leaders from around that time recall, it was just something decided by the government with no consultation with the community. The village chairman of 1965 recalls that party politicians (the Minister of Rural Development and area representative at the time) told them that they did not need the *Alcalde* anymore, since they could manage their own communities themselves. He also recalls the slogan that when the Peoples United Party won the struggle for independence, there would be no need to do *fajinas*. (*Fajina* is a community collective form of work where all men aged 18 and over maintain village commons.) He recalls that some local politicians went further and suggested villagers ask for payment if they were asked to contribute community work.

The results of the introduction of the Village Council and the abolishment of the *Alcalde* system resulted not only in the destruction of consensual politics, as Moberg argues. It also meant the destruction of collective forms of work to maintain the

commons, the loss self-reliance in addressing community works, and the introduction of a dependency on the state. Succotz village leaders of the 1960s, for example, observe that the village council quickly became more a representative of the political parties and not the community. It became a mechanism for mobilizing votes and increased any divisiveness that already may have existed. Today these leaders lament the loss of community, autonomy, and self-reliance.

The *Alcaldes* in Toledo

While the *Alcaldes* ceased to function in the rest of Belize during the 1960s, they continued to operate in Toledo along with the Village councils. Every 2 years, an *Alcalde*, a deputy *Alcalde* (referred to as Second *Alcalde*), and two village police are elected. While the state has attempted to define the *Alcalde's* role and functions under the Inferior Courts Act (Government of Belize 2000a) as a lower court magistrate who along with a deputy are elected by the community and appointed by the attorney general, the Maya have continued to exercise autonomy over the institution of the *Alcalde* (Political Reform Commission Final Report 2000). In 1992, for example, the Maya people established the Toledo Alcalde Association (TAA) which brings together the *Alcaldes* of all the 38 Maya villages in Toledo. The establishment of the TAA has been perhaps one of the most important innovations in the system. Whereas each *Alcalde* in the past had been operating at the level of the local village, the Alcalde Association introduced a regional type of governance that has brought strength to the communities and an ability to engage in broad collective action as in the land rights movement.

In the 1994, the government granted a concession to a Chinese Company to extract timber on Maya lands. This started the contemporary land rights struggle that has spanned over 2.5 decades. The legal struggle has seen the case dragged through local courts, the Interamerican Commission on Human rights, the Belize Supreme Court, and the Caribbean Court of Justice (CCJ). After a series of appeals, the court battle culminated in 2015 with a consent order by the CCJ. Throughout this process, the *Alcalde* system has provided a mechanism for communities to dialogue and make decisions independent of outside forces and maintain a high degree of unity. As noted by Jerry Enriquez (2015):

Through successive PUP and UDP (PUP stands for the Peoples United Party; UDP stands for the United Democratic Party) administrations, the Maya leadership was also able to keep politics in its place in order to avoid the compromising attachment to one political party or another, . . . Such detachment and their internal cohesion were important for the leadership to keep focused and ensure that their investments of time, energies, and other resources are not held hostage to divisive party politics. (Enriquez 2015)

The fact that it is grounded on customary law has also ensured that commitment to collective land rights has been sustained.

The *Alcalde* as an Indigenous Form of Governance

In 2010 the Government of Belize attempted to review the 2000 Inferior Courts Act. The Toledo Alcalde Association (TAA) was concerned that the process was constrained and asked for a more consultative process. The TAA's proposal was not accepted and the Government initiative shelved. The TAA went ahead and developed and proposed to the Government their own *Alcaldes* bill. While the government did not adopt the TAA's proposed bill, the TAA has done so itself. The proposed act reveals some key characteristics of the *Alcalde* system evident in the way elections are to be carried out, who is eligible, and on what grounds an *Alcalde* can be removed.

According to the TAA proposed bill (Toledo Alcalde's Association 2010), eligible candidates are village residents who have gone through the ranks of the system. Elections are to be carried out without any campaigning for the position and no postulation on behalf of any political party is to be accepted. In terms of removal from office, a top reason for removal is failure to uphold customary law and other reasons includes failure to do the job, corruption, and drinking. An *alcalde* is expected to be exemplary in honoring and upholding customary law, to consider the advice of elders, and to represent the interests, needs, and concerns of the village to state actors and private entities or individuals.

The foundations of the *Alcalde* system as an indigenous governance, however, live not in the Inferior Court's Act or even the proposed TAA *Alcalde's* bill. Much of the values and wisdom that underlies it is unstated and lives in Maya language, the understandings of elders, leaders, knowledge bearers, and the rest of the Maya community. The name for *Alcalde* in the Q'eqchi language, for example, is Jolomil, K'aleb'aal K'amol b'e. Jolomil refers to head person. K'aleb'al refers to the village and K'amol b'e refers to leader, guide, speaker. K'utul b'e which means he who teaches or shows the way is offered as a synonym by the Proyecto Linguistico Francisco Marroquin Q'eqchi dictionary (Proyecto Linguistico Francisco Marroquin 2003, p.161). In essence Jolomil Kalebal K'amolb'e refers to the head of the community. The one who shows, teaches, and guides or leads along the path.

The coordinator of the Toledo Alcalde Association explains that Maya governance is essentially about the management of relations between members of the community, between the community and their surrounding environment, and between the community and those from outside the community (Personal communication 9 June 2016). He explains that maintaining right relations is central to the *Alcalde's* role, that it is about making sure that community members are getting along perfectly well, and that they remain as brothers and sisters, are looking after the interests of each other, are not trying to impose on others, and are not trying to hinder others.

This understanding of governance Pablo Mis, is consistent with important Maya principles of interrelatedness and harmonious balance. Greetings in Q'eqchi and Yucatec maya languages remind us of these principles. Victor Cal, the coordinator of the Maya healers Association and teacher at Tumul Kin Center of Learning always

explains, along these lines, that the Q'eqchi greeting *Mas sa la cho'ol* is not a simple "how are you?" but is asking: How is your balance or how is your relationship with self, others, environment, and cosmos? A similar explanation is offered of the Yucatec greeting *bixabel* which literally means how is your way or how are you walking? In essence, the goal of indigenous governance is to ensure balanced and harmonious relations; it is about ensuring that as individuals and communities we are staying on the right path.

The *Alcalde* must first of all show the way by example, by being a model of right relations. Alfonso Cal (Personal communication 9 June 2016) who has been in the *Alcalde* system for over 30 years and Chairperson of the *Alcalde* association for 6 years explains that the elders of his community asked him to be the scribe of the *Alcalde* when he was 16 because he always attended meetings, always participated in the *fajina*, had never been brought before the *Alcalde*, and had never been fined (Personal communication 9 June 2016). For Mr. Cal, a good *Alcalde* is someone that is not a drunkard, someone that does not get into trouble. In effect a good *Alcalde* is someone who shows the way by being an example of good personal character and upholding customary law. The *Alcalde* also guides along the path of right relations by resolving conflict and counseling in matters that can range from relationships between spouses, parents, and children to business relationships. Finally it fosters and restores right relationships by enforcing customary law.

One of the key responsibilities of the *Alcalde* is to convene the *fajina*. The *fajina* is a practice in which all men aged 18 and above must come out to do community work to maintain the commons reveals much about Maya governance. Participation in the *fajina* is central to being a member of the community. When an external person wants to become a member of the community, such person must commit to participating in the community meetings and *fajina*. When a person has a home or a farm in the community lands, even if they are not living in the community, they must participate in the *fajina*. The *fajina* is about looking after the collective interests, the interests of each other and about the reciprocal relationships that are necessary in the community. A member of the community cannot simply benefit from the shared resources and the labor of the rest; hence, when a person does not show up for the *fajina* he needs to pay a fine. It is the responsibility of the *alcalde* to convene the *fajina* and to fine people for not participating. In essence it his role to ensure reciprocity.

Another of the primary roles of the *Alcalde* is to organize and facilitate the community meetings which further reveals some key elements of indigenous governance. Mis (Personal communication 9 June 2016) explains that to say I am going the village meeting people say "Xik we chi ab'ink" which literally means "I am going to listen." *Abink* in this sense is referring to the meeting but literally means to listen. The village meeting privileges listening over speaking. Everybody is going to listen, including and particularly the *Alcalde*. The duty of the *Alcalde* is therefore to guarantee deliberation, get people to listen to each other, to work towards a consensus, and to ensure that the people who might be particularly affected or who hold an essential voice speak and are listened to. The *Alcalde's* role is to facilitate the voice of those that live downstream; Mis explains the *Alcalde* will often say "I have

listened to Mr. X and Mr. Y but I would encourage Mr. Z to speak.” The village meeting is also about making space for the voice of the elders. Often when things become unclear says the coordinator of the TAA, the *Alcalde* will seek the advice of the elders. This very idea is captured in the TAA proposed bill “The *Alcalde* must respect the advice of elders.” Similarly, the words of the ancestors have a place – often people will talk about what their grandparents told them about the past. In essence the village meeting is about people listening to each other; it is about looking after each other’s and the collective interests by listening to each other, and building consensus. Facilitating all this is the role of the *Alcalde*.

The emphasis of the village meeting is on listening, not on speaking. In order for listening to happen obviously someone must speak. This emphasis on listening means that it must be orderly. The meeting therefore often takes a ceremonial character. It is treated with a degree of sacredness. As the TAA coordinator describes it, it is “ceremony in action.” In order for the meeting to happen, everyone must be inside the meeting house, everybody must be silent.

The village meeting, the listening event, has an amazing parallel with the creation story described in the Popul Vuh. The Popul Vuh relates that in the very beginning there is only silence, no animals, birds, or human are there, only the creators are present. This is how the creators came together in a council “. . .and then they talked, then they thought, then they worried. They agreed with each other; they joined their words, their thoughts. Then it was clear; then they reached accord in the light and then humanity was clear” (Tedlock 1996, p. 66). The very creative moment begins with silence, with coming together, with dialogue, with listening and with the putting together of minds and words.

The Popul Vu relates further that the creators first tried making human beings out of clay, but these beings failed to honor and give thanks to their creators – they forgot to show gratitude and so were destroyed. They then tried creating human beings out of wood, but these beings not only failed to honor and show gratitude to their creator but mistreated their implements and the natural environment and so these turned against them and were destroyed. Finally the creators sought the advice of two elders who helped them to create human beings out of corn.

The *abink* of the creators is a creative moment and it is about solving a problem and it is a learning experience. Their *Abink* begins with coming together, with silence, it involves listening, building consensus, failing, and seeking the advice of the elders to finally solve their problem. The community *abink* resonates so strongly with the first *abink* suggesting the deep indigenous roots of Maya governance. If one recalls that the problem the creators are trying to solve is the creation of humans, one can even see the nature and goals of indigenous governance, the silence, the joining of words and thoughts, the seeking of the advice of elders, the consensus, building are processes that speak to becoming more human.

The experience of the *Alcalde*’s illustrates what Alfred’s (2009) contends are necessary for the preservation of indigenous nations: restoring pride in traditions, achieving economic self-sufficiency, the development of independence of mind, and defending lands and rights. Moreover, it has been able to do so by drawing on traditional values while at the same time adapting to the demands of the

contemporary context. Today in particular the *Alcalde* system in Toledo is reinvigorating values, principles, and cultural elements as a protection against cooption and falling victims to the clientelism of the Belizean state. The lessons that can be drawn from the story of the *Alcalde* system as an indigenous governance system are worth enumerating:

1. It illustrates indigenous peoples' continuous struggle to resist and overcome colonialism and its legacy.
2. It illustrates how indigenous governance has been recognized by colonial and state authorities as a lynchpin of autonomy and therefore targeted. However, it also shows the inability of the colonial enterprise to completely erase. Even if it makes indigenous peoples forget the name of the drink, they still remember how to shake it. The survival and revitalization of the *Alcalde* system is evidence of the shaking. It has managed to find cracks in the colonial landscape to put out new shoots whether in Yucatan, Northern Belize, or Toledo, it has been able to take advantage of these cracks.
3. It illustrates indigenous peoples' capacity to innovate and incorporate non-indigenous practices even when intended to control such as in the redefinition of the *cajas comunitarias*.
4. It illustrates how indigenous governance embodies many critical indigenous values that can be the basis of new imaginings. The notion of indigenous governance as the facilitation of right relations, the importance of dialogue, community and reciprocity, leadership by example, the importance of facilitating the voices of everyone, and the importance of making space for elders and of honoring tradition are foundational values.
5. It illustrates the importance of indigenous governance to survival and overcoming the legacy of colonialism. The experience in Yucatan, in northern Belize in the 1800s, and the contemporary land rights movement suggests that indigenous forms of governance have been a key to the struggle for both physical and cultural survival.

The indigenous values the *Alcalde* system reveals, its focus on facilitating harmonious relations, its commitment to making space for everyone, the experience of defending autonomy and overcoming the legacy of colonialism, and the story of innovation while honoring tradition, offer important lessons that can be useful in rethinking education.

The Challenges of Education: Belize

The Belize education system like many education systems around the world is characterized by a lack of equity, a growing challenge in meaningfully engaging children and young people, and the absence of democratic governance that might allow for the voices and concerns and aspirations of the most excluded to find a hearing space.

A recent study (Gayle and Mortis 2010) characterized the Belize school system as “a fancy basket that needs to be changed to at least a cheap bucket that can hold water” (p. 108). It reported that the lack of resources, an outdated system, and a human ecology characterized by poverty, vulnerability, and violence are key factors contributing to a failing system (ibid.). This reality is confirmed by Ministry of Education statistics (Dropout rates: Primary school: 8.4% Boys and 6.0% girls; Secondary: 10% boys and 8% Girls. Net enrollment ratio at secondary level 45% (only 45% of children eligible in for secondary school are participating)) that report high repetition rates across the system and alarmingly low participation rate at the secondary level (Ministry of Education 2012).

The low level of young people’s participation and engagement in schools is one of the most concerning issues in Belize and perhaps in many other countries; it is one that highlights the failures of the system and the need for rethinking education. The factors that explain school dropouts as the culmination of poor engagement are complex. However, as Clive Harber (2002) argues, the nature of education including meaningless curriculum and oppressive education has much to do with it. Along these lines, Smyth (2006) argues that:

The reasons students withdraw from school emotionally, educationally, psychologically, and, eventually, physically are multi-faceted and complex, but in the end they boil down to ‘political’ reasons—that is to say, students refuse to make the emotional and relational investment necessary to become engaged with the social institution of schooling in a manner necessary for learning to occur. (p. 288)

This leads him to argue that

If we want a more realistic regime of accountability for high schools that is likely to have a chance of success in making a difference in the lives of those most disadvantaged, then it will have to be one that includes the lives, experiences, cultures, family backgrounds, aspirations, and hopes of young people themselves. (p. 288)

What we are talking about here is the lack of relevance and responsiveness to the reality of disadvantaged children. This is an issue of particular concern to indigenous peoples. Indigenous peoples are concerned about the persisting colonial logic of the education system that prevents the “lives, experiences, cultures, family backgrounds, aspirations, and hopes of young people” and their communities to inform education.

The state and the church have historically dominated the education system of Belize and have done very little to offer a relevant and responsive education to Maya people. A letter of 1914 by Fr. Tenck to the Governor General speaks volumes about how Maya people were perceived and what the purpose of education was:

I have been told that a delegation of Indians from the neighborhood of San Antonio is now in Belize bothering your Excellency. At present the Indians, whom they are representing, are living in the bush, scattered and isolated like wild animals. We and Your Excellency also, I am sure, are desirous to have them learn at least a few of the most rudimentary sanitary laws and some of the first duties of persons living in a civilized community. . . . Do, therefore, what you think but we beg Your Excellency, to keep these subjects of British Honduras in some one place where we will be able to maintain a school for them. In the

school alone can we place our hope for a brighter future for them. And, would could [sic] compel those ignorant, foolish and selfish parents to send their children to school. . . . (Tenck, quoted in Wainwright 2009, p. 429)

Tenck reveals how church and colonial authorities perceived the Maya. As he puts it they are “ignorant, foolish and selfish” Indians who are “living like wild animals.” The only hope of civilizing them is through education and therefore they must be compelled to send their children. The goal of education, Tenck suggests, is to have the “Maya people learn the first duties of living in a civilized community.” Ultimately it is about bringing the Maya more effectively under the control of colonial and church authority. In this task, Wainwright (2009) argues the church and the state are complicit.

This dominance of the church and the state and colonialist tendencies of education for Maya people have persisted. The teaching of Maya history, for example, was not introduced in schools until the year 2000. The language policy continues to view indigenous languages only useful to help children transition from home to school. Language policy reform has consistently been resisted. Efforts to introduce bilingual intercultural education have had to rely on efforts of indigenous organizations with limited support from the state or the church. Clearly culturally responsive education has not been a priority for the church or the state and it is unlikely they will make it a priority.

The church-state system persists in Belize producing, not only, poor levels of accountability between the church and the state but between school managers and parents (Ministry of Education 2012). Gayle and Mortis (2010) reports that throughout the study, teachers, principals, and government personnel complained bitterly about the power relations between the church and the Ministry of Education. Ultimately it is parents and the children that are marginalized. Parent Teacher Associations are largely inexistent and largely dysfunctional where they exist. Parental participation is limited to essentially picking up report cards, receiving complaints about misbehaving children, and fund raising. Within this context, there is limited space for the voices of Maya communities.

The absence of democratic school governance raises a major problem that remains unspoken – the autocratic nature of schools. In 1990 Said Musa Minister of Education and later on Prime Minister noted: “For too long the approach to education in our schools has been *authoritarian*. The teachers have traditionally been the fountains of all wisdom, knowledge and understanding. The student did not dare to disagree.” (Musa, quoted in Bennett 2008, p. 133). A telling practice is classroom management which is less about establishing positive relationships and safe spaces and facilitating engaging experiences and more about manipulating students to comply with rules through carrots and sticks. This kind of education is what Paulo Freire (1970) calls “banking” education and one that Shoman (1991) in part attributes to the dominance of the church.

These autocratic dynamics however are not limited to the teacher-student relationship. It also characterizes the relationship between management and teachers in many schools in Belize. It is unlikely that teachers and parents feel any great deal of

empowerment to challenge management policy and neither do parents. In effect, these autocratic tendencies tend to “reflect the cold calculating, and coercive ways of the modern state” that Alfred (2009, p. 11) is talking about.

In summary, some of the key challenges that education faces includes the challenge of meaningfully engaging young people and of developing more democratic governance system that might allow the participation of those most affected by the historical and persisting colonial underpinnings. These challenges need to be addressed in rethinking education and the story of the *Alcalde* system and the values and principles it embodies might offer some insights.

A Maya Education Initiative: Tumul K'in Center of Learning

Between 2001 and 2005, I was involved in establishing and directing the Tumul K'in Center of Learning, an initiative that at one level aimed to respond to the challenge of low levels of participation of young Maya people in education. At a higher level, however, Tumul K'in was a decolonizing project, an act of self-determination.

Tumul K'in was established in 2001 by Maya actors and organizations as a response to high levels of poverty (79% in 2002 (National Human Development Advisory Committee 2004, p. 24)) and marginalization among Maya people, limited education opportunities and high “push-out” rates at the secondary level, assimilatory education and social practices, and the exploitation of Maya cultural and natural heritage by others with little benefit to Maya people.

Tumul K'in in the Yucatec and Mopan Maya language refers to a new day, a new time, or a new sun. As such it signaled a new way of thinking about education and development. The notion of “development with identity” was influential in Tumul K'in's efforts. “Development with identity” was an idea emergent in Central and South America that sought to overcome the colonialist underpinnings and negative effects of development thought and practice by creating a space for indigenous ways (Deruyttere 2004; Uquillas and Eltz 2004). It argued that conventional development thought and practice premised on the idea that to develop means a gradual abandonment of indigenous ways – a move from traditional to “modern”; and based on the exploitation of indigenous labor and resources for the benefit of others and the detriment of indigenous peoples themselves is essentially colonialist. Countering that idea, indigenous leaders, activists, and organizations such as Luis Macas, Nina Pacari, the Central American Indigenous council, proposed the notion of “development with identity.” “Development with identity” proposed that development ideas are always culturally framed and that each society has the right to define both the speed and direction of development. Indigenous development must therefore be based on indigenous ontology and epistemology; indigenous values, knowledge, and practices need to be at the center.

Tumul Kin refused to pathologize Maya poverty and educational disengagement. It viewed poverty as a result of colonialist development practices and school dropouts as the result of economics, and the inability of schools to provide safe,

relevant, and engaging spaces for indigenous children and their communities. In response, Tumul K'in sought to develop an educational practice that was rooted in Maya values and practices and was not only a friendly space for children, teachers, parents, and community but was owned and defined by them. Tumul K'in did not explicitly draw on Maya governance system in its conceptualization. However, the goals and values embodied in indigenous governance were present and contributed to rethinking education in several ways.

School Governance as Indigenous Governance

Given the history of education in Belize, autonomy was critical to Tumul K'in. To address the question of autonomy, school governance became a critical matter. Three underlying concerns influenced the construction of the governing body of Tumul K'in: How can ownership of the school remain in the hands of the Maya community? How can we ensure that the governing body of Tumul K'in remains autonomous from possible coercive forces that have not been responsive to the aspirations of Maya people? How do we ensure that the voice of those that live downstream have a space in shaping and governing the educational institution? These were so important to Tumul K'in that its governance structure went through several iterations. Finally it settled on a governing body that consisted of representatives from the Toledo Alcalde Association as the traditional leaders, parents, teachers and students as the direct owners and beneficiaries and the Ministry of Education as partner with nonvoting rights.

While the composition of the governing body ensured ownership and control of the school by the Maya communities, to ensure that this body stayed the course, to ensure accountability a Parent, Teacher and Community Association (PTCA) was established to facilitate and promote the engagement of the wider Maya community.

The PTCA became the lynchpin of community and parental participation – aware of the diversity of languages and the need to ensure everybody can listen, it conducted its meetings in three and sometimes four languages (Q'eqchi, Mopan, Spanish, and English) and cognizant that it was not easy to get to Tumul K'in and that parents would have to leave their homes early in the morning without having breakfast, the PTCA fundraised to provide transportation and food for parents when they came to pick up report cards and attend meetings. Recognizing that the formal meetings are intimidating and impersonal, it sought to create spaces for more human relations and more effective participation. It organized overnight sessions at the center for parents to immerse themselves in school and therefore organized overnight stays for parents and elders. These sessions took a more informal nature, a sort of discussions over dinner, in the cornfield, over coffee and started to be known among staff as “dreaming together sessions.” These often created spaces where parents and elders could speak from their heart, where they could dream without the formality of a boardroom.

Despite all the PTCA did, there were still parents who sometimes would not come to pick up report cards or attend meetings. Tumul K'in in response established a

Community Liaison officer who along with teachers organized home visits and regional meetings.

There are many other ways in which Tumul K'in sought to generate community participation. A community radio station was established; cultural nights were taken to several communities; students went to learn from community members, and community members came to teach at Tumul K'in; and the institution of Maya Day, an event to celebrate Maya identity and culture that became an annual regional celebration was established.

In summary, guaranteeing the autonomy of Maya people to define the education that best suits their aspirations and ensuring that the voices of those that live downstream were the implicit guiding principles of governance at Tumul K'in. While not explicitly seeking to implement Maya governance principles and values, the fact that these are the practices and values that those involved knew and held they ended up shaping the philosophy and practice of school governance.

Indigenous Governance and Engaging Young People in Education

Tumul K'in adopted the *Alcalde* governance system as its student governance system and this was a critical way in which students participated. Tumul K'in had four classes (years 1–4). Each class elected a first and second *Alcalde* and together eight *Alcaldes* formed the *Alcalde* council of the school and they elected a first and second *Alcalde* as the leaders. Much like the *Alcalde* system in the communities, the class *Alcalde* and the school *Alcalde's* role was to ensure peace and harmony, organize collective work to maintain the commons, and facilitate community meetings.

The school *Alcaldes* organized autonomous student meetings in which they discussed student issues and planned activities for community building. One of the challenges they faced illustrates the significance of these meetings. After their first few meetings, the First *Alcalde* reported that he was frustrated and did not know what to do. Everybody wanted to speak in his or her own language and this caused tension because not everybody could understand. Our response was that the school valued this linguistic diversity and perhaps they might want to set ground rules. They did. They agreed that anyone could speak in their own language provided someone offered an English translation to ensure everyone understood.

The *Alcaldes* also used these student meetings to organize school cultural nights. Every other week the *Alcaldes* organized a cultural night where students sang, played musical instruments, performed, danced, and shared food. The teachers were also expected to participate and did.

As in every Maya community, the *Alcalde* convened a school community meeting and *fajina*. Every other week they would organize a *fajina* to maintain the school grounds. Everyone including teachers was expected to participate. After the *fajina* a school community meeting was convened and facilitated by the school *Alcaldes*. They developed an agenda that included everything from sharing information about upcoming events, reports, and discussion of concerns.

One of the special roles of the *Alcaldes* was in the question of school discipline. A disciplinary committee was established to support the role of the *Alcaldes* in maintaining peace and harmony. The committee consisted of the two school *Alcaldes*, a PTCA member and the Academic Director. The committee was responsible for situations that went beyond just minor misdemeanors (these were addressed by individual *Alcaldes* and teachers). They investigated matters by talking to the concerned student and those affected, they offered advice and imposed sanctions. These sanctions were generally about restoring peace and harmony – apologizing to a victim, apologizing to the community, carrying out community work, or making repairs to damaged property.

The experience of Tumul K'in's adoption of the *Alcalde* system as its student governance system illustrates how schools can be places for revitalizing and innovating on indigenous governance.

Indigenous Governance and Pedagogy

Tumul K'in aimed to reach and engage all its students and it recognized that to do so it could not be a conventional school nor adopt a conventional pedagogic practice. To this end, Tumul K'in sought to develop a pedagogic practice that rejected pathologizing students, rested on strong, respectful, and positive relations between students and teachers and made use of the assets of the wider community.

Tumul K'in was a live-in program. Because reaching it was difficult, students stayed on campus and went home every 10 days for 4 days during the school year. This provided an opportunity for developing deeper relationships beyond the classroom between students and teachers. They ate, worked, and had fun together. In terms of the latter, the cultural evenings that the student *Alcaldes* organized became one of the most powerful spaces for breaking hierarchies and establishing a relational pedagogy.

The curriculum was organized such that a teacher was made responsible for a group of 10–15 students. These teachers were usually responsible for teaching Agriculture, science, and third related subject, and facilitating a daily 2-h our field-experience. This practice allowed teachers to develop stronger relationships with students, integrate indigenous knowledge, involve traditional knowledge bearers, and break the walls of the school to make the wider community a part of the school.

We thought of Tumul K'in as a community where we *dream together* and a place where *everybody learns and everybody teaches*, where we honored tradition but innovated by *turning things upside down*. We did not consciously sit down to think about the practices and principles of indigenous governance; however, our efforts embodied the concerns and drew from the experience of Maya governance. The dreaming together was ultimately about an education that responds to the needs and

aspirations of Maya children and communities and contributes to Maya wellbeing. Tumul K'in was governed and managed for that purpose.

Conclusion: So What Are the Implications of Indigenous Governance for Education?

The implications go in two directions: first, what can education do for indigenous governance given its centrality to the preservation of indigenous nations and the question of indigenous self-determination? and second, how can indigenous governance inform the rethinking of education?

One important concern of the *Alcaldes* is the lack of people with the knowledge, values, character, and commitment to occupy the *Alcalde* position. This is a critical concern for as the coordinator for the Alcalde Association points out, there can be a good indigenous governance system but if there are not people to make it function then it is useless. This concern leads *ex-Alcaldes* in Succotz and Toledo to point out that education has trained people for other purposes, away from indigenous ways and to a disavowal of traditional governance.

During one of the PTCA sessions at Tumul K'in Center of Learning, a community *Alcalde* told the story of a young man to express his concern about the negative impact education was having on indigenous governance. He related a story involving a young man from his community who had graduated from high school who refused to participate in communal work (*fajina*). The young man wrote to him stating that he was no longer going to do *fajina* because he was now a high school graduate. In this *Alcalde's* view, education was eroding customary law, Maya forms of governance, and ultimately community. His story resonates with the story of Succotz and how the *Alcalde* system was undone. More broadly, the story highlights the disconnect between the subjectivity produced by schooling and that desired by indigenous societies. It raises the question regarding the extent to which education disavows indigenous governance or sustains it. The survival of indigenous forms of governance will depend, to a significant degree, on our cognitive commitment to it, and education is a space that can either erode or strengthen that commitment. We are left, therefore, asking the question how can education sustain the values and cognitive commitment to indigenous governance?

In terms of how indigenous governance can contribute to Maya education, one contribution relates to the challenge of reshaping education in a way that honors Maya ways of knowing and being and responds to Maya aspirations. The Belizean education system is a church-state system (Bennett 2008), almost all schools are managed by a church but teachers are paid for by the state. The state and the church, the two principal agents of colonialism, continue to control the education system of Belize (Shoman 1991; Gayle and Mortis 2010). Neither the state nor the church has voluntarily sought to respond to the rights of indigenous peoples to a culturally relevant education. The state has adopted a very passive role that is evident in its language policy. After pressure from indigenous organizations, the policy has shifted

from English being the official language to be used in schools, to one where teachers may use native languages to help children learn and indigenous communities may teach their language if they finance it (Ministry of Education 2000, p. 184). The mainstream attitude however is still that the English language should be the dominant language.

As to the church, Shoman (1991) writes that its main concern is religious education and raises doubts about whether it can contribute to offering a decolonized education. The experience of three schools in which Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) was introduced in 2009 perhaps reveals the limited commitment there is for cultural responsive education. Of the three schools, two were under a church management and one was under an indigenous organization. In the project review, the teachers from the church-managed schools pointed out that the main threat to the initiative was that teachers trained in IBE were being transferred out of the IBE schools (Penados and Mis 2009). In 2017, all but the indigenous managed school is continuing to sustain IBE.

In the education landscape of Belize where the church-state system lives on, Maya governance that has allowed Maya people to exercise a degree of autonomy might be able to facilitate a space to develop the kind of education Maya people desire. The *Alcalde* system has proven to be effective in securing collective land rights. Securing a space for the kind of education that Maya people deserve and desire might also be possible.

The challenges that Belize's education system faces are complex and it would be simplistic to imagine that there is an easy or even a single solution. Notwithstanding that, indigenous governance can contribute significantly by offering alternative imaginations, new ways of rethinking education and enacting change. Arguably the single most concerning educational challenge in Belize is education's failure to engage children especially at the secondary level. To address this challenge, it might be useful to heed Smyth's (2006) advice quoted earlier, that if we want to make a difference in the lives of the most disadvantaged we must respond and include their experiences, cultures and backgrounds and hopes.

To achieve this, it might be helpful to think of schools as relational organizations and to make them learning communities for young people, parents, teachers, and community. It is precisely here that indigenous governance has much to offer. The *Alcalde* system teaches us that indigenous governance is about the management of relationships. It is about ensuring that people are listening and caring for each other, about making space for the voices of the marginalized, and about restoring harmonious and respectful relations.

The village meeting, the *abink*, as a space to listen, to dialogue, to build consensus, and ultimately to solve community problems teach us much about the importance, and important ways of making space for the voices of young people, parents, and teachers. The village *abink* echoes the creators' *abink* in the Maya creation story from which even deeper teachings can be drawn. It is through the *abink* of the creators that humanity was made possible. Humanity or perhaps humanness seems to require a space in which words and thoughts can be joined together, a space in which it is safe to fail in our first or second attempt, a space where it is

proper to seek the wisdom of others. If we want schools to be places where we can become more human, the teachings cannot be clearer.

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Indigenous Leadership: A Complex Consideration

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Abstract

Our collaboration on the writing of this chapter reflects the complex nature of Indigenous leadership. We each draw on our experiences as Indigenous educators working within Indigenous and western contexts—Wong and Perry from Hawaiian perspectives, Johnston from a Māori perspective, and Maaka from a Māori perspective in the diaspora of Hawai‘i. In keeping with our introduction, our stances on Indigenous leadership are shaped by the contexts in which we live and work, by our missions as educators in higher education, by our efforts to mentor a successor generation, and by our histories as peoples violently dislocated from the fundamental markers of our identities—sovereignty, ancestral lands, language, and cultural knowledge. This dislocation was (and still is) brought by the hands of colonial forces hell bent on forcing geopolitical, economic, and sociopolitical agendas upon us—at our expense. As a result, Māori (with the breached Treaty of

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Waitangi) and Hawaiians (with the illegal overthrow of a constitutional monarchy) face modern day challenges in recovering all that has been stripped away.

In our writing, then, we choose not to limit our discussion on Indigenous leadership in education to the context of “preschool through university schooling.” Since we view “education” as pertaining to anything that leads us out of ignorance, we choose to expand our discussion to the broadest context of Indigenous self-determination that includes the socio-politics of Indigenous knowledge, models, methods, and content within formal and non-formal educational systems. Similarly, our use of the word “community” refers to Indigenous peoples who have been brought up within the geographic boundary of their traditional lands for the purpose of making change. Change makers include individuals from many different arenas including education, health, law, business, politics, and culture and the arts.

While there are many points of interest in an examination of Indigenous leadership, this chapter focuses on historical trauma and Indigenous leadership, well-executed leadership, leadership ascension, and leadership succession. Although our commentaries draw on the Māori and Hawaiian cultures, we believe that they also resonate with other Indigenous peoples. As well, the following commentaries are not to be embraced as received knowledge, rather, they are perspectives designed to invite debate.

Keywords

Indigenous leadership · Historical trauma of Indigenous peoples · Well-executed leadership · Leadership ascension · Leadership succession · Indigenous self-determination

Introduction

In his working definition of Indigenous communities, peoples, and nations, the United Nations’ Special Rapporteur Martinez Cobo sets the context in which Indigenous leadership finds itself in modern times:

Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with the pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems. (Martinez Cobo 1986)

This imperative to “preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identities” within contexts of nondomination is framed by Linda Tuhiwai Smith’s (1999, 34) commentary on the detrimental impact of colonial invasion on Indigenous peoples in our own lands, “It is the story of the powerful and how they became powerful, and then how they use their power

to keep them in positions in which they can continue to dominate others.” Similarly, Fanon (1963, 210) makes a stark commentary on the brutality of colonialism in his argument that the process, which includes the vehicle of public education, is not simply content to impose its rule upon the present and the future of Indigenous peoples. For him, colonialism “is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the native’s brain of all form and content. By a kind of perverted logic, it turns to the past of the oppressed people, and distorts, disfigures, and destroys it.”

It is not surprising, then, that indigenous leadership has evolved as a radical socio-political phenomenon. For Indigenous peoples who have been subjugated in our own lands, leadership takes on a complexity that extends far beyond a generic definition of the “skill of motivating a group of people to act towards achieving a common goal” (Ward 2017). Hawaiian scholar activist Haunani Trask’s (1993, 5) leadership, a passionate mix of righteous anger, resistance, and call to arms, reflects this sentiment, “And the truth is, that racists are taking everything away from Hawaiians, and they will not be content until Hawai‘i has no Hawaiians left. That IS the truth. And I don’t care what their names are. That is their intent. Kū‘ē! Kū‘ē! Kū‘ē!” Her rallying cry to kū‘ē or resist the dehumanizing impact of colonial oppression heralds the need for Indigenous leadership that champions the sovereign rights of Indigenous peoples. Her sentiment is in keeping with Eruera Stirling’s (Stirling and Salmond 1981, 205) stance on the importance of leaders embracing their ancestral pathways:

The young leaders of today must remain Maori in heart and hold fast to the mana of the ancestors, or they will never find a good pathway for the people and their work will come to nothing.

And her sentiment is in keeping with the revised Coolangatta Statement on Indigenous Peoples’ Rights in Education:

We, the Indigenous peoples of the world, assert our inherent right to self-determination in all matters. Self-determination is about making informed choices and decisions and creating appropriate structures for the transmission of culture, knowledge and wisdom for the benefit of each of our respective cultures. Education for our communities and each individual is central to the preservation of our cultures and for the development of the skills and expertise we need in order to be a vital part of the twenty-first century.

Our collaboration on the writing of this chapter reflects the complex nature of Indigenous leadership. We each draw on our experiences as Indigenous educators working within Indigenous and western contexts – Wong and Perry from Hawaiian perspectives, Johnston from a Māori perspective, and Maaka from a Māori perspective in the diaspora of Hawai‘i. In keeping with our introduction, our stances on Indigenous leadership are shaped by the contexts in which we live and work, by our missions as educators in higher education, by our efforts to mentor a successor generation, and by our histories as peoples violently dislocated from the fundamental markers of our identities – sovereignty, ancestral lands, language, and cultural

knowledge. This dislocation was (and still is) brought by the hands of colonial forces hell bent on forcing geopolitical, economic, and sociopolitical agendas upon us, at our expense. As a result, Māori (with the breached Treaty of Waitangi) and Hawaiians (with the illegal overthrow of a constitutional monarchy) face modern day challenges in recovering all that has been stripped away.

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Historical Trauma and Indigenous Leadership

Born and Raised Hawaiian
 I am a diamond in the rough
 From the land of Zion
 I am the diamond in the rough
 One foot on the sand, one hand Heineken
 Hawaiian I am
 (Napoleon 2012)

Somewhere in the swirl of
 History we have forgotten
 Your existence
 Good thing our siblings
 Remembered
 Lest we be lost in someone else’s story.
 Good thing our siblings remember.
 (Kalahele 2002)

One critique of Indigenous leadership in the native Hawaiian context is that there is none. There is no consistent critical consciousness used in twenty-first-century Indigenous communities. Native Hawaiian leaders who ascend to levels of responsibility in the community appear to be riding the wave of the Hawaiian renaissance

movement of the late 1970s and the sovereignty movements of the 1980s and 1990s. Leaders and communities in these situations are typically doing front line work and rarely find the time to stop and critique their own efforts and actions. Other leaders, who make up the intellectual elite, slide into positions of corporate or governmental power. Once there, the demand for self-preservation renders a healthy critique of those institutions almost negligible. For many Indigenous leaders, the wave ride can be short lived because of the lack of support from or coordination with the community that is served. Once ensconced, leaders are managed by more than just their mentors or predecessors. They are managed by the ongoing struggle to work within a community that is cycling between historical traumas and varying degrees of cultural recovery or oppressive recidivism. This can yield a type of leadership that is unable to recognize its own lack of currency and a community incapable of effectively addressing those concerns. The absence of a strong community structure results in an unimproved and unhealthy legacy of poor leadership.

The overall health of an Indigenous community is difficult to determine and even more difficult to correlate with functional and effective leadership. Reason dictates, however, that the relative health of the community can provide valuable insights into the effectiveness of its leaders. The challenge lies in determining when a community's actions are healthy and when they are not. Some will argue that an Indigenous community's ability to adapt to western society and colonial values demonstrates successful community transitions and health. Beamer and Duarte (2009) and Sai (2008), however, argue that the dichotomy of western approaches versus native/Indigenous approaches limits any relevant analysis of Hawai'i's political status under international law. Beamer (2009, 26) further explains that such a dichotomy is false and "composes the conceptual shackles which preserve European hegemony and often re-inscribe links between the colonizer and the colonized." These authors assert that Hawai'i is an occupied state and any efforts to claim decolonization ignore the legitimacy of Hawai'i's national independence. While their analysis is compelling and their critique difficult to dispute, there is merit in separating out the western model of culture in order to identify the imposition of a colonial-like system that has shaped the behaviors and attitudes of Hawaiians living in a US occupied state. It can be argued that these kinds of "improvements" point to a sinister form of assimilationism rather than to a truly transformative and healthy improvement in conditions.

A reflection on the work of Hawaiian island reggae recording artist Bo Napoleon demonstrates this point. Hawai'i's music industry is harnessing the demand of youthful, local consumers by promoting songs that provide a taste of the local island lifestyle, nationalistic undertones, and popular culture in a reggae-like format. Napoleon's (2012) popular single *Born and Raised* incorporates popular Hawaiian nationalist views and reggae to successfully capitalize on the island music market. The song includes unhealthy views contrary to the Hawaiian principles of living well. A careful review of the lyrics shows that Napoleon's song celebrates nationalism superficially while reinforcing colonial-like concepts of abuse and escapism. For example, the song celebrates US cosmopolitanism by recognizing a brand of alcohol noted for its connection to an elevated socio-economic status. The key

chorus of the song illustrates this point: “One foot in the sand, one hand Heineken. Hawaiian I am.” The lyrics sadly associate Hawaiian identity with negative stereotypes like drinking, greed and wealth, and partying at the beach. The song seems a grotesque blending of two diametrically opposed ways of being. And yet, this is the unhealthy space in which many Indigenous communities find themselves.

Kalahele (2002) provides an alternative stance. He states that, “Somewhere in the swirl of history we have forgotten [our] existence.” For Indigenous peoples, remembering will improve the current state of mental, physical, and socio-political health beginning with the acknowledgment that unhealthy conditions do, in fact, exist. Kalahele warns that unless there is a stronger leadership effort to recall and perpetuate a healthy Indigenous community, Indigenous peoples will be lost in someone else’s story. Which story will it be for Indigenous peoples and their leaders? The Heineken? The sand? Or something that promotes a more healthy transformation? The answers, says Kalahele, are in the memories of our “siblings,” meaning that each of us must consciously contribute to our knowing and healing. This contribution is critical if we expect communities to guide our leaders and if we expect our leaders to serve our people.

Historical trauma of oppressed and Indigenous peoples is a topic that has generated a growing body of research and highlights the reason why so many Indigenous communities and leaders are both struggling and unhealthy. Historical trauma is the transmission of painful experiences from the past to the present. The suffering of past generations is carried forward and re-experienced emotionally, physically, and psychologically by those in the present even though the present generation did not experience the original trauma directly. Degruys’s (2005) study of Post Traumatic Slave Syndrome (PTSS) found that PTSS causes depression and hopelessness, extreme feelings of suspicion, and a sense of learned helplessness. People suffering from PTSS can develop maladaptive or destructive behaviors tied to negative stereotypes in order to deal with traumatic pain. Pokhrel and Herzog (2014, 420) found that in Hawai‘i “thoughts, knowledge, or experience associated with historical trauma may enhance substance use behavior via increased perceived discrimination and may also be protective against substance use, possibly via increased pride in one’s cultural heritage.” Similarly, DeGruys (2005) found that historical trauma has a profound effect on the holistic well-being of the oppressed groups studied. Both studies also found that consciousness or increased exposure to and regeneration of pride through cultural experiences can help heal the trauma and repair the maladaptive behaviors.

Modern Indigenous leaders and communities often employ dominant trauma-triggering social methods in their advocacy and organizing efforts. These “master’s tools” (Lorde 1983) are considered necessary to survival in the present Indigenous colonial-like condition. Indigenous leaders use Western tools – like equal protection laws, racial identity, and federal recognition of Indigenous rights – to advance their community’s needs, knowing that the tools do not support the larger goal of Indigenous self-determination. So, what happens when those tools become the primary implements of leaders? If normalized, can the tools become a social trap or crutch for the community? The dominant rationale is that Indigenous peoples will

improve their condition once they assimilate. Assimilation, or the “melting pot” approach in Hawai‘i, prescribes the adoption of Western pluralistic values to alleviate Indigenous anxieties (Spickard et al. 2002). Assimilation requires an acceptance of the historical traumas that maintain conditions of dominance over Indigenous peoples. For Indigenous peoples, historical trauma creates a circular paradox, wherein an Indigenous leader’s (and community’s) reliance on oppressive values is maladaptive and counterproductive to healing. Ross (1989, 383), discussing the constitutionality of affirmative action cases in the USA, highlights this irony in his statement that affirmative action “demands the paradoxical solution of first taking account of race in order to get to a world where it is not taken into account.” Lopez (2000, 172) states that such choices “are made in a harsh racist social setting that may facilitate but more likely will forestall freedom; and that in our decisions to resist, we may shatter but more probably will inadvertently strengthen the racial structures around us.” Thus, Indigenous leaders and communities that embrace assimilation will find themselves judging their actions by the colonial-like structures that dominate them. When Indigenous health is measured by how well the native assimilates, the success of that Indigenous community is at risk. Hau‘ofa (1994) explains in *Our Sea of Islands* that assimilationist ideals make Indigenous people believe in a small, belittled worldview of perpetual colonial dependency. He warns:

Belittlement in whatever guise, if internalized for long, and transmitted across generations, may lead to moral paralysis, to apathy, and to the kind of fatalism that we can see among our fellow human beings who have been herded and confined to reservations and internment camps. People... are in danger of being confined to mental reservations, if not already physical ones. (152)

The Indigenous community’s health and wellbeing is tied to how well the Indigenous leader and community work together. A healthy approach will build a sustainable social structure for a conscious people and discerning leaders. Critical distancing and analysis is one such approach. One example is the Black community’s analysis of Malcolm X. Many Indigenous communities view him as an icon of resistance because of his ability to speak truth to justice in ways that they can understand. In fact, Indigenous communities around the globe have embraced Malcolm X’s (1990) nationalistic voice as a means to explain their own political struggles by any means necessary. Wood (1992) suggests that understanding any leader or leadership style requires a critical, honest, and respectful examination. Such an examination may lead to uncomfortable revelations or understandings but provides long term healing and guidance for the community. Wood, in his discussion of the complexity of Malcolm X’s imagery and the social iconization of his Black cultural image, notes that in many ways, icons produce believers who gain a sense of communion and authorship. He warns, however, of the dangers of authorship of an icon that courts an illusion. Meaning, of course, as we elevate Malcolm X’s image as a radical Black leader, we simultaneously blind ourselves to the other complex messages that his image portrays including questions of nationalism and sexism.

Angela Davis (1992) explores this idea and interrogates Malcolm X’s contemporary legacy. She asserts that Malcolm X has been treated as a commodity and

transformed “into a backward and imprisoning memory rather than a forward looking impetus for creative political thinking and organizing” (44–45). Borrowing Davis’ analysis, Indigenous communities should challenge rather than excuse problems within their leadership to improve the health of the community. Said (2002) explains that sacrifice will intensify for those who are closer to power. He cautions that the importance of leadership lies in the service and hope that leaders provide to the community. Thus, the price of leadership is submission to the community. Likewise, Indigenous communities must be witnesses and courageously testify to what is happening with their leadership. When asked about critiquing other African American community leaders Malcolm X’s (In Perry 1989, 87) explained that, “all of us should be critics of each other. Whenever you can’t stand criticism, you can never grow.” He concluded his statement by saying, “I don’t think that we should be above criticism. I don’t think that anyone should be above criticism.” To effectuate valuable critiques, Indigenous communities (including educational communities) should maintain a critical distance from the inner circle of leadership. The critical space allows for healthy assessments that will advance and improve the capabilities of leaders to deliver on community needs. Wood and Said both understand that critical distance and analysis is a double-edged sword. The lack of critical distance can obscure the critique and lessen the community’s ability to advance or improve. Allowing the leadership to operate without a healthy, regular critique is dangerous. Leaders who operate unchecked can mask their shortcomings and use the community’s allegiances “to insulate themselves from their mistakes” (Said 2002, 13). Thus, it is not enough to belong to community organizations. There must also be a willingness and process in the community organizations to reexamine the actions of the leadership and make changes necessary to secure Indigenous health and self-governance. This can come only from the Indigenous community’s understanding of its own historical trauma and of its willingness to question the function of its leaders’ honesty.

In the words of Mary Kawena Pukui (1983, 27), “‘A‘ole make ka wa‘a i ka ‘ale o waho, aia nō i ka ‘ale o loko.” This proverb warns that a canoe is not swamped by the waves splashing outside the canoe, but by the waves splashing inside. Applied today, the proverb can mean that the strength of an Indigenous leader is only as stable as the health of the community he or she serves.

Well-Executed Leadership

The leadership style of the Indigenous was based on character, merit, and faith. [The past] highlighted and demonstrated the foremost examples of this leadership. It brought out the most historic and famous leaders; leaders whose sacrifice, dedication, and humility ensured our survival and influenced the reality we live in today. . . .I feel that leadership is something that cannot be developed or taught. . . .Leadership is revealed, as greatness is revealed. True greatness comes from the inside. . . .Greatness has no room for ego so it is important to study the ego, embrace the ego, and let go of the ego. We need *Indigenous Leadership Revelation* programs; so young people can awaken their authenticity, responsibility, and become conduits for greatness. Tootooosis (n.d.)

Tootoosis' sentiment on the important roles that knowledge, mana, and ancestral pathways play in Indigenous life, particularly in roles of leadership, is also captured in the works of renowned scholars Mead, Grove, and Pukui. Their corpuses of wise sayings – Māori pēpeha (Mead and Grove 2001) and Hawaiian 'ōlelo no'ēau (Pukui 1983) – provide unique insights into the ways in which the world was, and still is, perceived. Mead and Grove elaborate:

[these] pēpeha reflect thoughts on many aspects of Māori culture; history, religious life, conduct, ethics, warfare, marriage, death, and weather. They are featured in the formal speeches heard on the marae even today and in the oral literature handed down from past generations. . . . Indeed for the modern Māori the pēpeha are not merely historical relics. Rather they constitute a communication with the ancestors. Through the medium of words it is possible to discover how they thought about life and its problems. Their advice is as valuable today as before. Their use of metaphor and their economy of words become a beautiful legacy to pass on to generations yet unborn. (9)

The pēpeha “Ānō me he whare pūngāwerewere. [As though it were a spiderweb. A compliment for a fine piece of work such as weaving or carving.]” (Mead and Grove 2001, 17) calls attention to the artistry and intricacy involved in the production or weaving of a web. This imagery highlights the interwoven and configurational elements of fine silken strands that make up a creation wondrous to behold. Indigenous leadership may be viewed as similarly multifaceted and intricate. The web serves as a metaphor highlighting the interconnectedness of leadership roles for the coordination of various talents within communities. If cultural complexity is added to this mix, Indigenous leadership, if well executed, is a magnificent creation to behold!

Another perspective of this pēpeha could focus on the nature of the spider and its work – hardworking, yet solitary and single-minded. The spider makes a web then waits alone for a hapless bug to fly into it. The vibrations of the silken strands call attention to the feast about to be had. There is no partnering with other spiders and, so, the rewards are for the individual only. This is quite foreign to the Indigenous perspective. In his commentary on Hawaiian self-determination, retired Native Hawaiian elementary school principal Myron Brumaghim (2003, AERA presentation) debunks any idea that self-focused leadership is beneficial to his people. He states,

We want our Hawaiian people to live their dreams. We want educational opportunities for our people that focus energies and resources on guiding them as they journey towards success in life. We want to ensure that our people receive rich educational opportunities that prepare them for good jobs, to be good people living healthy lives and who raise healthy families. And, most important, we want to be self-determining in this process. We need leaders in education who are able to bring our people together to accomplish this.

Brumaghim's words, while emphasizing the Indigenous mission to self-determine, highlight the importance of people working as a collective for the health and wellbeing of all. His reference “we” emphasizes that the work and the leadership involved are not singular entities.

Interconnectedness, particularly collaborative networking, has always been a critical element in both traditional and contemporary Indigenous systems of governance. Effective leadership is predicated, in part, on (a) a mission that has been determined by the collective, (b) the ability to create and maintain effective networks, (c) the welding together of skills and expertise, (d) a selfless commitment to peoples and communities, (e) clearly delineated locations, shared interests, and work ethics, and (f) cultural ways of knowing and doing. This call for networking can also be seen in the Hawaiian ‘ōlelo no‘eau “‘A‘ohe hana nui ke alu ‘ia.” It explains that no task is too big when everyone works together for the common cause (Pukui 1983, 18). Like the fine strands that are woven together to form a sturdy, functional spider’s web, successful leaders weave together different peoples, places, and organizations with the same effectiveness. Their networks may either be compositions of small groups or compositions of larger, more sophisticated groups of people with similar interests, missions, resources, capabilities, and commitments working together to support each other.

The idea of moral causality might be another perspective of the pūngāwerewere or spider pēpeha. There is the commonly held notion of the web as a tangled structure of deceit as depicted in Sir Walter Scott’s (1880) famous poem, *Marmion*..., “Oh what a tangled web we weave, when first we practice to deceive.” Throughout history there are numerous examples of evil, deceitful leadership that have caused significant harm. Thankfully, many of these have disintegrated due to lack of moral fiber. To the contrary, in some of his other works, Scott draws attention to the idea of man’s collaboration under strong leadership as the vehicle for noble accomplishment:

The race of mankind would perish did they cease to aid each other. We cannot exist without mutual help. All therefore that need aid have a right to ask it from their fellow-men; and no one who has the power of granting can refuse it without guilt. (Scott 1880)

His work commands attention because it repeatedly illustrates his belief that every human should have a core of decency regardless of class, religion, politics, or ancestry. But even more interesting is the theme of his Waverley Novels that expresses the need for social progress that does not reject the traditions of the past. Of course, there is a strong probability that Scott was not referring to the traditions of Indigenous peoples!

Leadership, whether good or bad, may be seen as a phenomenon of cause and effect. Like a spider’s web, every strand of leadership is inextricably connected, touching one part of a web sets off a series of vibrations that reverberate throughout the whole. Spirkin (1984, 70) explains that certainty in man’s relationships with the world rests on acknowledgment of this understanding of how causality works. He states, “Ours is a world of cause and effect or, figuratively speaking, of progenitors and their progeny.” Maaka et al. (2011, 28) explain the concept of causality and interconnectivity within Indigenous contexts of space, time, and people:

Every morally-related action bears a consequence, which bears another, which bears another—a chain reaction of cause, effect, and result. For every “problem” there is a multitude of choices, each with its own unique chain reaction. We believe that research [and

leadership] is a process of moral (or immoral) causality—and so, for every “problem” there is a solution that will offer up the best outcome. Indigenous researchers [and leaders] then, must be driven by the needs of our respective peoples; this is why research, self-determination, [and leadership] are inextricably linked in Indigenous contexts.

and further,

... (human agency) entails the ability to make decisions and enact them in ways that affect the world. The idea that humans have this capacity is one that lies at the heart of the movement to revitalize the languages and cultures of Indigenous peoples worldwide. Of particular interest are the considerations that shape various acts of agency, the consequences of decision-making (whether to act or not), and the assignment of responsibility for the decision made.

It is fitting to conclude this commentary with the position that well-executed leadership is not a product, but a process. It is not contingent upon the acquisition and application of a set of leadership skills and abilities, rather, it is contingent upon the relationships among those who lead and those who are led. In keeping, Hunter and Milofsky (2007) argue that well-executed leadership arises when leaders need to be reminded (and need to remind themselves) that they are citizens first and leaders second. For them, a healthy society is one that has “leaders and citizens joined together in a community, committed to the common wealth and the common welfare” (159). Indigenous communities expect nothing less of their leaders.

Leadership Ascension

Hawaiian society was structured so that the identity of one segment was dependent on that of the next. This is never truer than in the case of leadership. Pukui’s collection of ‘ōlelo no‘eau is unique because it provides a glimpse of the worldview of Hawaiian society in a bygone era and, pertinent to this discussion, provides some wisdom on the nature of leadership then and now. The ‘ōlelo no‘eau “I ali‘i no ke ali‘i i ke kanaka” (Pukui 1983, 125) explains that a chief held the important position of chief because of the people who served him. In particular, this wise saying illustrates how important it was for a chief to consider his people in his decision making. Therefore, it was integral to the ali‘i’s identity to fulfill the needs of the maka‘āinana by ensuring that all the resources necessary for survival, particularly water, flourished on the ‘āina. The reciprocal was true: maka‘āinana identity was tied to fulfilling the needs of the ali‘i. This idea is iterated in the ‘ōlelo no‘eau (Pukui, 27) “‘A‘ole i ‘ena‘ena ka imu i ka māmane me ka ‘ūlei, i ‘ena‘ena i ka la‘ola‘o.” Pukui explains that the imu is not heated by the māmane and ‘ūlei wood alone, but also by the kindling – in other words, in order to be powerful, a ruler must have the loyalty of the “common people” as well as the “chiefs.” Further, embedded in the role of the maka‘āinana was the empowerment of the chiefs. Through their loyalty and service to their ali‘i, the maka‘āinana gave their ali‘i power, which in and of itself was a form of power. Maka‘āinana were free to leave the rule of an ali‘i if they were not satisfied with his or her leadership. It was by removing themselves and their families (as well

as the goods and/or services they provided), that the authority of the ali'i was made somewhat diffuse.

It may be argued that ascension to leadership today involves the deliberate act of choosing to aspire to a higher level of responsibility and consciousness. It is the path taken by those who consciously choose to step up to a higher level of leadership. Typically, this is a personal choice designed to expand the experiences of the person who is ascending, and it is clear that views of ascension to leadership and the norms surrounding such ascension can vary dramatically.

In whatever system, we examine, then, there are those who are satisfied with the current leadership and those who are not, despite shared cultural values within the populace. Favorable views presuppose an alignment between expectations and actual performance. Variation in this regard can occur within or across systems. Some expect an active approach in which a prospective leader either self-nominates or is somehow complicit in that nomination. This active approach requires intent. It requires the belief of an individual in his or her ability to find the best path forward for all. It also presupposes a hierarchy based on ability that is tacitly accepted by supporters. Conceivably, in a case of bad leadership, the populace could be viewed as complicit in its own subjugation as a result of passive support for the system. Moreover, the normalization of such a system would serve to conceal that subjugation. A popular metaphor for such a scenario involves a shepherd leading a flock of sheep. It is in the sheep's nature to follow. For humans, following another person's direction requires trust and, to some extent, a degree of blind faith. As such, active persuasion is key in attracting followers.

Others see paths to leadership that are less actively pursued, but instead taken passively. Here, an individual is recognized by peers as having leadership qualities and is encouraged to ascend to a position from which to exercise them. Such an individual is often not interested in ascension and more often loathe to self-nominate. Participation in a leadership role must occur as a more passive endeavor. It requires being backed into the role by a preponderance of enthusiasm from supportive peers. This scenario would be better described as sheep looking for a shepherd to follow, rather than a shepherd leading the sheep.

In some systems, ascendancy is predetermined. In a monarchical context, for example, the right to rule is ordained by God or the Gods and determined by birth (most often by order of birth and, quite frequently, by gender at birth). It could be argued that this does not always yield optimal results, and there are numerous examples to support such an argument, particularly in the royal dynasties of Europe. However, within a society such as the one thriving in precontact Hawai'i wherein chiefs were believed to be deities, ascension by order of birth was strictly adhered to. There were natural separations based on class boundaries, and such separations were supported by tacit agreement within the populace. The chiefly class had complete control of leadership, which was viewed as a divine right. Those privy only to an external view of such a society were unable to evaluate its viability through experience. In order to appreciate the efficacy of this system, an unlearning of previously acquired values needed to take place.

No one path to leadership is inherently superior to the next as each is built on unique values that are shared within a community. Shared values often lead to harmonious governance. These varied paths to leaderships are all worthy of examination. Ascension by right; ascension by self-nomination and self-promotion; and ascension by default, a passive form of ascension that is promoted by others; these are all compared and contrasted here, but they are not ranked. The various regimes can all claim some advantages, but there are also problems that accompany each.

As stated above, in some societies, particularly those labeled as democratic, the ascent to leadership requires self-nomination. A candidate is expected to throw his or her hat into the ring, that is, to self-nominate and to vie for the position against other candidates of like intent. In this system, positions of leadership are acquired by securing a preponderance of support from the masses, a feat that requires, and often demands, self-promotion. This system is at risk of producing less than optimal results especially for supporters of the losing candidates.

From an Indigenous perspective, self-promotion screams out a warning that despite the promise of an improved state of affairs, there is something unnatural about leadership that comes seeking someone to lead. Such leadership is paternalistic in nature and presumes that it is needed in the first place. In return for the provision of such presumptuous guidance, a vote is expected. A passive ascension, on the other hand, although it requires no convincing, no marketing or slick sales pitch, has its own problems. In particular, it cannot satisfy everyone, especially when such satisfaction is mutually exclusive with regard to varying needs. As mentioned above, each system has its problems, but in each, leadership can be changed and new leadership can take over, either alleviating or exacerbating the problems. Those problems occurring within political systems are highlighted by the inability of leaders to manage them to the benefit of the wider community. New information that can be empirically verified is not factored into the equation if it is in any way disruptive of core beliefs. This is not a problem inherent to democracy. Instead, it is a problem that stems from a corruption of democratic ideals (Lee 2016).

At present in Hawai'i, almost two and a half centuries of the infiltration of western ways have all but normalized ascension to leadership via the self-promotion path. This was exacerbated by the overthrow of the constitutional monarchy of 1893 and the subsequent illegal occupation that continues to this day. But in Hawaiian tradition, ascension to power was a right of birth. There is an interesting case in Hakau, the first-born son of Liloa, paramount chief of the island of Hawai'i. The excerpt below describes Hakau's rule as found in Fornander's (1880) account of the ancient history of the Hawaiian people. It serves to exemplify bad leadership.

After the death of Liloa in 1493, Hakau came to power in accordance with the promise made to him by Liloa. At the same time, Liloa's second son, Umi by Akahiakuleana, a woman of lower rank and not of chiefly status as was Pinea (the mother of Hakau), was given religious authority over the kingdom. Despite his ascension to the status of paramount chief, Hakau was, nonetheless, jealous of Umi and openly demonstrated his scorn by constantly excoriating Umi for his lower rank. In order to alleviate the tension peacefully, Umi eventually left the royal court and resettled anonymously in another district:

After *Liloa's* death *Hakau* became the *Moi* and chief ruler of Hawaii. He appears to have been thoroughly wicked, cruel, and capricious. I have found no legend in which he is mentioned that has a single good word to say in his behalf. No doubt much allowance must be made from the fact that nearly all the legends relating to him emanated from and were handed down by his opponents, the family of *Umi* and their descendants. Yet making allowances for the exaggeration of his faults, enough remains to load his memory with odium. He was rapacious and extortionate beyond endurance of either chiefs or people. He had the silly vanity of fancying himself the handsomest man on the island of Hawaii, and could brook no rival in that matter. If he ever heard a man praised for his good looks, he would send for him and have him killed. He dismissed, disgraced, and impoverished all the old and faithful counsellors and servants of his father, chiefs, priests, or commoners, and surrounded himself with a crew of sycophants and time-servers as cruel and as treacherous as himself. He missed no opportunity to thwart his brother *Umi*, and openly reviled him for his low birth, insisting that his mother was a woman of low degree. *Umi*, unable to bear the taunts of his brother, and not prepared to come to an open rupture with the tyrant, absented himself from the court of *Hakau*, and quietly left *Waipio* . . . (76)

Through the course of *Hakau's* despotic rule, the land and its people of all ranks endured intense suffering, until he was finally stoned to death, according to a number of accounts, by *Umi's* men. An account of *Hakau's* death was found in the Hawaiian language newspaper *Ka Lahui Hawaii*, dated November 1, 1877 (2). It was written as follows: “Ma ia kahua hale no i pepehiia ai o *Hakau* e na kanaka o *Umi*; *It was at that house foundation (of Liloa) that Hakau was killed by Umi's men.*” Upon the death of *Hakau*, *Umi* became the new ruler. *Hakau's* ultimate demise offers a prime example of the consequences that befall a bad leader. In the case of *Hakau* and *Umi*, leadership was initially dictated by birth order and rank. Although the brutality of *Hakau* persisted for some 15 years, the pendulum eventually swung back to a balanced or righteous state.

Hakau's leadership style suggests that bad leadership is independent of the path taken to a position of leadership and the system within which it is executed. Moreover, it is not fixed to certain time periods. It is just bad leadership. Intolerance of dissent, vanity, capriciousness, inconsistency, instability, fickleness, and an inability to admit fault are leadership traits that, in the end, proved fatal for *Hakau*. His demise serves as a modern day warning to those who are similarly despotic in their rule – there are many in the international arena who should take heed.

Leadership Succession

The ‘ōlelo no‘eau “*Ka pouhana*” or the main post (Pukui 1983, 167) likens Indigenous leadership to the main post of a dwelling that provides the strongest support for the roof. Pukui explains that strong leadership provides support and guidance for the family and for the community. Alan (2014) argues that central to the imperative of strong leadership, especially in today's world, is the need to harness the collective genius of people, rally them behind the mission and vision, and create the conditions in which everyone contributes to the wellbeing of all. Effective leadership is about “tearing down walls,” bringing people together, building trust, transforming attitudes

and behaviors, and removing barriers that keep people from engaging. Effective leadership is also about having a well thought out succession plan.

Before continuing the discussion, clarification needs to be made about the difference between ascension to leadership and succession in leadership – they are two different phenomena – each dependent on agency. Agency in ascension rests with the individual who aspires to be a leader; that is, he or she who aspires to be a leader may need to navigate a series of tasks or obstacles in order to reach the desired state of leadership. Succession, on the other hand, involves the act of a leader identifying who should inherit his or her mantle of leadership. The agency, in this case, lies with the leader who is to be succeeded. This can be best described as a legacy of leadership, given that there is a distinct understanding that a legacy is something that is given by one person to another (as opposed to something that is received by one person from another). The difference is subtle, yet important.

The general issue of succession in leadership is universally relevant even though the actual execution adheres to culturally specific norms. There is a primordial mandate that accompanies human mortality and compels us to consider our legacy as evidence of our purpose and whether or not we have been successful in advancing it within our lifetime. A legacy presupposes the existence of a successor or a number of successors to whom it constitutes a benefit, that is, as popularized in Disney's *The Lion King*, the "circle of life." The value of the blood, sweat, and tears we invest in fulfilling our purpose is realized only in the perpetuation of that purpose. The accomplishments of our life's work become meaningful insofar as they are of value to those we leave behind, because, as the cliché goes, "You can't take it with you." Thus, it behooves us to undertake efforts to foster successors to whom we might pass the proverbial torch with a reasonable degree of confidence that our mission will continue. Kamehameha the Great's dying words "E nai wale no oukou, I kuu pono ao'e pau" exhorted his successors to continue the work that he had begun in uniting the Hawaiian Kingdom. In these lines, he makes reference to the fact that the work is incomplete and they will need to complete it on his behalf. Kamehameha's words are captured in the song *Nai Wale No Oukou Ao'e Pau*. The song, attributed to Sam'l K. Kamakaia, was published in *Ke Aloha Aina, Buke III, Helu 34, Aoao 7. Augate 21, 1897*.

In the arena of Indigenous knowledge production and Indigenous development, the intergenerational transfer of that knowledge and the intergenerational transfer of control over that development have been identified as increasingly critical goals. Although we would feel most comfortable if we could simply replace ourselves, such a scenario is unlikely for a number of reasons. We obviously cannot clone ourselves, and even if we could, we cannot clone our experiences and the knowledge amassed therein. We will ultimately realize numerous distinctions between our successors and ourselves. This is not to say that one is superior to the other, rather, it recognizes that there are many variables to consider including the fact that we operate in dynamic contexts that require constant readjustment in the execution of our plans.

One common concern in the movement to advance Indigenous causes is the fact that the successor generation does not share the experience of building the

movement from the foundation up. They are perceived as oblivious to the amount of effort already invested in the movement and seem to assume that the current situation has always been as it is. This, of course, is only one perspective, and it stems from the expectation that the next generation shares the same dreams and is interested in dealing with the same issues in the same ways. It is perhaps unreasonable to expect our successors to take up our cause, let alone with the same zeal. They are faced with new and perhaps more pressing issues of their own. We believe that we are “creating spaces” for them yet they have no say in the design of those spaces.

Succession is not as much about replacing ourselves as it is about our successors enlarging the spaces that we currently occupy and planning for their reoccupation by future generations. Whatever trajectory the movement takes after that is really up to our successors. Thus, the question we should consider is whether or not they are adequately prepared to do their own thing. Once they are, we must be willing to relinquish control over the movement we have invested so much of ourselves in and allow whatever preparations we have made to influence the trajectory of the successive movement.

It is important, therefore, to select successors who are at once capable, committed, and willing to take up the larger cause of advancing the state of Indigenous peoples. It is in the choice of successors that we retain a modicum of control. This is where our *kuleana* (“right,” “responsibility,” “authority”) lies. As much as we have done to advance our cause, we are also indebted to those who have mentored us and entrusted us with their knowledge. It is therefore our responsibility to select and prepare worthy successors, those in whom we can entrust our legacy. Whether or not these successors measure up to our expectations is, at least in part, dependent on our ability to make the right choices and to mentor effectively. After that, we relinquish control whether we wish to or not. It is then up to our successors to perpetuate the cause until it is time for them to select successors of their own.

Even if we are successful in selecting worthy successors, a number of challenges remain. For example, the transmission of knowledge and skill sets does not ensure the transmission of other intangible qualities that are essential for success. Loyalty, integrity, diplomacy, fairness, and tenacity are but a few examples of character traits that are not easily transmitted. We cannot expect, for example, that the respect and trust we have built through successful collaborations and networking will automatically pass on to our successors. They will have to earn those things on their own and build upon them by forming their own allegiances and initiatives.

There is no manual to provide instructions on the appropriate amount of leeway to allow those we mentor. We know that the amount of experience is often directly proportional to the level of competence gained by our mentees and that experience is critically dependent on opportunity. Opportunity, however, can lead to either success or failure. Although we set up opportunities for our mentees that are most likely to yield success, there is always the possibility of failure, and failure weakens both their confidence and the confidence that others might have in them. Moreover, success itself can yield unwanted results when the opinions mentees have of themselves are not in accord with our opinions of them. The tension here can

irrevocably disrupt the succession process. As we expand the spaces we occupy to make room for our successors to gain experience, we also expand the latitude for possible deviation from our own goals and dreams. This is not an easy call. On the one hand, there is always the concern over the capability of our successors to manage things without a safety net, while on the other, there is our own affinity to the cause that keeps us involved and makes us reluctant to yield completely to our successors.

On the downside, making the right choice of successors is not as easy as it may sound and many of us who mentor successor generation leaders are able to chalk up some failures. Some of our failures can be attributed to mistakes made in our efforts to mentor. One of the biggest stumbling blocks is not being able to gauge the worth of successors until significant mentoring has been invested (or wasted!). While it is true that weak leadership will eventually reveal itself, it is also true that great frustration comes from wasting much time and energy on those who, in the end, reveal that they have no leadership currency. Cashman (2017) notes that self-focused leaders may accrue successes, or garner adulation, or achieve externalized success, but they also tend to get into all sorts of ethical issues. Problematic Indigenous leadership, then, may take on many forms, but the most concerning involves self-absorbed individuals, with unbridled ambition, who value self-interest above service to their people and who will even unscrupulously turn on their mentors in their efforts to promote themselves. To those who behave in such a manner, Myatt (2013) offers the advice that “leadership is about caring about something beyond yourself, and leading others to a better place—even if it means you take a back seat, or end up with no seat at all. Power often comes with leadership, but it’s not what drives real leaders.” So what is the remedy? For undeserving, self-promoting individuals who turn on the very people who have mentored them, Pukui (1983, 141) has a portentous warning; “Ka hale weliweli o na ali‘i.” She explains that the “dreaded house of the chiefs” meant that the chiefs had many taboos, rules, and regulations in their households and to break any of these meant severe punishment, even death for the transgressor. Like the story of Hakau, this ‘ōlelo no‘eau reminds us that, in Indigenous contexts, erroneous claims to leadership by those who lack moral character have dire consequences whether real or metaphorical.

Those of us who have spent many years mentoring our successor generation are in agreement that, overall, this is a rewarding endeavor. We remind ourselves that our effectiveness as mentors is defined by the capacity of our successors to effectively don the mantle of leadership and continue uplifting the health and wellbeing of our respective peoples. In talking about the politics of Māori governance and self-determination, Durie (1998, 240) captures the mission of Indigenous leaders’ best:

Fundamentally it [self-determination] is about the realization of collective Māori aspirations. And despite the many faces of contemporary Māori society and the wide range of views which exist, there is nonetheless a high level of agreement that the central goal of tino rangatiratanga (sovereignty) is for Māori to govern and enjoy their own resources and to participate fully in the life of the country. Māori want to advance, as Māori, and as citizens of the world.

Indigenous advancement, then, is contingent, not only upon effective leadership, but also upon effective succession of that leadership.

A Final Comment

Ko te ao mārama! To be ever enlightened! One glance at the 200+ year old histories of devastation visited on Māori and Hawaiians in our own lands by outsiders puts modern day Indigenous leadership into perspective. Our “violent exclusion” from our traditional lands and resources through confiscation and other shady means, as well as our “violent exclusion” from our traditional knowledge, languages, and practices as a result of our forced assimilation into the broader cultures of New Zealand and Hawai‘i, have debilitated us to the extent that any return to self-determination is truly a formidable undertaking. The social indicators of success (or failure) paint a bleak picture for our peoples – Māori and Hawaiian children as groups have rates of school absenteeism and referral for special education services that are far above average. Our teenagers are more likely to drop out of high school without qualifications and have the highest suicide rates in the world. Our adults are overrepresented in prisons, have the poorest health records, and are underrepresented as students and faculty in higher education. Chronic homelessness is a Māori and Hawaiian phenomenon (Farrelly et al. 2006; Marriott and Sim 2014; Office of Hawaiian Affairs 2015). With these statistics in mind, we are left asking; what role does Indigenous leadership play in recovering the fundamental markers of Māori and Hawaiian identities – sovereignty, ancestral lands, language, and cultural knowledge? In his doctoral dissertation on Māori sovereignty, Russell (2017) addresses this question by asking his own: Do Treaty of Waitangi settlements enable rangatira to exercise rangatiratanga? He argues that the traditional structures of leadership have diminished over time and have been replaced by western structures such as corporations. He concludes that “traditional elements of leadership have become ‘values’ or processes of action, rather than being inherent in the role of exercising rangatiratanga,” that is, sovereignty (243).

Our commentary on historical trauma and Indigenous leadership, well-executed leadership, leadership ascension, and leadership succession barely scratches the surface of the larger conversation that demands attention. With this in mind, our commentaries are not designed to present definitive answers to what constitutes effective leadership in Indigenous contexts, rather they are designed to move the discussion beyond viewing leadership as “values or processes of action,” to examining the challenges faced in building the effective leadership required by Indigenous peoples to help resolve historic and contemporary forms of oppression.

The need to examine traditional structures of leadership is best captured in Robert Jahnke’s (2016) *Ata: A third reflection* exhibition. His combination of neon lights; traditional forms, such as crosses and diamonds; and carefully positioned mirrors creates a multifaceted exploration of the “connections between light and perception, history and retrospection” (Friend 2016, n.p.). Jahnke’s *Tukutuku*, in particular, draws the viewer on a genealogical journey that traverses time and space. In our final contemplation of Indigenous leadership, Jahnke’s work shores up two central

considerations that we have expounded on in this chapter – that effective leadership looks back to the future (in other words, it is shaped by the people, places, and spaces of our past, present, and future) and that, like the reflections in Jahnke’s mirror, all experiences in life are subject to the perspectives of the viewer. In any given context, then, there is a multiplicity of views, demands, interests, supports, and resistance that need to be considered.

Indigenous peoples, then, have long held the belief that the traditions pertaining to the ways of knowing and doing of the past are necessarily woven into the fabric of the future. It is fitting, then, that we conclude this chapter with another of Eruera Stirling’s commentaries on the importance of Māori traditions in leadership:

The old men told us, study your descent lines, as numerous as the hairs upon your head. When you have gathered them together as a treasure for your mind, you may wear the three plumes, “te iho makawerau,” “te pareraukura,” and “te raukura” on your head. The men of learning said, understand the learning of your ancestors, so you can talk in the gatherings of the people. Hold fast to the knowledge of your kinship, and unite in the knot of mankind. (As cited in Salmond 1997, 513.)

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Situating Indigenous Knowledges and Governance Within the Academy in Australia

16

Maggie Walter and Wendy Aitken

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Abstract

The 2012 *Review of Higher Education Access and Outcomes for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander People* (the *Behrendt Report*) set a new direction in Indigenous/academy engagement. In contrast to previous (failed) policies, the report prioritizes fostering Indigenous leadership, embedding Indigenous knowledges within university curricula *and* ways of doing business, incorporating Indigenous governance across the sector as keys to improving Indigenous outcomes. Mediating a secure, sector-wide, normalized space for Indigenous knowledges, however, brings with it hazards as well as potential returns. Achieving a whole-of-university responsibility requires opening up a recognition of the non-Indigenous *culture* already deeply embedded in existing governance structures as a pivotal precursor to a normalized empowered Indigenous presence

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within sector governance systems. Failure to do so risks revitalizing tokenism and/or co-option. Developed from a 2011 submission to the *Behrendt Report*, updated to reflect changes emanating from that report, this chapter explores the challenges, constraints, and unexpected gains inherent in closing the ontological gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous understanding of Indigenous governance and knowledges within the academy.

Keywords

Indigenous knowledges · Ontological gap · Color-blind racism

Introduction

The 2012 *Review of the Higher Education Access and Outcomes for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander People* (hereafter named as the *Behrendt Report*) set a new framework for how the Australian University sector should engage with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and knowledges. The report has initiated a raft of changes, big and small, across the sector. However, despite some positive outcomes, the work of shifting Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander business from the margins of higher education to a normalized space remains a “work in progress.”

Efforts to Indigenize the academy from the inside results in challenges, expected and unexpected. We investigate these here using the concepts of Indigenous governance and knowledges. By Indigenous governance, we refer not merely to university government entities such as Council and Senate, although an Indigenous place within these is a core component. Rather, Indigenous governance is about Indigenous power and Indigenous authority to deploy the rights inherent in self-determination. These are many but within the academy center on the capacity and space for Indigenous genuine decision-making. To determine, on our own terms: what are and what are not the aspirations and needs for Indigenous students, staff, communities, and nations; and what is and what is not in the interests of Indigenous students, staff communities, and nations. This use of Indigenous knowledge is broader. The concept, as used here, encompasses Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander scholarship, pedagogy, the cultural and specific knowledges of the many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander nations, as well as the shared epistemological tenets that define and delineate Indigenous knowledges from the Western frame that permeates the sector (Walter 2011).

Repositioning of Indigenous knowledges and the peoples of those knowledges cannot occur without active and accepted Indigenous governance systems. Yet, within many higher education settings, an ontological gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous understandings of what Indigenous governance and knowledges are and how they should/could be positioned within the academy remains. A particular tension is in negotiating the line between a whole of university responsibility for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander engagement and participation, and maintaining Indigenous ownership and perspectives of Indigenous knowledges. The breadth of the question goes beyond simple prescriptive determinations. Our overarching

purpose is to validate and legitimate the place of Indigenous governance mechanisms and processes and Indigenous knowledges within the academy. The chapter draws on literature in the field but takes a pragmatic rather than theoretical approach. This is achieved primarily by adding experiential data contributed through ongoing discussions with Indigenous academics, nationally and internationally. These positionalities are pertinent and add an empirical dimension to the discussion.

The question the chapter addresses is how do Indigenous university staff, academic and administrative, mediate the risks and hazards in the pursuance of a secure, sector-wide, normalized space for Indigenous governance and Indigenous knowledge systems? And how can the University be bought on the journey? The chapter's discussion is restricted to Australia, but also recognizes that these barriers, challenges, and, indeed, successes are likely to be pertinent to universities of other first world colonized nations, such as Aotearoa, New Zealand, the United States, and Canada.

Negotiating the Indigenous Within a Culture of Individualization

In the cross-cultural university sector context of Indigenous knowledges, there is a tendency to see the “context” as Western and the “culture” as Indigenous. This ontological position leans toward a concentration on Indigenous difference, with little or no consideration of the cultural and social positionality of the Western “context.” A deeply embedded, but largely unrealized positioning, reflected in the ongoing popularity of workshops on Indigenous cultural awareness or Indigenous cultural competence, is that it is Indigenous culture that must become known to the mainstream, normal, non-Indigenous university. Indigenous cultural awareness, it seems will somehow support Indigenous knowledges taking their place within the academy. The fatal flaw in this reasoning is the lack of understanding that we are all, Indigenous and non-Indigenous, “cultural” beings and all institutions, and universities in particular, are strong reflectors and reproducers of the dominant cultural mores and epistemological prioritization in how they go about their everyday business.

In Australia, as well as other Anglo-colonized nations, dominant cultural mores and epistemological prioritization are Western in origin. Moreover, this normalized culture is in a relationship of power with Indigenous cultural mores and epistemological positioning. In critical theory, in relationships of power asymmetry, it is the dominant society and culture that more merits examination and from which the way things “be” might be more clearly explained (Held 1990; Horkheimer 1996). A central argument of this chapter, therefore, is that Indigenizing the academy requires a critical exploration of how Western understandings permeate the sector, and how these operate to limit and constrain Indigenous knowledges and understandings to a restricted permanent “outsider” space.

As has been argued elsewhere, the first step toward an understanding of the *Other* is an understanding of the self (Kruske et al. 2006; Walter et al. 2011). Universities, by and large within Western nations, are White, middle-class institutions. How the core social and cultural attributes of class, but especially race, are understood within

them are central explanators of the current positioning of Indigenous knowledges within the academy. Because while purely biological understandings of race have long been discredited, as race theorists argue, in the dominant constructs of race, ideas of biological inferiority have merely been replaced by other rationales for non-White inferiority such as cultural or moral deficit (Bobo 1997; Sears and Kinder 1981; Lipsitz 2006; Bonilla Silva 2010; Walter 2014).

Bonilla-Silva (2010) further argues that racialized ways of thinking are not necessarily akin to racism *per se*, but built into the way the social world is organized. In his materialist interpretation, individual views on race directly correlate with an individual's systemic raced location. Thus within universities, while significant levels of overt racism are, thankfully, no longer the norm, understanding of race generally and Indigeneity and Indigenous culture more specifically is predominantly understood through the lens of White middle class experience. It is from within these class and racially privileged positions that Indigenous peoples, knowledges, and presence are viewed.

Other sociocultural factors also come into play. The most influential of these has been the rise of neoliberalism as the dominant economic and political discourse of Anglo-Western countries. Neoliberalism is defined by Harvey (2005, pp. 2–3) as the theory and practices that posit that “human well-being can be best advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade.” Under this framework, the societal unit is the individual and individuals are seen as individually responsible for their own life project (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002). Within such individualistic thinking, it is hard for non-Indigenous people, whose racially dominant position means they do not have to think about race, or to see themselves as part of a racial group, to understand or fully appreciate the social and cultural effect of racially aligned disadvantage, within and without the university, on Indigenous life chances and educational trajectories (Walter et al. 2012).

Bonilla-Silva (2010) argues forcefully that the social circulation of race as a social, rather than a biological, force is supported by a set of sincere race-related fictions. These are widespread among the dominant racial group, in this case non-Indigenous Australians, especially those from Anglo backgrounds. The first is that if individual social actors do not hold to or practice racism, then they are not involved, personally, in racial inequality. The second is that race no longer matters as all people are equal and should be treated that way by individuals and the social system. It is the combination of these two beliefs that lead to what Bonilla-Silva describes as color-blind racism; being personally nonracist combined with the view that race is no longer important.

Color-Blind Racism and the Academy

Such perspectives, far from supporting equality, lead to very raced consequences. Combined with neoliberal individualism, such thinking brings the process of

“Othering” (Hollinsworth 2006) into focus. As Mapstone (1995, p. 79) argues, those from more powerful groups have the power to claim highly valued qualities (such as merit) as related to their own group and to assign to “out-groups” values intricately tied to their lack of equality (such as lack of endeavor). From this value dichotomizing, it follows that if race doesn’t matter anymore and they (the dominant race individual) are nonracist, then the problems of “Other” peoples must be because those people are “different” or “deficit.” If they only behaved more like “normal” people, all would be well. For Indigenous peoples, the ongoing influence of colonization and dispossession adds a further layer of complexity, magnifying this deficit perception (Walter 2014, 2015).

This institutional social and cultural positioning as “Other” is where the primary risk to Indigenous students, staff, and knowledges lie. Racial Othering, and especially in colonized nation states, the Othering of the marginalized and already highly disadvantaged Indigenous population leads to racialized, but common attitudinal frames among dominant race individuals and groups. Because they (individual or institution) see themselves as nonracist, then their attitudes toward the Indigenous Others must reflect objectivity, ensuring sound, disinterested judgment. This discursive mechanism allows the racially dominant group to simultaneously protest that they are nonracist while leaving the underlying system of racial privilege and disprivilege undisturbed. Thus, according to Bonilla-Silva (2010), universities can be places of racism despite a lack of overtly racist attitudes.

This Western culture influence in shaping how the Indigene is understood and helps to bring the “context” of Australian universities – as the site of integration of Indigenous knowledges – into focus. But overarching concepts such as “Western Culture” are not really useful in understanding the subtle and not so subtle factors that position Indigenous people at all levels as the “Other” within University systems. The hard work of imagining and, more importantly, engineering a different way of thinking, interacting, and valuing Indigenous peoples, culture, and knowledges requires more nuanced reveal. In the following sections, Western cultural influence is operationalized into its within-academy forms.

How Indigenous Knowledges Are Done in the Australian Academy

Australia has 40 universities, nearly all of which are public institutions. The implementation of the *Behrendt Report* recommendations within Universities, while still very uneven, has resulted in some changes in this terrain, especially a rise in more senior positions. Regardless, the underrepresentation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples within these, as students, staff, and within governance, is a long-standing public issue. In 2013, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students made up just 1.4% of all commencing Australian undergraduate students, a rate about half the proportion of Indigenous people in the population. Underrepresentation rates increase across postgraduate degrees, especially research higher degrees. The proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander academics is even lower. In nearly two-thirds of Australian universities, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander staff

representation is below, often well below, 1% of total staff numbers (Moreton-Robinson et al. 2011). Australian universities still need to triple their Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander academic representation to achieve population parity. This continuing, across the board, underrepresentation means the spaces and places where Indigenous knowledges have been able to fit, let alone flourish, within the university sector, have been severely constrained for many years.

The Australian university system also reflects and reinforces its broader sociopolitical context with an increasing trend toward corporatization. This direction has strengthened the influence of neoliberal ideology of efficiency, choice (user pays), and competition between and within institutions with changes underpinned by free-market notions of autonomous individuals maximizing their rational self-interest. Such an approach stands in stark contrast to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander societies, which, despite the diversity of Indigenous cultures nationally and globally, tend to a more “collectivist or allocentric worldview” (Stewart and Allan 2013). From Indigenous perspectives, knowledge and the power that it brings is dispersed, rather than centralized. Within Indigenous ontologies, or way of being, a shared more of relationality, or “relatedness” (see Martin 2008; Wilson 2008) prevails. There is, therefore, a tension between a system which is leaning toward more Indigenous leadership and Indigenous governance while simultaneously moving ever more strongly in a neoliberal direction. This contradiction provides challenges as well as opportunities for how Indigenous knowledges are currently “done” and future directions.

Breaking Indigenous Knowledges from Segregation

Indigenous knowledges are currently marginalized in a myriad of ways, with distinct and tangible barriers to achieving recognition and equal value within higher education remain firmly in place. Understanding the factors that create and maintain these barriers is a vital step in deconstructing them. While cultural “difference” of Indigenous ways of being and understanding the world has been recognized, the requisite shift by the dominant cultural and knowledge systems to provide an appropriate Indigenous space has not been forthcoming. Accommodation has been limited to creating a space to *be* different. Indigenous knowledges’ placement as “apart” from mainstream university business normalizes their frequent exclusion from decision-making processes.

Equal recognition of Indigenous knowledges is currently inhibited by the common fault line of separate, isolated, placement of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander business within institutions. Since the inception of the National Aboriginal Education Policy (NAEP) (1989), the standard strategy of addressing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander underrepresentation has been the establishment of support centers within individual universities. Primarily funded by Federal Government monies under programs such as the Indigenous Student Success Program (ISSP), Indigenous Centers are usually situated in a discreet, often purpose built, site within the campus. Centers (The term “Center” is used here to refer to the variable discrete

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander units found within the large majority of Australian universities.) vary significantly in size and function but all offer formal support programs such as tutorial assistance and informal services such as pastoral care and the provision of a culturally safe, accessible meeting and study place for students. Most are also the primary place of intersection between the wider Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander community and the university. A number also offer academic programs, including pretertiary qualifying programs aimed at supporting Aboriginal students into higher education within a culturally safe environment.

The rise of discrete Centers as key Indigenous spaces within Australian universities is compounded by the relative rarity of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander academics within mainstream academic units. Data on the spread of Indigenous academics throughout faculties and schools is unavailable, but observer knowledge suggests that the majority of Indigenous academic staff at Australian universities are either employed in their university's Indigenous Centre or within another Indigenous framed enclave, such as a health or education unit. Very, very few are employed in mainstream university positions, despite many years of advocacy for change in this area.

Centers are, therefore, the core Indigenous knowledges resource in Australian universities. And we have seen similar centers at universities in Canada and the United States. Their prominence, as Indigenous Centers, however, has a damaging downside. In a significant proportion of universities, such Centers *are* the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander strategy. Responsible for all things, Indigenous Centers can become overburdened with policy, program, management, and other responsibilities for which they were never designed. Centers' ability to articulate Indigenous knowledges is further incapacitated by their figurative, if not physical, placement out of sight and mind of the mainstream discussions or debates of university business.

Indigenous governance is not achievable from within such places. Within University hierarchies, Centers and their staff rank lowly. While sometimes included within University committees and working groups, their capacity and power to effect change is highly constrained. And while there is significant goodwill and interest in Indigenous issues among higher level non-Indigenous university management, Center academics mostly do not have the resources or networks to harness that goodwill. Even if they can manage to effect positive change, such change is often one-offs, a great event or high university engagement in a particular program. Indigenous Center staff lack the power and position to embed these changes as "normal" across the University.

Additionally, Centers by virtue of their multiple and specific roles differ dramatically in form and function to mainstream schools, departments and faculties. Their employment structures tend toward a preponderance of administrative rather than academic staff, a structure that reinforces the power imbalance between Centers and other areas of the University, especially faculties and schools. For those with academic ambitions, employment within a Center is frequently a hindrance, not a support. Low numbers of academic staff, mostly at junior academic levels, creates a propensity for Centers to become isolated hinterlands of scholarly inexperience, removed from the formal and informal academic mentoring and career support

processes that occur elsewhere within the university. For example, both authors were originally employed within their University's Indigenous Centre, before they had completed their PhDs. Despite this, both were also charged with building the Centre's research track record and supporting other staff in this regard. While willing to undertake this task, it was obvious to all, including ourselves, that we were fundamentally ill-equipped – experience and track record wise – for the role.

Strategies which recognize (necessarily) the uniqueness of the Indigenous place within the Australian higher education system have, therefore, also tended to segregation. This allows a failure to flourish (and to address unequal outcomes for Indigenous people) to be attributed to the Center and its employees. More damagingly, Indigenous knowledges that do exist within an institution are confined within an all-encompassing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander enclave, with limited and restricted interaction with the wider university system. The ramification of this is a – usually unintended but highly effective – incarceration of Indigenous knowledges.

By inverse logic, a normalcy of Indigenous knowledges as separately quartered terrain translates to the university mainstream neither being expected to understand such knowledges or change to accommodate them. Hovering perhaps within the institutions' collective subconscious (rather than explicitly stated) Center responsibility, by definition, exempts the wider university, management, faculties, sections, or service areas from effecting any self-initiated engagement with Indigenous knowledges. More insidiously, this permeating practice segregates the Indigenous from the day-to-day and the critical events of university operations. Unless an issue, policy, program, or priority specifically includes the words "Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander" or "Indigenous," the production, dissemination, or potential contribution of Indigenous knowledges will be absent from consideration in executive planning, discussion, debates, or decisions. University business, at the macro- and microlevel, is normalized as exclusive of Indigenous governance and knowledges.

Closing the Pedagogy and Indigenous Knowledges Gap

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander academics' capacity to be independent disseminators of Indigenous knowledges is also compromised by the unequal and unidirectional nature of current knowledge interactions. Aboriginal staff are frequently called upon to: provide cross-cultural (or more latterly, cultural competence) training to staff and/or students; to source community members for Welcome to Country duties; conduct in-teaching of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander content; develop university reconciliation or strategic plans; and many other tasks. The dimensions of the knowledge required, and how, when, and to whom it is to be delivered, is usually predetermined. The ability to independently initiate Indigenous knowledge input is severely curtailed or nonexistent. The argument is not that staff should not be engaged in these activities but to highlight the imbalanced nature of the relationship between Aboriginal staff as service providers, and mainstream areas as knowledge service commissioners. A compliant service resource, supplying commodified

knowledges on demand, is not compatible with the goal of equal recognition or partnership.

There are also widely known (but usually unstated) pedagogical tendencies within Australian universities dealing with Indigenous knowledges, with responses falling into one of the three categories. The first is to outsource responsibility to Indigenous members of staff (often without regard to their scholarly expertise). The second is to allocate responsibility to a relatively junior non-Indigenous staff member, with little expertise. The third is to not include Indigenous content at all. The reason frequently given by course coordinators for any of these three responses is that they do not have the confidence to engage with Indigenous knowledge content. They are afraid of doing or saying the “wrong” thing and feel this is an area where they cannot have expertise. As argued by Walter and Butler (2013), these Indigenous content behaviors, while frequently dressed up as Indigenous sensitivity, are actually examples of the curricula practice of Whiteness. It is, not to put too fine a point on it, all about race; that of the Indigenous academics and our responsibilities to remove the burden from non-Indigenous academics to engage with race. This racial situating sees many Indigenous scholars being forever constrained within the “Guest Paradigm,” dependent on the continuing “goodwill” of the tertiary sector (Morgan cited in McConville 2002, p. 195). Taking on this role is conceived as an Indigenous obligation. There is often an injured sense of valor when requests are rebuffed (Walter and Butler 2013). No thought seems to be given to the disrespect and disregard of Indigenous staff as scholars that this behavior embodies. Under Butler’s (2006) concept of bifurcation, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander academics are expected to discuss Aboriginal peoples, and more especially, those who live in remote areas, regardless of disciplines or expertise. They are Aboriginal first, before they are seen (if at all) as scholars.

This reliance on the “one-stop shop” for Indigenous knowledge services is problematic pedagogically. With some occupations now mandating Indigenous coursework content as a prerequisite for registration, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander academic staff are increasingly called upon to teach-in the requisite “Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander bit.” Yet, such teaching requires specialist professional knowledge – be it social work, nursing, medicine, or education – and sufficient seniority and expertise to successfully manage the interface between the profession and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australia. Assuming that Indigenous staff members have the expertise for these tasks, seemingly by virtue of Indigeneity, indicates naivety and a failure in the duty of care. The bigger question here is not who should be doing such teaching, but why outsourcing this particular topic, and not others, is deemed appropriate pedagogic practice? Separating responsibility for Aboriginal content can reduce the value of that content, in the perception of the course’s students. The result is that Indigenous content in curriculum is either omitted or treated as different from the scholarly standards of other curriculum content.

An obvious prerequisite for a quality pedagogy of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledges, within academic teaching, is the employment of appropriately

qualified Indigenous staff. However, achievement of this goal is not something that can be remedied in the very short term (see next sections). Other strategies need to be deployed in the interim. The first is focusing institutions' attention on the importance of quality Indigenous scholarly content. Reducing avoidance behaviors on the part of course coordinators requires a recognition that developing Indigenous content can be challenging for non-Indigenous staff. Rejecting the reluctance to engage with Indigenous scholarship is a legitimate position, but generosity is also required to bring academics, faculties, and courses to a resetting of how it is that the University does Indigenous content, teaching, and pedagogy. Being available to course/unit coordinators, providing open and encouraging service mainstream curriculum support in areas such as: cultural appropriateness; appropriate scholarly materials; and course quality and comprehensiveness can help non-Indigenous academics make the transition into more confident Indigenous scholarship and knowledges competence. Such services, however, need to be recognized, formalized, and placed within task frameworks. Without formal acknowledgement, such roles risk becoming just another Indigenous labor expectation.

Integrating a Dynamic and Initiating Indigenous Knowledges Presence

Strengthening the recognition of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledges within higher education is not a straightforward process; there are intrinsic risks in whatever strategies are devised. Marking-up Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander recognition as a priority area within the sector is crucial to remediation. Yet the very act of singling out can lead to a remarginalization by describing these spaces and interactions as "special." Within this scenario, Indigenous knowledges are restricted to spaces outside mainstream operations. There is a little difference between being patronized as "important but over there" and being ignored. Alternatively, integrating Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander dimensions into the mainstream business of the university risks a remarginalization on the basis of minority status. Regardless of good intentions, Indigenous knowledges can easily become continually, if not permanently, subsumed under the weight of the always competing dominant knowledge matters. And the very operation of dominant (and dominating) hierarchical structures will automatically take precedence. Choosing between the competing hazards of marking out discrete Indigenous space or an integrated model is, however, framed by the foundational fact that equal recognition is unachievable while Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people remain so heavily underrepresented across all levels of the sector. A "Whole of University approach" (Behrendt Report 2012) cannot be achieved until there is an understanding within the sector of the values of Indigenous knowledges and an open examination and acceptance of the limitations in Universities' traditional approach to encompass Indigenous governance.

Moving from Goodwill to Rightful Place: Activating Indigenous Governance

If the ultimate goal is to bring Indigenous engagement and knowledges to the center of the higher education system – the same place that Western knowledges and settler population engagement currently resides – how do we go about it? How can the nurturing of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledges *and* an explicit recognition of their equal value and validity become standard higher education operating procedure? Obviously, part of the answer is to broaden the Indigenous space and place within Universities. This shift is not possible for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people – staff, students, and/or community – to achieve alone. Neither can we rely on non-Indigenous goodwill. Reliance on goodwill, especially individually located goodwill, is a perilous position. Gains can be swept away in an instant with a change of personnel or structure. The disheartening return to Indigenous knowledges 101, after we have felt that real progress had been achieved, is familiar to nearly all in the sector.

It is a central contention, therefore, that there cannot and will not be real change in the sector without Indigenous governance. This requires as a first step the embedded presence of Indigenous academic leadership that is fully recognized and incorporated into university leadership and governing bodies. In Australia, the *Behrendt Report* has created a climate in which Indigenous academic leadership is possible. Recommendation 32, which advocates for the creation of Indigenous senior management positions, has provided space for an Indigenous voice in places that have previously been closed. At the time of writing, around a quarter of Australian universities had have adopted at least part of recommendation 32 and now have Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander academics holding positions at the Pro Vice-Chancellor or equivalent level. These positions combine senior management and senior academic credentials (i.e., a professorship). More critically, this trend looks to be broadening across the sector. These senior positions create opportunities to address the divergent demands of Indigenous and Western governance. But without wider university Indigenous governance, they do little to flatten the hierarchy that makes universities uncomfortable places for those traditionally delegated to the bottom position.

Outside forces can also contribute to an Indigenizing of the academy. For example, in Australia, the National Tertiary Education Union, the labor union for higher education staff, has influenced the landscape. In the previous round of workplace agreements, the union bargained on the Indigenous employment clause *first* (rather than the usual last place). This has resulted in a greater proportion of University's Enterprise Agreements stipulating numerical targets for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander employment within the sector. These agreements are legally binding, providing leverage for action rather than what has been up till now a commitment-only space. Commitment is not a currency. Frequently, it does not equate to actual expenditure of resources or energy, but operates as a change-blocking mechanism, functioning to forestall, not facilitate change. This shift from

stating intentions to quantifying measurable targets is a positive one. It is also a step that needs to be emulated across the space to engender genuine change. The focus has to be on what we are doing, rather than what should happen, or what we would like to happen. But new positive practices need not only to be introduced, they need to also dislodge the plethora of old barrier-building ones.

Engaging Community As Partners: Top and Bottom

A key plank of Indigenization is the integration of the Indigenous throughout universities. A prime strategy for achieving such integration is an inversion of the standard University/Indigenous community engagement practices. Traditionally, community engagement has been at the bottom end of engagement. Community members are invited to events, primarily in the Indigenous Centre. Our institution (along with many others around the nation) employs Elders to culturally support students, again, usually within Centers, and to perform Welcome to Country obligations. These are important aspects of doing University/Community engagement. But on their own, they are insufficient: they do not disrupt, but rather frequently entrench, the understanding of the Indigenous as the different “Other.” What is required is the opening of a cohesive, all areas, Indigenous presence to support knowledge pathways for students and staff across institutions. This requires reenvisioning and then reengineering how Aboriginal communities engage with the individual university and with the sector overall. Moreover, strategies to increase Indigenous community engagement need to operate in both directions: to embrace Indigenous community within the university and to include the university in community relations.

Community engagement at the management end of the university is still a rare occurrence, but it *is* a prerequisite for creating and normalizing Indigenous knowledges. And if you can't bring community to University management, then bring University management, which is those who make the decisions and decide the pathway and culture of the university, to community. For example, the University of Tasmania has established a University Aboriginal Policy Working Group. This Working Group is made up of senior members of university staff, including Deans of Faculties and Heads of Divisions such as Human Resources, representatives of university Aboriginal staff, and a group of external senior Aboriginal community members. In doing so, there is no claim made to the originality of this strategy. Other institutions, nationally and internationally, have long had committees that are inclusive of Indigenous community members. What is noteworthy in this example is how the introduction of this particular version of community voice has changed the dynamics of community engagement at the university. The Working Group, now a formal University committee, represents the first time many University management staff had had direct higher education focused interaction with Aboriginal people. The equal numbers and capacity between Indigenous and non-Indigenous members ensure the Indigenous perspective is both heard and understood.

While the existence of Indigenous led working or other groups/committees/entities can and do initiate solid strategies, for real impact they must be integrated into University management structures. Their presence has to be embedded into how the University (and more widely the sector) does business. The work of such University committees also needs to be formally embedded into the University's policy structure: not as something outside or on the margins but a prominent policy setting to which other University policies must include and align. Enabling such integration and embedding requires Indigenous leadership in positions of genuine influence. It is from this central policy structure that other strategies and actions flow.

Investing in Indigenous Knowledges

Equal recognition of Indigenous knowledges is unachievable without a critical mass of qualified, skilled Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander scholars engaged in its study, origination, and promulgation. As outlined, the low number of Aboriginal scholars as well as their relative junior status and lack of role model and mentoring opportunities means the Australian higher education sector, is as yet, a long way from this prerequisite. The heavy weighting of success in winning research grants on academic's track record, combined with funding entities' lack of understanding of Indigenous research methodologies, exacerbate the problem. This arises from the lacuna of non-Indigenous supervisors and research offices to recognize a place for, and understanding of, Indigenous research at the university level. The point is that Indigenous knowledges cannot achieve its potential or its place within the higher education sector without change within the organization and significant and targeted investment in its scholars.

Harnessing the power of diverse Indigenous knowledges and a consequent Indigenousizing of the academy requires a network of dispersed but linked Indigenous scholars. Broad and unrestricted Indigenous participation in management, curricula, research, research higher degrees is not largesse but an obligation. Yet, a frequent response is that while universities are committed to increasing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander staff numbers, they are hamstrung because there are not enough qualified Indigenous academics and professional staff available to fill the gaps. Such reasoning is blame shifting. Advertising for Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander staff when the university itself has little history in supporting, targeting, nurturing, or direct capacity building of Indigenous staff is both naive and presumptuous. If the sector wants to increase the proportion of qualified and skilled Indigenous people in their workforce, the time to start building that workforce was 10 years ago. If the sector wants to have a qualified, skilled Indigenous workforce in 10 years, the time to start is now. Choosing not to do so is a choice that guarantees failure.

Additionally, there is more than one way to raise the level and number of Indigenous academic and professional staff beyond waiting for some hoped for future pipeline effect. For example, a system of supported academic apprenticeships within departments and faculties would create the space for the many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people with good undergraduate results and an interest in

academia to be placed within departments. There, staff can be supported in their development as academics through a combination of hands-on academic experience and research scholarships. Additionally, establishing an internal scholarship system to support Center (and other) staff to complete their postgraduate studies would add a level of seniority for existing staff within just a few years. Ensuring Indigenous knowledges and methodologies are included in the university's institutional research strategy framework is also a necessary. Finally, including responsibility for increasing staff proportions as a key performance indicator (KPI) of Faculty and Division Heads, shares the load and concentrates the management mind on how such increases might be achieved beyond having good will and commitment.

Support systems for Indigenous research students also need to be developed, strengthened, and formalized within the mainstream university postgraduate, not outsourced to the Indigenous center. At the postgraduate level, despite the current massive underrepresentation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students, very, very few postgraduate programs provide specific recruitment activity or program support for this cohort (Walter and Robertson 2009). The result is that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander postgraduates are frequently on their own in navigating the fraught path of postgraduate study, supervision, and examination, a path that is epistemologically and axiologically out of sync with Indigenous knowledges.

Completions suffer as a result. This assertion is confirmed by experience of working with Aboriginal postgraduate students at a national level. These students (who were also often simultaneously Centre staff) continually expressed frustration that the use and development of Indigenous knowledges within their scholarship was not understood by their faculty or supervisors. They felt continually pressured to conform to mainstream epistemological norms, where, for example, collecting qualitative data using in-depth interviews was acceptable, but using yarning, a traditional Aboriginal form of relation building communication, was not. This is not an argument for a lowering of scholarly rigor. Rather, it reflects a dearth of understanding or recognition of Indigenous knowledges within the formal structures of scholarship undermining any real possibility of equal recognition of Indigenous knowledges within the research higher degree space (Walter et al. 2008). Again this is a long-standing sector obligation that has remained low key and low priority.

Conclusion and Future Directions

The changes already implemented from the *Behrendt Report* and the flow on effect of those will substantively change the place of Indigenous knowledges within the Australian academy. How quickly that becomes a reality depends on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander sector leadership and the overall sector and individual university leadership's capacity to work in genuine partnership. Yet, there is reason to hope that Indigenous governance and Indigenous knowledges can become a normalized

presence within Australian universities, neither the “Other” or even cause for celebration.

There is a danger, however, that – having met many of these challenges – the *responsibility* for integrating Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledges throughout universities will, over time, revert back to the resulting Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander workforce. But the integration of Indigenous governance and knowledges is very much a two-way process. It requires a willingness to share power and knowledge and an openness to difference and alternative perspectives. Its success relies on the dual acceptance of very different ontologies and their accompanying knowledge systems. This will require self-knowledge, especially from those from the dominant racial groups. Having recognized and formally acknowledged Indigenous knowledges systems, at an institutional level, it should be difficult for a full reversion to old norms.

Indigenizing the academy requires proportionality, integration, and acceptance. It also requires a transformation of university governance and internal structures. As with all of such changes, the beneficiaries are not just Indigenous peoples but the whole university and sector: we value add. It is also important to recognize that within our, and other universities, there are many, many non-Indigenous people eager to support our efforts to Indigenize the academy. It is the job of Indigenous staff and community to help the sector support Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledges and presence, empowering all to work in partnership with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander staff, students, peoples, organizations, and communities. Indigenizing the academy starts and ends with Indigenous and non-Indigenous generosity and willingness to keep on engaging in ways that are permanent, not fleeting or fluctuating way that Australian universities do business.

Future directions in efforts to Indigenize the academy within the academy in Australia, and likely in other First Nation states, will require a constant vigilance. It is hard, given the many years that Indigenous academics and others have been trying to facilitate and engender a safe, respectful place of Indigenous peoples at all levels with the academy not to feel/become somewhat disillusioned with the very slow pace of progress. It is also not hard to feel that despite all our efforts that there remains a very central lack of understanding within the academy of what we mean by Indigenous knowledges, and why it is so vital that these have a central place within our academies knowledge systems. The risk of reversion, even when considerable progress has been made, also remains.

How to move forward with optimism? Acceptance that the process of Indigenizing the academy and the place of our knowledges is an on-going and likely long-term project is one key strategy. Continuing to build the published scholarship in the area of Indigenous knowledges, across First Nations peoples and across nation states, also will help maintain momentum and ensure that the lessons learned and strategies enacted in one institution or geographic location can be accessed by those outside of those places, now, and into the future. Finally, we need to recognize that our efforts, while frequently feeling undervalued and/or misunderstood, are worthwhile and will benefit not only the current generation of students and scholars, but those in generations to come.

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“A World in which [Alaska Natives] Make the Important Decisions”: Re-examining Institutional Discourses and Governance in Higher Education

17

Olga Paniik Skinner and Beth Ginondidoy Leonard

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Abstract

This chapter examines key public discourses at the University of Alaska (UA), with a focus on strategic governance as related to the shaping of physical landscapes and “intellectual thought worlds” for Indigenous peoples. Our work

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is informed by Indigenous higher education scholarship as well as critical and decolonizing methodologies. We begin by discussing the Indigenous origins of the landscape currently occupied and governed by the University of Alaska, *Troth Yeddha* (“Wild Potato Hill”) – a resilient and continuing reclamation discourse. This is followed by an examination of the Alaskan cultural and higher education contexts, including formation of the UA system, current governance structures, and the institution’s publicly stated responsibilities to Alaska Native students. We discuss the formation of Alaska Native Studies Council, and the positioning of Alaska Natives in advisory and student support organizations including Rural Student Services, the Chancellor’s Advisory Committee on Native Education, and the American Indian Science and Engineering Society (AISES). Our analysis engages global recommendations by UNDRIP as related to Indigenous higher education with a focus on how place, identity, and Alaska Native Ways of Knowing participate [in] and influence governance strategies, programs, and objectives.

Keywords

Indigenous higher education · Indigenous governance · Alaska Native education · Indigenous knowledge · Native ways of knowing

Introduction

Many of us, as Indigenous scholars, are positioned within institutions located on Indigenous lands; therefore, we believe Indigenous cultures occupy “rightful places and spaces within these contexts” (Leonard and Mercier 2016, p. 7). We are aware that Indigenous leadership and governance is limited in many institutions that often research and teach about – rather than with and for – Indigenous peoples. Our relationships and positions within this institution orient our analysis of Indigenous higher education governance, as we are members of Alaska Native tribes, and both graduates and current employees of the University of Alaska (UA). Olga Skinner is Yup’ik, enrolled in the Kwethluk tribe in southwest Alaska, and is a long-time resident of Fairbanks in interior Alaska. She earned a BA in foreign languages (Russian and French) and an MEd in language and literacy through the University of Alaska Fairbanks (UAF). Olga’s master’s thesis documents the life history of her maternal grandmother Olinka/Olga *Arrsamquq* Michael. She is currently an academic advisor for Rural Student Services (UAF), and a PhD candidate in UAF’s Indigenous Studies PhD Program.

Beth Leonard is Deg Xit’an and a member of the Shageluk Tribe of interior Alaska. She earned her PhD from UAF in 2007, and served as a full-time faculty member at UAF’s School of Education from 2006 to 2013. From 2013 to 2016, Leonard taught for the UAF Indigenous Studies PhD Program in the Center for Cross-Cultural Studies. She is currently an associate professor and director of Alaska Native Studies with the University of Alaska Anchorage, and continues her affiliation with the Indigenous Studies PhD Program, chairing several PhD committees.

Indigenous Governance in Higher Education: Understanding the “Traditional Forms and Functions of These Systems”

Alaska Native peoples have prioritized higher education for several decades. Recommendations for improving Alaska Native access and engagement in higher education originate from individual tribes and tribal consortia resolutions, conferences and gatherings, and conversations with Alaska Native communities, including elders and students (Barnhardt and Kawagley 2010; Barnhardt and Kawagley 2011). The following quote by Cup’ik Elder Lucy Jones-Sparck emphasizes the need for Alaska Native control of education to promote strong identity and cultural connections.

If Alaska Natives can educate themselves about the traditional forms and functions of these systems and then go ahead and take control, not within the guidelines, policies, and procedures of the western system, but through adaptations to their own ways, then they will truly walk in their own world, a world of their own making, a world in which they make the important decisions. The children and college students can then be educated to know this culture and be confident in it. Our feet will then be planted firmly in prideful recognition of the self, feeling comfortable with who we are, and seeing others of different cultures as they are. (2010, p. 325)

This chapter examines key public discourses at the University of Alaska (UA), with a focus on strategic governance as related to the shaping of physical landscapes and “intellectual thought worlds” for Indigenous peoples, as articulated by Seneca scholar Arthur Parker (1916, p. 255). Our research is informed by scholarship in Indigenous higher education (Brayboy et al. 2012; Leonard and Mercier 2014; Mercier et al. 2011), and critical and decolonizing methodologies (Battiste 2013; Denzin et al. 2000). Alaska Native peoples have developed complex and diverse knowledge systems with accompanying methods of higher education over millennia. Alaska Native knowledge, as a discipline, is currently confined to ethnic or cultural studies within the academy, limiting full recognition of these intellectual thought worlds as authentic, scientific, interdisciplinary, and holistic systems. Many universities continue to be grounded in expectations that students will assimilate to Western ways of knowing, being, doing, and becoming, without critical examination of the histories, rationale for, and current places and spaces of higher education. Tribal Critical Race Theory (TribalCrit), an extension of critical race theory, clearly implicates imperialism, White supremacy, and desire for material gain in the colonization of American Indian peoples (Brayboy 2005, p. 429). As part of a decolonizing methodology, TribalCrit calls for recentring “tribal philosophies, beliefs, customs, traditions, and visions for the future” (p. 430). Decolonization through Indigenizing the academy (Mihesuah and Wilson 2004) to better serve Alaska Native students requires a critical analysis of higher education governance within the University of Alaska context.

While preparing to write this chapter, we struggled with how Indigenous governance might be conceptualized beyond formal higher education leadership roles. In their review of Australian higher education access and outcomes for Aboriginal and

Torres Strait Islanders, Aileen Moreton-Robinson, Maggie Walter, David Singh, and Megan Kimber (Moreton-Robinson et al. 2011) conceptualize governance as “participation and direct influence on university executive functions” and “regulation. . . refer[ring] to the strategies, programs and objectives to increase Indigenous outcomes including embedding Indigenous knowledge within the university’s operations” (p. 5). There is limited literature on leadership and governance in Alaskan higher education; however, Michael Jennings (1994, 2004) and the late Tlingit scholar Louis Jacquot (1974) address Alaska Native peoples’ historical participation, challenges, and influence within the University of Alaska system. Jennings (2004) specifically discusses higher education’s attempts to further colonize Indigenous peoples through defining and teaching Indigenous knowledges using Western paradigms. Also relevant to an Indigenous governance discourse is Dena’ina scholar Jessica Bissett Perea’s “A Tribalography of Alaska Native Presence in Academia” (Perea 2013) that draws on Howe’s (1999) tribalography methodology. Perea posits that Alaska Natives are threatened by “the very real and dangerous double erasure of Native agency; first by historical colonial powers, and second by contemporary “post-racial” discourse” (p. 3), a discourse that renders racism non-existent due to civil rights legislation Perea’s list, building off unpublished research by Ray Barnhardt, and most recently updated by Indigenous Studies PhD candidate Alberta Jones, documents names, tribal affiliations, and fields of study for the approximately 90 Alaska Natives who earned PhDs or EdDs between 1970 and 2017. Perea’s and Jones’ documentation of Alaska Native PhDs/EdDs highlights the continuing underrepresentation of Alaska Natives in graduate education, a troubling trend that has continuing implications for Indigenous higher education governance. Most recently, Inupiaq scholar Pearl Brower’s (2016) dissertation examines Indigenous leadership at tribal colleges and Indigenous-student serving universities, including Iļisaġvik, Alaska’s only tribally-governed college. These key sources provide significant contextual background for examining UA’s current governance structures in our case study.

We begin by discussing the Indigenous origins of the landscape currently occupied and governed by the University of Alaska (UA), *Troth Yeddha’* (Wild Potato Hill) – a resilient and continuing reclamation discourse. This is followed by an examination of the Alaskan cultural and higher education contexts, including formation of the UA system, current governance structures, and the University of Alaska’s current, publicly stated responsibilities to Alaska Native students. We discuss formation of the Alaska Native Studies Council, and the positioning of Alaska Natives in advisory and student support organizations including Rural Student Services, the Chancellor’s Advisory Committee on Native Education, and Alaska Native student organizations. Our analysis engages global recommendations by UNDRIP as related to Indigenous higher education with a focus on how place, identity, and Native Ways of Knowing participate [in] and influence governance strategies, programs, and objectives as defined by Moreton-Robinson et al. (2011).

Throughout this chapter, we explore questions concerning the conceptualization of Indigenous governance in higher education, and possibilities for transforming schools and education in multiple global/transnational contexts. As we considered

the contexts and implications of Indigenous governance, additional questions, applicable beyond the University of Alaska system, emerged:

1. How, when, and why do Western universities prioritize Indigenous higher education and knowledge systems?
2. Can Indigenous governance exist in a Western institution with limited Indigenous representation at the executive/administrative, faculty, and staff levels?
3. Who governs Alaska Native serving programs and research involving Alaska Native peoples?
4. How does existing Indigenous governance at the University of Alaska influence Alaska Native presence or “seats at the table” in terms of mission, vision, and policy?

A Sacred Learning Landscape: Troth Yeddha’

Indigenous cultures of Alaska are diverse within a vast landscape of 663,268 square miles/1,717,854 km². The State of Alaska 2015 census estimates reveal that roughly 19% of the state’s total population of 737,625 self-identify as Alaska Native. Alaska Native is a legal term; however, it is now being used as a racial/ethnic identifier; and this pan term tends to gloss over the diversity of Alaska’s Indigenous cultures. Alaska has 20 distinct Indigenous languages recently recognized in 2015 as official languages of the state, and several major Indigenous cultural groups including: Iñupiaq, Yup’ik, Cup’ik, Siberian Yupik, Sugpiaq/Alutiiq, Unangax’/Aleut, Dene’/Athabascan, Tlingit, Tsimshian, and Haida (Alaska Native Language Center *n.d.*; Brown 2012, pp. 7–21; Williams 2009, pp. 4–11); 12 Alaska Native controlled corporations (with associated nonprofit associations) formed under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971 (ANCSA) that function as major employers and economic drivers within and beyond the State of Alaska; and 229 tribal governments recognized by the U.S. federal government (Fig. 1).

Jeremy Garcia (Hopi/Tewa) and Valerie Shirley (Diné) (Garcia and Shirley 2012) frame schools as “sacred landscapes” (p. 77), emphasizing the roles of institutions and teachers in nurturing critical consciousness and “origins of place” (p. 78; see Freire 2002 for further discussion of critical pedagogy and conscientization). Engagement with education as a sacred landscape calls for a decolonization process through examining ancestral ties to the land and re-envisioning our understanding of who we are as Indigenous peoples in relation to the land and how we move forward. The learning landscape currently occupied and now governed by the University of Alaska Fairbanks (UAF) – Troth Yeddha’ – has likely been an Alaska Native/Dene’ space since time immemorial. In describing the origins of Troth Yeddha’, the late traditional Chief Peter John of Minto, Alaska claimed an Indigenous pedagogy of place – a hope that good thinking and working together would continue under the governance of the University of Alaska; and that the Dene’ grandchildren would be appropriately served by this institution:

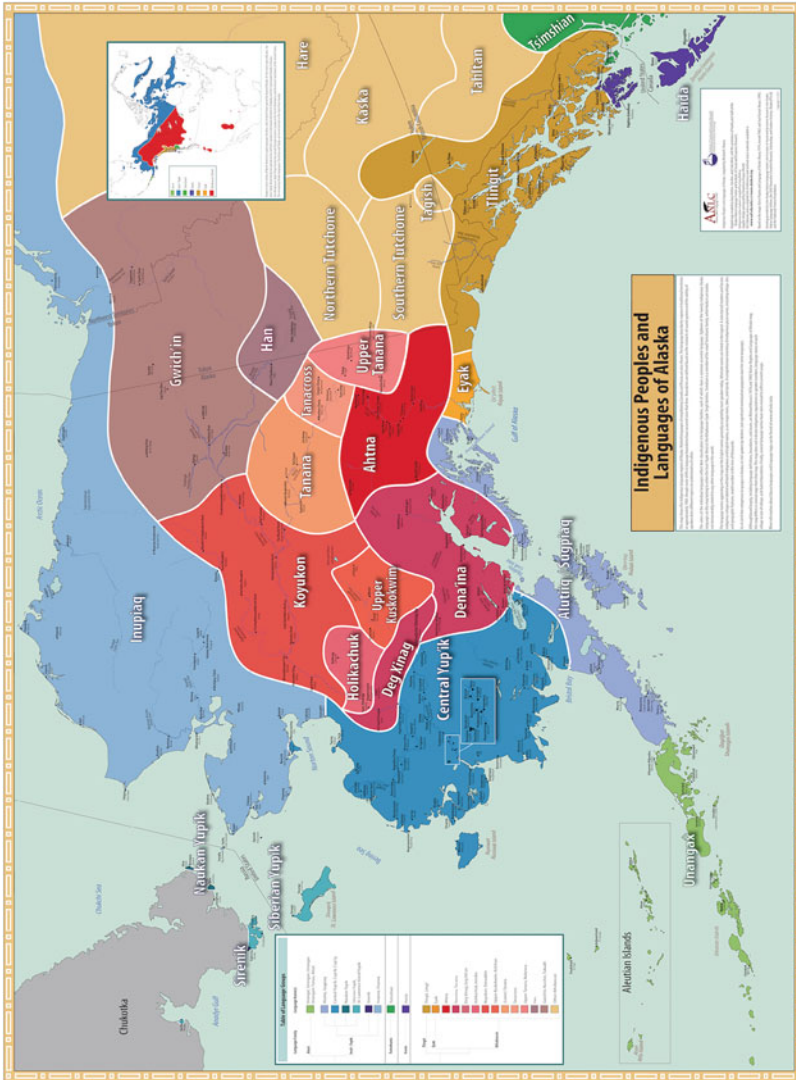


Fig. 1 Indigenous Peoples and Languages of Alaska (Krauss et al. 2011)

Our people used to come to this hill to pick Troth. . . Troth Yeddha' was important, a meeting place. The grandfathers used to come to talk and give advice to one another about what they were going to do. When they learned this place would be used for a school, the university, they came here one last time, to decide what they should do. They decided that the school would be good and would carry on a very similar traditional use of this hill – a place where good thinking and working together would happen. . . They were also giving a blessing to their grandchildren who would be part of the new school.

Initial promotion of this reclamation discourse was largely due to the efforts of former UAF Interior-Aleutians Director Clara (Johnson) Anderson (Koyukon) who created posters of the 1994 speech that were published in 1998. Recognition in UAF's academic catalog followed 7 years after the speech in 2001. Advocates and allies in this effort included the late Vice Chancellor of Rural, Community, and Native Education Bernice Joseph (Koyukon), a number of UAF faculty including James Kari and Gary Holton (both of the Alaska Native Language Center), and Elder Robert Charlie of Minto, Alaska. After some backlash, including claims that there was “insufficient evidence documenting usage of this name” (Holton 2015), in 2013 – some 19 years after Chief John's presentation, the U.S. Board of Geographic Names formally recognized Troth Yeddha' as an official place name.

“Emphasizing the North and Its Diverse Peoples”: University of Alaska Governance and Public Discourse

Mission Statement: The University of Alaska inspires learning, and advances and disseminates knowledge through teaching, research, and public service, emphasizing the North and its diverse peoples.

The University of Alaska began in 1917 as a small land grant college – originally the Alaska Agricultural College and School of Mines. The college later became the University of Alaska Fairbanks (UAF), one of the three main campuses that comprise the University of Alaska system. Public discourse available on UAF's website on the history of the college includes a linear discussion of gold discoveries, the federal Agricultural Experiment Station program, World War II, and formation of various institutes and schools. However, there is no information about Troth Yeddha' in this history. UAF's website includes links to the *Troth Yeddha' Legacy* and there are several informational links available through the Alaska Native Language Center webpage and on the Rural Student Services site. However, there are no links to this information from UAF main webpages – including the “about UAF” link referenced above. There is limited evidence from publicly available information as to the University of Alaska's mission and commitment to its origins of place, the diversity of Alaska Native cultures within the State, nor specifics as to how Alaska Natives and other diverse peoples are being served through higher education.

The University of Alaska Fairbanks' formal governance includes a chancellor who functions as the chief executive officer for the main institution and its affiliated rural campuses; this structure also includes senior level executive positions including

vice chancellors, and a provost who oversees academic accreditation. Governance at the college and program levels includes deans and directors who report to the senior positions referenced above. To date, only two Alaska Natives have served at UAF's executive governance level. In 2001, the late Bernice Joseph was appointed executive dean of the College of Rural Alaska (CRA). During her time as executive dean, Ms. Joseph advocated for an Alaska Native position within the senior executive governance level, and in 2006 was appointed to the newly created position – “vice chancellor for rural, community, and Alaska Native education”; she held this position until her retirement in 2013. In 2014, Evon Peter (Gwich'in) was appointed to this vice chancellor post. In this position, Peter oversees UAF's College of Rural and Community Development (CRCD), one of the seven schools and colleges that are part of the University of Alaska Fairbanks. In addition to its Fairbanks-based offices, CRCD includes a number of community campuses, serving 160 communities statewide. The University of Alaska (UA) Board of Regents (BOR) governs the system through setting policy for the statewide campus system. BOR minutes by topic and a list of regents dating back to 1917, are easily located using a Google search, and publicly available via the UA Statewide webpage. Appointments to the University of Alaska's Board of Trustees (later the Board of Regents) by then territorial governors began in 1917 (Alaska became a state in 1959). The first Alaska Native regent – Tlingit Sam Kito, Jr. from Petersburg (#66) – was appointed in 1975 with the first Alaska Native woman regent – Koyukon Mary Jane Fate from Rampart (#107) appointed in 1993. Out of 155 appointments through 2015, 13 (including one student regent) have been Alaska Native – ten men, and three women. The State of Alaska governor is tasked with appointing regents to fill an 11-member board, followed by official confirmation by the Alaska Legislature. Currently, there are three Alaska Natives serving on the UA BOR – all with strong affiliations with ANCSA corporations or major tribal consortia.

The University of Alaska (UA) Statewide office in Fairbanks houses the president who administers the statewide system, serves as the official spokesperson for the university, and reports to the Board of Regents as an executive officer to the board. Chancellors (chief executive officers), provosts (chief academic officers), and vice presidents provide guidance on statewide cross-institutional issues. Faculty, staff, student, and alumni representatives serve on the UA Statewide System Governance Council 2014 as part of a shared governance structure.

In addition to University of Alaska's internal administrative and advisory structures, the State of Alaska serves as part of the larger governance structure, appropriating funding to the UA system annually. Economic concerns often drive legislative priorities and budget appropriations, serving to support, challenge, and/or constrain higher education governance and decision-making in any given year.

To date, only one Alaska Native has served at the University of Alaska Statewide executive level. In 1976, the late Elaine Ramos (Tlingit) was appointed vice president of Rural Educational Affairs (REA), charged with overseeing four rural community colleges and the Alaska Native Language Center (Jennings 1994, p. 123). Alaska Native legislators and the Alaska Federation of Natives

(AFN), a statewide consortium of the 229 federally-recognized Alaska Native tribes, were particularly concerned with the lack of support for rural students. The establishment of REA was largely due to the efforts of Alaska Native legislators, Regent Sam Kito, Jr. and AFN. Ramos’ position was controversial as the institution did not view her as qualified to serve without a PhD (despite her previous administrative experience), and university governance questioned the need for REA. This resulted in Ramos’ reassignment just months later in that year (Jennings 1994, pp. 128–129). The late Ms. Ramos’ appointment to this level, as a “first and only” example is not part of the institution’s public history on its website. Considering the University of Alaska’s commitments to Alaska Native peoples and diversity, this information is significant to the University of Alaska’s public discourse.

We discuss additional examples of institutional priorities and public discourse in the following sections, including accreditation documents, BOR minutes documenting the official naming of Troth Yeddha’ Park on the UAF campus, and student activism resulting in programs and initiatives supporting Alaska Native students.

Service to Rural and Alaska Native Peoples: Institutional Priorities

The University of Alaska Fairbanks has a significant percentage of Alaska Native students – 20.1% as of Fall 2016 – and publicly stated responsibilities to Alaska Native peoples. Core themes within UAF’s Strategic Plan (2014) include a commitment to “incorporate traditional and local knowledge more fully in appropriate curricula at every level from college preparation to graduate programs” (p. 3) and “double the number of Alaska Native graduate students” (p. 5). UAF’s Academic Plan (2007) highlights the institution’s pledge to provide “service to rural and Alaska Native peoples. . . as central to the strategic direction of UAF” (p. 1); as well as fostering “the success of Alaska Native students and research concerning Alaska Native peoples, including documentation and preservation of languages and culture” (p. 2).

University of Alaska’s “Shaping Alaska’s Future” (SAF) published in 2014 is part of a strategic directions initiative designed to shape policy at each of the major administrative units and affiliated rural campuses. Key statements referencing Alaska Native peoples, cultures, languages, and knowledge include:

- UA recruitment, retention and graduation rates are low, especially for disadvantaged and minority populations and for Alaska Natives. Effect: UA graduates reflect the diversity of Alaska (p. 7).
- Some Alaska Native languages and cultural traditions are endangered. Many communities do not have sufficient resources to safeguard and nurture culture and the arts, so UA plays a vital role in preserving and advancing this knowledge and these traditions. Effect: UA is a major center of culture and the arts in Alaska and is a center of excellence for Alaska Native and indigenous research and scholarship (p. 13).
- Circumpolar communities are experiencing rapid social and economic transformation. . . these communities need research-based and indigenous knowledge in

order to adapt. UA has the expertise to assist these communities, and to do so must effectively communicate with those who need it. Effect: Alaskans and their communities use research-based information, enriched by traditional knowledge, to successfully adapt to change (p. 13).

There are a number of problematic orientations in the SAF document: these include deficit assumptions regarding Alaska Native people's abilities to maintain their cultures and languages, and the overtly hierarchical separation of research-based and Indigenous knowledge. Engagement of research "enriched by traditional knowledge" also poses challenges in terms of Indigenous ownership of cultural and intellectual property.

Fulfilling commitments articulated in mission, vision, and strategic planning documents continues to be a decolonization challenge in the absence of adequate numbers of Indigenous peoples in governance positions who can shape recruitment, teaching, research, and service policies, with and for Alaska Native communities. As stated previously, the University of Alaska Fairbanks has a significant number of Alaska Native students and this information is easily accessible on UAF's website. However, information on the institution's faculty or staff ethnic diversity is not readily available. Indigenous faculty have never exceeded 5% of total faculty numbers; and faculty numbers are ambiguous since there are several different categories of faculty, including permanent (tenured) faculty, those eligible for a permanent position (tenure-track), and term/temporary employees. Administrative staff contribute in major ways to university governance through participation on staff councils at each MAU, and have significant impacts on student experiences; these impacts include course advising, registration services, and financial aid.

In the next section, we return to the sacred landscape, Troth Yeddha', re-examining the UA Board of Regents' public discourse centering on Alaska Native peoples.

A Cultural Centering Point: Troth Yeddha' Park

In 2008, the University of Alaska Board of Regents (BOR) approved the official naming of Troth Yeddha' Park – located on UAF's West Ridge. BOR minutes describe the park as follows:

A permanent and culturally expressive place that honors Alaska Native heritage and offers a cultural centering point for all Alaska Native students, staff and faculty on the UAF campus. . .Troth Yeddha' Park dedicates open space on the UAF campus to Alaska Native history and culture and confirms the University's commitment to incorporating indigenous culture into higher education while also addressing their aspiration to develop a model of how cultural diversity strengthens a university and society. (University of Alaska Board of Regents Official Minutes 2008, p. 13–14)

Through establishing an official park, UAF governance committed to the following goals:

An increase in Alaska Native student retention and graduation rates; an increase in Alaska Native student perception of cultural sensitivity and awareness at UAF; an increase in knowledge about Alaska Native cultures and history among UAF students, faculty and staff; and, increased preparation among Alaska Native students for entry into both the rural and urban Alaskan workforce. (p. 15)

The Troth Yeddha' Park naming echoes objectives and outcomes in UAF's current strategic and academic plans regarding diversity, and Alaska Native intellectual spaces and places. Individuals and organizations within and outside the UAF governance structure contributed to the Troth Yeddha' reclamation discourse, including the Chancellor's Advisory Committee on Native Education (discussed in a subsequent section) and Doyon, Limited (an ANCSA corporation). As we continued our investigation into institutional priorities and public discourse, we find an ongoing trend of Alaska Native engagement in UAF governance positions, in collaboration with external advocates and allies from corporate, nonprofit, and tribal organizations as noted by Jennings (2004, 1994).

Student Discourse: Support, Advocacy, and Activism

In researching the mission of serving Native students at UAF, Olga Skinner notes a broad deficit discourse regarding Alaska Natives – what she characterizes as an “aversion to serving Alaska Native students historically.” Jennings (1994) argues that “the University of Alaska made educational provisions for rural residents [the majority of whom were Alaska Native] only after the intervention of Alaska Native leadership” (p. 92), and elements of this aversion are present in Jennings interview data. However, Jennings overlooks student voice in several initiatives, including the formation of Student Orientation Services.

In 1969, 28 UAF Alaska Native students became major activists in governance while advocating for rural support. The Alaska State Legislature passed House Concurrent Resolution No. 56, which required that the university offer services to support rural students – most of whom are Alaska Native. Student Orientation Services was initially funded by oil companies and employed one counselor and a half-time secretary. In 1985, the name was changed to Rural Student Services (RSS) in response to university restructuring, as well as concern in the Native community that the acronym SOS reinforced deficit assumptions and discourse surrounding Alaska Native students.

In terms of public discourse, RSS recognizes the students involved in the formation of SOS on their website. This activist legacy resulted in a department within the College of Rural and Community Development that serves over 550 students mentored by four academic advisors. RSS offers comprehensive, holistic, student-centered advising to a wide range of prospective and current undergraduate students. Advisors – several of whom are Alaska Native – are informed on Alaska Native peoples and cultures statewide, and carefully attend to students' academic, cultural, and social development, including assisting with the transition from rural

sites to Fairbanks, navigating through university governance/bureaucratic systems, and educating on the multiple support systems available to UAF students. In terms of UAF's mission and governance priorities, however, service to rural and Alaska Native peoples, as part of desired Indigenous outcomes (Moreton-Robinson et al. 2011), may be limited due to limited advising staff serving a large rural student body.

Rural Student Services sponsors several Alaska Native student organizations, many of which began as a result of student discourse and advocacy. One such organization is the Alaska Native Education Student Association, which began as a result of a grading controversy described later in this chapter. Other organizations arose out of student interest in Alaska Native dance, the arts, and native games. Some organizations that began out of student interest for science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) and business, have led to connections to larger national and international organizations. In the late 1980s, Alaska Native students interested in the science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) fields began organizing and formally chartered a chapter of the American Indian Science & Engineering Society (AISES) in 1989.

In addressing our earlier questions around institutional priorities and Indigenous governance, much of the research on higher education in Alaska overlooks student governance and activism in initiating and shaping institutional priorities. In the next section, we discuss the formation of the Chancellor's Advisory Committee on Native Education – also initiated through student discourse and activism.

Institutional Practices and Diversity: The Chancellor's Advisory Committee on Native Education

Mission statement: The Chancellor's Advisory Committee on Native Education [CACNE] shall serve as an advocacy body for the Alaska Native body at the University of Alaska Fairbanks. The committee shall provide guidance and advice to the Chancellor on Native issues and in the planning, monitoring and improvement of educational opportunities at the University of Alaska Fairbanks for Alaska Native students. The body will meet on a regular basis throughout the school year to discuss and make recommendations on issues and problems that affect Alaska Native education.

CACNE was initiated in 1992 by UAF's Alaska Native student body and faculty, in response to disruptive, deficit, and damaging statewide discourse surrounding a faculty member's public allegations of preferential grading standards for Alaska Native students. Perry Gilmore, David Smith and Yup'ik scholar *Apacuar* Larry Kairaiuak (Gilmore et al. 2004) examined this grading controversy in an effort to "raise the level of discourse from one about individuals, specific programs, and groups to one which focuses on a critical examination of institutional practices that consciously and unconsciously undermine diversity and nurture white privilege" (p. 273). The controversy made newspaper headlines statewide over a seven-month period in 1991 and 1992, with students and members of Alaska Native community advocating for a serious inquiry and resolution of the allegation. For Alaska Native students, "grades, diplomas, and academic successes [continue to be]...valued

personal accomplishments owned and celebrated by . . . their extended families and communities" (Gilmore et al. 2004, p. 278).

The UAF chancellor eventually acknowledged that "students, specifically including Native students, earn the grades and credentials they receive. . . The controversy was unfortunate, and on behalf of the University of Alaska, I apologize to the Native students for any discomfort they may have felt" (Gilmore et al. 2004, p. 276). Gilmore et al. recognize that there have been many changes in the institution's governance structure since 1992 resulting in positive initiatives for Alaska Native students however advocate vigilance "in locating, identifying, and resisting institutional policies and practices that may on the surface look neutral but are actually organized around hierarchical race politics" (p. 280). With the assistance of CACNE and other advocates in Alaska Native higher education, University of Alaska governance has since more publicly committed to Alaska Native students and communities in its mission, vision, and strategic discourses.

CACNE membership includes UAF faculty, students, and Fairbanks community members including community representatives from the Fairbanks Native Association, Tanana Chiefs Conference, and the Fairbanks school district's Alaska Native Education Program Coordinator. CACNE's mission statement and advocacy role are publicly acknowledged on the chancellor's website. As part of the chancellor's governance and advisory structure, the committee meets monthly to discuss issues concerning students, faculty/staff, programmatic, and budget challenges.

In 2015, CACNE mission statement and by-laws were re-examined by the committee, and Beth Leonard noted weaknesses in the current discourse, specifically the section stating the committee "shall provide guidance and advice to the Chancellor on Native issues. . ." In an email to the committee she asked if the wording might contain a more definitive statement, for example, "the Chancellor will critically attend to the recommendations of CACNE in recognition of the committee members' significant role as advocates and allies in Alaska Native student recruitment, retention and mentoring" (B. Leonard, personal communication, 25 Sep 2015). Revisions to the mission statement and by-laws have yet to be finalized by the committee and current chancellor, and it is unclear as to whether the chancellor may be amenable to a self-determination discourse that affords the committee more power and influence. However, as referenced in the previous discussion of Troth Yeddha' Park, CACNE members are often affiliated with larger power structures, and continue to influence university discourse and governance on multiple levels.

Native Ways of Knowing, Indigenous Knowledges, and Governance in Higher Education

In addressing our question around institutional priorities and Alaska Native peoples, and considering the Moreton-Robinson et al. (2011) criteria around embedding IK in strategies, programs, and objectives (p. 5), in this section, we examine the origins of UAF programs teaching about, with, and/or for Alaska Native peoples.

Alaska Natives have long advocated for authentic programs and coursework, prioritizing these initiatives during and after passage of the 1971 Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (Jennings 1994, p. 94). In 1970, responding to academic interest in minority and ethnic groups, a unit on Alaska Native history was included in the Seminar in Northern Studies course and formal programming began that year under the first Alaska Native Studies director – the late Tlingit scholar Walter Sobeloff who directed the program until 1974. Another Tlingit scholar, Dennis Demmert, continued development of the program. In 1981, the Alaska Native Studies degree was established under Director Michael Gaffney and housed in the College of Liberal Arts.

A broader focus on Native Ways of Knowing/Indigenous Knowledges began in the 1990s, fueled in part by the late Yup'ik scholar *Angayuqaq* Oscar Kawagley, including publication of “A Yupiaq worldview: A pathway to ecology and spirit” (Kawagley 1995). Evolving from a number of earlier projects by Indigenous scholars/educators, and heavily influenced by Kawagley's work, the Alaska Rural Systemic Initiative (AKRSI) began in 1995, funded by the National Science and Annenberg foundations through the Alaska Federation of Natives (AFN). This research initiative was designed to integrate Native Ways of Knowing into classroom content with an overarching goal of improving student achievement in Alaska's precollege classroom systems (Barnhardt 2012). One of AKRSI's legacies is the Alaska Native Knowledge Network (2011), a nationally and internationally recognized database of Indigenous curriculum resources housed at UAF's Center for Cross-Cultural Studies. The ANKN database contributes directly to the university's commitments to diversity, traditional knowledge, and Indigenous/Alaska Native cultures.

In terms of higher education governance and research priorities, Barnhardt's and Kawagley's decision to collaborate with AFN, thereby insuring that the research dollars (\$15 million total) were controlled by the tribal consortium, was controversial within the UA system. We can speculate that the reasons for this controversy related to control of resources – both monetary and intellectual – including deficit ideologies around Alaska Native peoples' capabilities to govern complex projects.

Also noteworthy is Kawagley's 1995 pilot videoconference course, Native Ways of Knowing housed in both the education and Alaska Native studies programs. Native Ways of Knowing engaged multiple University of Alaska sites and was televised throughout Alaska. Kawagley's approach allowed an open space for the exploration of how Alaska Native values, oral traditions, pedagogy, subsistence practices, and other cultural aspects generate Alaska Natives' unique systems of knowing being and doing, including how these systems were often traumatically impacted by Western education, disease, displacement, forced removal, and other events (Napoleon 1996).

In 2002, graduate coursework – including Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Documenting Indigenous Knowledge – became core courses in the Cross-Cultural Studies (CCS) master's program. Enrollments include students from diverse disciplines, for example, education, rural development, northern studies, anthropology, natural resources management, psychology, and interdisciplinary studies. The

College of Rural and Community Development and Center for Cross-Cultural Studies now house much of the coursework and programs that focus on Alaska Native peoples at the UAF campus. Coursework regularly taught by Alaska Native scholars includes Cultural Knowledge of Alaska Native Elders, Native Ways of Knowing, Native Ways of Healing, and Indigenous Philosophies. Course enrollments illustrate an inter- and transdisciplinary expansion of institutional places and spaces for IK and Alaska Native Ways of Knowing.

Alaska Native Self-Determination: The UAF Indigenous Studies PhD Program

. . .Alaska Native faculty members at all Alaska colleges and universities are in chronically short supply. . .and, whereas, a strong, cohesive and coherent effort is needed to draw university and other private and public resources together. . .to prepare a cohort of Alaska Native scholar/leaders with the in-depth knowledge and skills to address the special needs of Alaska, and to link those efforts to the educational developments of other indigenous peoples. (Alaska Federation of Natives 2004)

In her discussion of the Alaska Native Scholars Project, Perea (2013) proposes a "tribalography of presence" (p. 5), a counter-discourse challenging "double absence" (p. 3) that continue to shadow Alaska Native and Indigenous peoples. Perea's documentation of the presence of Alaska Native PhDs in academia (building on unpublished work by Ray Barnhardt n.d.) illustrates a continuing underrepresentation of Alaska Native peoples in higher education faculty and governance positions. This challenge has been an active discussion among Alaska Native governance and leadership, many of whom are networked globally with other Indigenous peoples, and are fully aware of the "Māori 500 PhD initiative" (Villegas 2010).

In 2009, the UA Board of Regents approved the Indigenous Studies PhD Program. International and national networking and advocacy were critical to this initiative, in particular the efforts of Māori scholar Graham Smith and Lumbee scholar Bryan Brayboy. As advocates and allies in Alaska Native higher education in the 2000s, Smith and Brayboy met with executive level administrators in the University of Alaska system including the late Vice-Chancellor Bernice Joseph, former School of Education Dean Eric Madsen, and key faculty including Ray Barnhardt who had been promoting Indigenous studies programming at UAF. As globally recognized scholars, Smith and Brayboy utilized critical quantitative methods in presenting their case to former University of Alaska President Mark Hamilton; that is, as of 2007, UAF had succeeded in graduating only four Alaska Native PhDs in the institution's 80+-year history of granting degrees (1970, 1998, 1999, and 2007). We recall their words to President Hamilton were "we think you [the UA system] can do better."

Smith has a strong history of advocacy in Alaska Native education; he was the keynote speaker for the 2003 and 2010 Alaska Federation of Natives conventions, and the inaugural Alaska Native Studies Conference (ANSC) in 2013. Brayboy

served as President's Professor of Alaska Native Education from 2007–2012 and is currently University of Arizona Borderlands Professor of Indigenous Education and Justice. He continues in an advocacy role as well, serving as a committee member for Indigenous Studies PhD students and assisting faculty in research and publications. The Alaska Native Studies Council presented Brayboy with an Excellence in Advocacy and Leadership in Indigenous Higher Education award during the 2016 ANSC hosted by the University of Alaska Anchorage.

As a result of Indigenous Studies and Alaska Native programs and faculty who embed Indigenous knowledge in the institution, the university affords students opportunities to authentically engage Alaska Native Knowledge Systems. These programs privilege Alaska Native ways of knowing and assist students in building identities as Indigenous scholars. Through coursework, students explore previous academic experiences – often overwhelmingly Eurocentric – and engage methods that situate Indigenous knowledge in respectful ways.

Indigenous Knowledges and Alaska Native Ways of Knowing are currently embedded in programmatic coursework and some governance structures due to students, faculty, administrators, allies, and advocates who participate and have direct influence on university executive functions. The UAF College of Rural and Community Development currently employs the largest number of Alaska Native faculty in the University of Alaska system and is governed by a Gwich'in Dene' vice chancellor. The University of Alaska Anchorage (UAA) recently hired six Alaska Native faculty in diverse fields including engineering, biology, medical education, and Alaska Native Studies, and appointed Haida scholar Jeane *Táaw Xíwaa* Breinig as interim associate vice chancellor for Alaska Natives and diversity. The University of Alaska Southeast in Juneau includes three Alaska Native faculty and staff as well as Tlingit scholar Joe Nelson who serves as vice chancellor of enrollment management and student affairs. Institutional academic and strategic plans reflect an improvement in governance and cultural competence discourses from previous decades. However, Alaska Native faculty numbers remain at less than 5% statewide, and questions remain as to if and how the University of Alaska authentically engages IK and Alaska Native Ways of Knowing *outside* of Alaska Native and Indigenous studies programs.

The Alaska Native Studies Council

The Alaska Native Studies Council began as a statewide effort among Alaska Native faculty at each of the University of Alaska campuses. As Alaska Native faculty are underrepresented, the purpose of the Council was to provide support for Alaska Native programs statewide, and assist with efforts to transform K-12 and higher education to better serve Alaska Native students. As an active member, Tlingit scholar and University of Alaska Southeast (UAS) faculty Lance *X'hunei* Twitchell initiated discussions around organization of the Alaska Native Studies Conference in 2012. In 2013, the first conference, organized and governed by University of Alaska faculty including Maria *Shaa Tláa* Williams (Tlingit), Jeane *Táaw Xíwaa* Breinig

(Haida), and Sharon *Chilux* Lind (Aleut), was an international event that drew more than 300 attendees, including executive level leadership. Former University of Alaska Statewide President Patrick Gamble issued the following statement for the conference proceedings:

The University of Alaska takes great pride in having supported another important milestone in our efforts to uphold the institutional responsibility we owe to the Native citizens of Alaska. . . . The University of Alaska is endowed with a premier cadre of brilliant Indigenous scholars. Now they have organized themselves into a forceful academic voice for promoting the university's many and varied Native Alaskan interests and I expect to see all three major administrative units in the University of Alaska system derive significant overall mission benefits. . . . I fully support their initiative. (Gamble 2014, pp. xi–xii)

In his statement, President Gamble reiterates the general discourse around institutional responsibilities to Native peoples, however also initiates a new discourse that publicly acknowledges the contributions of Alaska Native and Indigenous scholars to the University of Alaska's mission.

Engaging the Four "Rs": Recommendations for Governance and Research

American Indians and Alaska Natives are among the least studied groups within higher education research. Much of the existing research is situated within a positivist paradigm that utilizes the values of middle-class white men and often engages a linear, fragmented view of development (Evans et al. 2010). Significant to the UA's responsibilities to Alaska Natives and diversity discourse is authentic inquiry into the college experiences of Indigenous students, utilizing decolonizing and humanizing methodologies (Paris and Winn 2014) to document student voices and perspectives (Brayboy et al. 2012; Shotton et al. 2013). This approach is endorsed by other Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers in a range of past scholarly literature, including Cree scholar Verna Kirkness and Ray Barnhardt (Kirkness and Barnhardt 2001) who examined higher education trends in the United States and Canada. Barnhardt and Kirkness found deficit discourses and continuing assimilative policies toward Native students; their recommendations to counter attrition and retention include engagement of the four Rs – respect, relevance, reciprocity, and responsibility. Citing Ron Scollon's (1981) research on Alaska Native students, the authors endorse authentic institutional responsiveness to Alaska Native needs, rather than orientations toward invulnerability that often mark unresponsiveness; this stance resonates in the following quote from Garland and McClellan (2013):

. . . unless the majority of members in an organization understand the unique structural and organizational barriers to full organizational participation by *all* its members, especially those from historically small and marginalized populations, the organization will never achieve the social justice, equity and inclusive ethos it envisions. (p. 159)

Indigenous peoples' experiences in higher education are conceptualized in myriad ways including walking in two worlds (a metaphor challenged by Henze and Vanett 1993), cultural discontinuity (Ortiz and HeavyRunner 2003), biculturalism/bicultural efficacy (LaFramboise et al. 1993), and transculturation (Huffman 2001). Researchers have examined how Indigenous peoples successfully maintain their identities while navigating Western systems, in contrast to those anchored in Indigenous identity but estranged from Western higher education. Aikenhead and Jegede (1999) and other scholars advocate a process of culture-brokering, to facilitate "border crossings. . .for Aboriginal students by acknowledging students' personal preconceptions and Aboriginal worldviews that have a purpose in, or connection to, students' everyday culture" (p. 6).

Alaska Native leaders continue to advocate for Alaska Native cultures and concerns in higher education. In her keynote speech to the 2005 Alaska Federation of Natives, the late Vice Chancellor Bernice Joseph (2010) described programmatic initiatives that incorporate Indigenous knowledge. She also highlighted examples of Alaska Native science's contributions to Western knowledge, referencing the Inupiat knowledge of bowhead whale populations that positively influenced subsistence policy changes in the 1970s and 1980s (p. 123). Joseph also emphasized the continuing work ahead including the need to grow our own policymakers and collaborative efforts necessary "to keep rural Alaska a viable place to live" (p. 124).

In the following section, we examine an Indigenous governance paradigm that extends previous conceptualizations and paradigms utilizing self-determination (Jones-Sparck 2010, p. 325) and sovereignty discourses; connecting Indigenous governance with IK, human development, identity, and sacred landscapes.

Working to Achieve Awareness: Self-Determination, Sovereignty, and Governance

A common thread that connects Alaska Native cultures is the complex knowledge required to survive and thrive is all of Alaska's diverse landscapes. Though times have changed significantly since contact with European peoples, education remains a priority for Alaska Natives, and Indigenous peoples worldwide look to higher education to assist with self-determination, sovereignty, and cultural survival. Education, however, remains a continuing "site of struggle" (Villegas et al. 2008, pp. 7–8) for Alaska Native peoples as they seek self-determination and sovereignty through collaboration and official roles in higher education governance.

Bryan Brayboy, Amy Fann, Angelina Castagno, and Jessica Solyom (Brayboy et al. 2012) describe sovereignty as "the inherent right of tribal nations to direct their futures and engage the world in ways that are meaningful to them"; while self-determination is defined as the "engagement" or "operationalization" of sovereignty (p. 17). In earlier sections, we referenced the shaping of physical landscapes and intellectual thought worlds juxtaposed with the concept of education as a sacred learning landscape and a cultural centering point (UA Board of Regents 2008). In this section, we propose that our institution recenter Indigenous landscapes and

intellectual thought worlds through engaging Alaska Native theories of human development, identity, and place in higher education governance.

Chief Peter John's story of Troth Yeddha' honors Dene' oral traditions and draws attention to the ways in which governance and pedagogy are connected to place, identity through the practice of traditional activities. Worldviews connecting place, identity, knowledge, and wisdom are shared among the diverse Alaska Native cultures, as well as among many Indigenous groups globally. In the introduction of "Being and Place among the Tlingit," fisherman Gabriel George states, "these lands are vital not only to our subsistence, but also to our sense of being as Tlingit people" (Thornton 2008, p. 3). From Indigenous perspectives, land, rather than being viewed as a commodity by western systems, is instead seen as sentient, and bearer of knowledge, wisdom, and identity (see Basso 1996 for additional discussion). Additionally, *T'akteintaan* Elder Ken Grant states, "*Lyee sakoowo saawx' ch'a tleix ee jeedax goox la haashee koosteeyi*," "if you don't know the names [of places], your Tlingit way of life will drift away forever" (Thornton 2008, p. 73). These quotes align with Chief John's narrative regarding the importance of Troth Yeddha' as a meeting place where "the grandfathers used to come to talk and give advice to one another. . . a place where good thinking a working together would happen." Chief John's statements serve to reaffirm Indigenous knowledges regarding connections among place, identity, pedagogy, and governance.

Alaska Native cultures view the world as interconnected; these connections include the spiritual world[s], the physical landscapes, and human behavior. Individual human actions can affect human and nonhuman beings and processes in the environment. The concept of interconnection is present in the Yup'ik base term, *ella*. Yup'ik scholars *Angayuqaq* Oscar Kawagley (1995, p. 14) and *Arevgaq* Theresa John (2009, pp. 60–61) provide multiple contextual definitions for "*Ella*," including "awareness," "consciousness," "weather," "atmosphere," "sky," "world," and "creative force." These terms are related to specific processes, specifically, *ellangellemni*, that is, "when I became aware" and *ellangcarturtua* – "I am working to achieve awareness."

Yup'ik pedagogy includes *qanruyuutet*, "advice," and *qulirat* and *qanemcit*, "stories." Through these methods, *Arevgaq* Theresa John (2009) describes the great power of the mind, the care that individuals need to give their minds, and how to achieve awareness. *Yuuyaraq* – "the way of the human being" – is the proper use of the mind, and path toward achieving balance in surroundings and life. Yup'ik scholar Harold Napoleon (1991) describes *yuuyaraq* as:

The correct way of thinking and speaking about all living things, especially the great sea and land mammals on which the Yup'ik relied for food, clothing, shelter, tools, kayaks, and other essentials. . . . *Yuuyaraq* prescribed the correct method of hunting and fishing and the correct way of handling all fish and game caught by the hunter in order to honor and appease their spirits and maintain a harmonious relationship with them. (p. 5)

Kawagley's tetrahedron (Kawagley 1995, p. 15) shows the relationship of the human realm, the spiritual realm, and the natural realm and the connection to the

universe and the circle of life. This diagram also includes *self, family, and mindfulness* illustrating connections to the concept of “awareness” or “consciousness.”

Considering institutional discourse that prioritizes diversity, and responsibilities to Alaska Native peoples, cultures, and knowledges, Alaska Native philosophies examining way[s] of the human being and processes of achieving critical awareness have profound implications for Indigenous governance in higher education. A conscientization (Freire 2002) of Indigenous origins of place woven together with pedagogy and identity is underrepresented in University of Alaska’s governance systems and course offerings. Alaska Native students pursuing higher education at the University of Alaska continue to encounter barriers as they seek to maintain their origins of place while expanding their knowledge of Western systems. These barriers manifest in myriad ways including lower retention and graduation rates for Alaska Natives than other ethnic groups – although, that being said, student tracking is often restricted to a 6-year timeline that constrains definitions of success for many students who may only have part-time/partial access to higher education.

Conclusion and Future Directions

In this essay, we discuss institutional discourse as related to Indigenous governance practices at the University of Alaska. Our examples highlight institutional responsibilities to Alaska Native peoples, including increased recruitment, retention, and mentoring of Alaska Native students, incorporation of Indigenous culture and knowledge into higher education, and continued documentation and preservation of Alaska Native languages. Our analysis responds to the question of how Indigenous governance is conceptualized and engaged in a Western institution with limited Indigenous representation at the executive, faculty and staff, levels. We apply the Moreton-Robinson et al. (2011) framework in assessing participation and direct influence on university executive functions as well as how Indigenous outcomes are met through embedding Indigenous knowledge within the university’s operations. Utilizing this framework, we find that Indigenous participation, places, and intellectual spaces exist within University of Alaska governance systems. Broad statewide, national, and international relationships/networks assist in advocacy efforts that influence institutional priorities and responsibilities toward Alaska Native peoples. Alaska Native seats at the governance table have been building slowly since Alaska Native coursework and programming began in the 1970s.

Brayboy et al. (2014) argue that the unique relationship of tribal nations with the United States extends to institutions of higher education, and that “these relationships are centered on sovereignty and self-determination” (p. 579). Indigenous governance in the University of Alaska system, although present, is constrained by the underrepresentation of Alaska Native faculty, executive and administrative staff, and research oversight positions. And this underrepresentation may further impede Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination for Alaska Native nations and communities. Alaska Native students often pursue higher education for the purposes of community betterment, and Alaska Native nations trust in the University of Alaska

system to deliver authentic and effective programming in all fields of study, including Alaska Native and Indigenous studies. The significance of this unique relationship includes the recognition and realization of the tribal nations’ desired outcomes, which parallels student goals of community betterment. Higher education is, however, of “little use” if these students are unable to gain “firsthand knowledge and understanding of Native institutions, communities and values” (Brayboy et al. 2014 p. 590). Andersen et al. (2008) emphasize that institutions should view Indigenous higher education as “core university business and not just the responsibility of the Indigenous centres” (p. 4) including placement of Indigenous faculty throughout the institution. Chippewa scholar Duane Champagne (2015) further distinguishes Indigenous studies as “a paradigm distinct from current intellectual disciplines and ethnic studies” adding that “present-day nation-state political theory and institutional capabilities” are incapable of addressing Indigenous peoples’ goals of “civil rights. . . self-government and territory [stewardship]” (p. 106). These multilayered challenges necessitate continued activism and vigilance (Gilmore et al. 2004) as Alaska Natives work toward equitable representation and governance in higher education.

Supporting Jones-Sparck’s (2010) call for Alaska Native self-determination and sovereignty – an authentic Indigenous governance at the University of Alaska requires further engagement with the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP 2008) regarding education, land, and cultural and intellectual property rights. Article 14 calls for local Indigenous control of education and pedagogy “. . . in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning” (p. 7). Indigenous control of higher education continues to be challenging. However, collaborative and shared governance between Western institutions and Indigenous communities is progressing with Alaska Native representation on the Board of Regents and in executive level positions. Considering the institution’s goals of engaging Indigenous and local knowledges, and supporting language and cultural documentation, attention to UNDRIP Article 11 (p. 6) that addresses traditional and cultural property rights is needed.

Finally, Troth Yeddha’ and the traditional names of campus sites as significant origins of place and Indigenous spiritual sites (UNDRIP Article 25, p. 10) – with long histories of occupation and use (UNDRIP Article 26, p. 10) by Alaska’s Indigenous peoples – play critical roles in the institution’s history and contemporary contexts as related to discourses around service to Alaska Native peoples. Building on these and higher education recommendations from Indigenous scholars referenced in this chapter, recommendations for Alaska Native higher education include access to authentic Indigenous programming and coursework that reinforces connections to culture, knowledge, and place. Access to Indigenous programming should cut across University of Alaska programs, not be limited to the College of Rural and Community Development, Alaska Native Studies or the Indigenous Studies PhD programs. In light of the history of colonization in Alaska and the Americas, and broad recommendations of UNDRIP, the entire student body would benefit from an exploration of Alaska Native worldviews and intellectual thought worlds; including the recentering of Troth Yeddha’ and other Indigenous spaces

occupied by the University of Alaska Anchorage and the University of Alaska Southeast. Executive administrators, faculty, and staff also need ongoing, critical professional development in order to implement policy in academic and strategic planning documents related to Alaska Native knowledges, cultures, and student access and success.

In this case study, we highlight evidence of Alaska Native governance at the University of Alaska, and broad institutional commitments to recruiting, retaining, and mentoring Alaska Native students and engaging Indigenous Knowledges. As well, we provide specific recommendations for accomplishing institutional goals. We also attend to more broadly to global recommendations around reshaping assimilationist models, for example, Champagne's (2015) recommendations around institutional engagement of "the goals, world views and policy positions of indigenous peoples" (p. 105). In terms of student outcomes, Andersen et al. (2008) maintain that Indigenous "students should emerge from higher education with a stronger sense of their human worth, their specific identity along with their ability to achieve" (p. 4). Re-envisioning and reshaping institutional discourses and governance in higher education is an ongoing challenge; however, many within the UA system recognize the power of Alaska Native communities, especially the influence of the business community, and the potential for constructive collaboration with Alaska Native peoples. With global networking and support systems among Indigenous groups, and strong advocacy and alliances among Alaska Natives statewide, we believe that Alaska Native peoples will continue to transform discourses and governance practices in higher education – actively "walk[in] in their own world" and "making the important decisions" (Jones-Sparck 2010, p. 325).

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African Indigenous Governance from a Spiritual Lens

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Abstract

This paper is a discussion of spirituality and governance. It seeks to question marketisation, commodification, and corporatization of belief systems. The paper argues that spirituality is fluid, political, contested and unsettled. In line of settlement of spirituality/ies, market rationalities in the name of religion creates neoliberal arrival; which is injurious to governance. The paper seeks to recognise African spiritualities as modelled and created through difference. Rituals and Indigenous practices informs spiritualities. To that end, spiritualities provides freedom of expressions. Commodified spirituality stifles, oppresses, and erases

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bodies under the guise of spiritual freedom. This paper argues corporate spirituality provides manufactured freedom; which stifles democratic governance.

Keywords

Governance · Spirituality/ies · African governance · Power · Market · Rationality · Anti-colonial

the kind of spirituality that is needed to facilitate full and meaningful participation of citizens requires an overhaul of the democratic project. This renewal journey will eschew the agenda that calls for a primary focus on protecting institutional survival and focus instead on being willing to risk creating space for people to express their felt needs and to find a common path to benefit the common good. (Hewitt 2014, p. 2)

Introduction

We are all spiritual beings and everything we do is mediated through our spiritual practices. Before colonization, our everyday life was interconnected and interwoven with every aspect of our life and this did not come to a halt when imperialism took control of all apparatus of various nations of the world. Different aspects of spiritual practices are engaged in various aspects of resistance. Spirituality therefore acquired another role as an organizing anticolonial praxis among the indigenous communities of the world. That is, Indigenous peoples of the world formed informal and formal resistances which were spiritually led. This led the way in centering their desire amidst colonial damage. Spirituality created possibilities of anticolonial forms of resistance. For instance, in Kenya, people embraced their African spiritualities without naming them. Mau Mau was an anticolonial indigenous government founded on Kenyan spirituality. Mau Mau emphasized freedom, liberty, and collective responsibility through ritualistic practices. Taking the oath for all members in the movement was a form of spiritual connection (Governance) for political emancipation (Mwanzia Koster 2016).

This chapter focuses on spirituality and Indigenous governance through an anticolonial framework. The purpose of this chapter is to explore Indigenous governance through a spiritual lens. This chapter argues that spirituality brings a complex and fluid balance in community governance, discusses the commonalities of Indigenous governance from different Indigenous groups of the world, and examines the importance of incorporating the mind, body, and spirit in Indigenous governance; allowing a celebration of difference and complexities of governance. The first section provides a brief overview of an anticolonial framework while connecting it to the argument of this chapter. The chapter looks at spirituality, its definition, and its applicability as a tool for governance. Later, this chapter examines spirituality and Indigenous governance. In this part, we argue that spirituality is an instrument or a capillary of Indigenous governance.

Anticolonial Framework

An anticolonial framework recognizes spirituality as a foundation of every aspect of Indigenous peoples lives (Dei 2002; Wane 2002). The framework centers spirituality as a form of agency, resiliency, and resistance against colonial project (Wane 2002; Dei and Asgharzadeh 2001). It is a discourse that acknowledges the complex relationship between the mind, the body, and the spirit in decolonization. An anticolonial framework reworks and disturbs knowledges, spiritualities, and cultures towards disrupting power that perpetuate division between Indigenous people. The framework attempts to bring people together to open local, individual, and institutional forms of resistance against colonial processes (Benette 2003). Although some people might argue that we are developing, it ought to be remembered that the process of recolonization still persists. For example, in Africa, the idea of governance and establishment of social conditions conducive for progress erases voices from the grassroots through a military force or through socially constructed poverty. However, a resurgence of Indigenous Spirituality/ies in governance among grassroots, people has challenged the existing ecopolitical status quo. The anticolonial framework acknowledges that Indigenous governance focuses on complex mix of spiritualities.

The authors of this chapter come from colonized communities where they have witnessed the application of spirituality in governance and the subsequent damaging of local governments to create neocolonial governance. This erasure is manifested in education system, health, and many other indigenous ways of living. It is important and responsible to assert our knowing in processes of learning, governance, and teaching. As we engage in these dialogues, it is crucial that our engagement is holistic. Questions needs to be asked such as; What is it we would like to achieve in this chapter; do we want to write a chapter as another academic exercise, another assignment to create currency for our academic careers; do we want to play with words and discourses or do we want to write a counter-discourse on governance that is transformative and steeped in indigenous spiritual practices? Our aim for this chapter is to search for ways of troubling both the visible and invisible structures of governance that perpetuate colonialism and constant recolonization of the mind, body, and spirit. An anticolonial framework allows a genealogical excavation of ourselves and our communities. To that end, anticolonial is critical and reflective. Indigenous spirituality/ies is a tool and an instrument that has been used to map and govern indigenous spaces reflexively. Reflexive process considers politics of space and tools applies in orienting geographies. Anticolonial praxis and theory allows for the validation of emotionally defined knowledges as pivotal in governance.

Spirituality/ies as a Practice and Pedagogy

Spirituality as a component of Indigenous knowledge is complex, personal, and fluid (Carrette 2000; Graham et al. 2012). Spiritualities are political, crossover, non-foundational, and unstructured (Leon 2014). Indigenous spiritualities cannot be regulated and hence allow personal to become political and free. Nonregulation of

spirituality allows resistance. Indigenous spiritualities bring together the differences in beliefs to form a governing practice. On the other hand, governmentality of spirituality erases the personal as political. Spirituality is far broader than religion. Religion is institutionalization of spirituality for the market place (Zwissler 2007). Simply said, religion is the process of packaging and patenting spirituality through simplification for the sake of universalizing a belief system. Commodification of spirituality is colonial. Colonialism creates a hierarchy of beliefs systems as powerful and sellable to the public. Colonialism and science work together towards mapping certain beliefs as rational and others irrational. Religion being a scientific measure of spirituality identifies indigenous spiritualities as dangerous and in need of regulation. Colonialism erased Indigenous peoples' ways of life from the political space (Dei 2002; Wane 2002). This included Indigenous governance, spirituality, education, trading practices, relationships, and land and its relationship to people.

Spirituality as a praxis and pedagogy allows for self-expression (de Souza et al. 2016). It allows for self-determination and definition, which creates multiple expressions (spiritualities) and definitions, which frees the self. A free persona is a free community. As much as spirituality is personal (Koertner 2013; Owen 2012), it is a platform for strengthening the community agency and well-being (Nash and Stewart 2002). In colonial terms, spirituality as a practice belongs to spaces of indignation and outside state policy (Celermajer 2009). Being emotional is followed by regulation of the dangerousness and the damaged (Nyaga and Torres 2017). Such bodies and beliefs so defined as emotional are made public. Being made public is punitive and disciplinary (Foucault 1980). Colonialism is a technology of regulation, definition, and punishment of those spaces and bodies that lie outside the political prism of science/religion. Religion is a colonial and scientific improvement of the deviant and atypical into a universal civilized space of becoming.

The colonial government produced organized religion to the colonized subjects as a regulatory technology and a means of production. A case in point was the introduction of Western religion to the Indigenous peoples of Kenya, where spirituality became a public process of becoming civilized. It commodified and patented spirituality with a profit rational. When spirituality is made public rather than allowing it to become public, it becomes a practice and a tool to control, regulate, and discipline the subjugated bodies (Lewis and Geroy 2000). Religion is a measure of disembodiment of the self from the maternal and emotional instinct. It is a measure and a panoptic technology of managing bodies, societies, nations, and the land. Religion is what Foucault called governmentality and panoptic system of regulation of bodies, spiritualities, and spaces. Religion historically has been used as civilizational practice and thought (Memmi 1965).

Civilization as a colonial construct is barbaric, antagonistic, and ambivalent (Powell 2011; Razack 2015). Its ambivalence is understood by its barbaric pressure it inserts on the space and bodies it comes into contact. A case in point is the intense economic, cultural, and social pressure Indigenous peoples, women, disabled, racialized and others face under the guise of civilization. Residential school system in Canada is one among many historical ambivalences of civilizational project. Civilization and law walk hand in hand. They are both order and disorder.

Thielen-Wilson (2014) says that colonization has been the reason why we are divided and broken. Our being is taken away through denial of self-becoming; our spirituality is subsumed to be part of the organized religion. We are giving instructions when or how or what to bring to our ceremonies when we do them in public places. What many of us have failed to notice is that, colonialism as a system and practice works through ordering and simplification. The system believes in identifying through dualistic generalization. Colonialism as a practice and discourse defines normal bodies and spaces as rational and disembodies. Those bodies that are rational are expected to own the public sphere and those that are not are waste and belonging to the private sphere. The body becomes a space of scientific introspection and refinement. Those who cannot become colonially rational and pure are pronounced as deviant and expected to cannibalize themselves. They are falling outside the domain of civilization. They are expended as belonging to the state of nature where law is expendable.

Colonialism affected all aspects of Indigenous peoples' lives – spiritually, socially, culturally, and politically. We follow rules and regulations that continually colonize and damage us. We shelve our desires and envelop damage. Our desire is under colonial measure and erasure. As a practice, colonialism inscribes control and power over bodies and practices defined as emotional and irrational. Foucault (1980) says that power is felt when its illegality is felt on the marginal and local spaces. Under colonial rule, law as power becomes illegal when it is improving the damaged bodies. Aristotelian thought informs us that colonialism reduces the happiness of the human to that of a pig. It is when one cannot act or think as separate being that power becomes a technology of policing, decimation, and regulation. This controlled and measured of human becoming denies personal and “authentic” identity which is core in spirituality. Colonial measure seeks comfort, measurement, an end, and arrival rather than working in complexities. On the other hand, Indigenous spiritualities works even in complexities.

Losing control to self-actualization is alienating and estranging and a denial of human right (Padgett 2007; Wendling 2009). Religion as a colonial technology draws a roadmap that is outside the person and hence it objectifies the human (Fried 2001). By extension and intention, religion denies personal practice and becoming, and as a consequence, we are what Marx and Aristotle would call animals. The human becomes a body with no soul, a reflection of a robot. Religion becomes an opium and a technology to robotize the masses (Boer 2011). Spirituality unmaps religious automation and centers self-validation. To that end, spirituality is anticolonial and a pedagogy for self-government. This should not be seen as self-reclamation but rather a new becoming.

An “authentic” self is beyond and between the panoptic sphere. It is removed from the beam of surveillance that domesticates it under the illusion of freedom. Religion has historically been used as a caging institution for easy disciplinary power and control. Religion is a colonial technology of disciplining the colonized through domestication of their spirituality. According to Foucault, the panoptic prisoners do not intermingle with others. They are in their own individual cubicles physically, spiritually, or emotionally. Religion as a panoptic project imprints its

automating power consistently, continuously, and unverifiable on their skin of the colonized. Pastoral programs become a process of colonizing the mind, body, and soul. To that end, religion is a form of governmentality that is institutionalized and scientific. On the other hand, indigenous spiritualities espouses democratic governance by allowing difference, deregulation, and embracing personal spiritual complexities and reconciliation (Bento 2000).

Religion becomes illegal and visible by decimating Indigenous peoples' spiritual practices and by extending indigenous self-governance. Wane (2009) talks about her experiences in a boarding school when religion was introduced to her in grade 5. She was made to fear the unknown. It is what Foucault identifies as fear of the watch tower even when it is empty. That means that even with the absence of the prison warden in the watch tower, the prisoners continue to subject themselves to self-regulation. Wane says that the sound of a bell would automatically make her do the ritual of the sign of the cross. These colonial impositions have a psychological impact on us and our belief system.

Hewitt (2014) says that "Democracy, especially in the west, is accompanied by a lack of confidence and consensus, insecurity, deep introversion, a lack of concern, unwillingness to tackle anything and a lack of a consistent focus to resolve problems that affect the wellbeing of ordinary citizens" (p. 1). Denial to become human leads to dependence on the universal author of our becoming. The being is defined cognitively incompetent, lazy, untrustworthy, and in need of improvement (Memmi 1965). Beings so defined as dependent, internalize the discourse and as such expect to be helped by the rational bodies. Helping become a practice of saving the damaged from self-cannibalization. Religion and charity walk hand in hand. Charity in many instances is a process of harvesting on the pain of the damaged (Razack 2007). This colonial definition of the colonized stagnate a person by making them immobile and consequently regulatable (Memmi 1965). Language, naming, and defining become a technology of situating, pathologizing, and demobilizing the colonized (WaThing'o 1986). Religion as governmentality works along the line of creating pathologies on indigenous spiritualities. This allows the packaging and patenting of the true spirituality for the market even at the detriment and death of other spiritualities. Religion has a colonial and neocolonial rationality of measuring what is to be consumed by the public. Hewitt says that the neoliberal government focuses on serving its own selfish desires, which might run centrally to peoples' desires. Hewitt says that such a government focuses on colonial elevation of Western beliefs system at the pulpit of civilizing. One of the tactics of a colonial government is the claim that we are in a postcolonial era (Young 2001), yet we still see the ravages of residential school system in Aboriginal communities in Canada.

According to Fukuyama (2013), governance is defined as the "...ability to make and enforce rules, and to deliver services, regardless of whether that government is democratic or not" (p. 350). A democratic society has the responsibility to choose its leaders to make and enforce rules. Representational governance seeks to make rules and policies through democratically elected leaders. A political process of voting defines who is going to take the role of the many in determining how the society will be governed. This way of thinking and praxis fails to see the human self-seeking

character in the name of servant leadership (Coleman 2008; Strömbäck and Nord 2006). If we violate these rules and regulations, we suffer the consequences. It is about governing the body by a few masquerading as peoples' representatives.

In a colonial thought, the mind takes control and the body is controlled. The body is space to be conquered by the mind, and law necessitates the process of occupation (Clark 2001). The law is masculine and follows the mind. The mind is masculine and body is feminine. The mind is free to move, while the body is camped, domesticated, and controlled. Going by this thought, the indigenous spiritualities are bodies that are emotional, irrational, and social excesses. Since religion is marketable, organized, rational, and profitable, it occupies the mind. Science is used to claim religion as universal, which lead to imposition and fellowshipping by the masses, of the Western scientific spirituality as the truth (Clark 2001). This power is central in colonial governance. Religion becomes the law, the standard, and the measure of what is civilized and uncivilized. Just like the Foucauldian watch tower, the rules are supposed to regulate the body through its imposition and inscription on the skin.

However, in a neoliberal and colonial control, Indigenous spiritualities have been sites of agency and resistance. Spiritualities is an anti-colonial praxis and a thought that organizes and offers a governing rationale that is indigenous and local. Spiritualities have provided a transformative space for the subversion of colonial power and control (Adjei 2007; Shahjahan 2009; Torres and Nyaga 2015, 2016; Wane 2008a, b). Spiritualities allow for the centering of differences. As a praxis, spirituality brings communities together regardless of differences (Sheerattan-Bisnauth 2009). It is reciprocal based, relational, and respectful of other belief systems. Indigenous spiritualities looks at difference as strength and a decolonial asset for the marginalized communities. It accommodates individual difference without necessarily regulating them. Spiritualities are fluid and evolving allowing personal expressions and possibilities, a key necessity of governance. Subsequently, spiritually led governance is fluid and evolves across time and space.

Definition of Indigenous Governance

The centrality of Indigenous governance comes from the belief that everything that exists in the universe is important and has a purpose. Leaders recognize the existence of members of the society they serve. This recognition is embedded in the belief that an individual is a self-determining being with human happiness and right to know and exercise rights and duties (Aristotle 1984). That the personal is mentally, politically, and cognitively powerful. Indigenous governance enhances the strengths and differences among people. It works towards enabling rather than disabling. It centers local desires and works towards realizing individual dreams. Writing in the nature of Indigenous governance in Canada, Reeds (1999) says:

Most Aboriginal societies valued individual responsibility and independence, but they also believe in the importance of sharing. Cooperation was key and consensus was a central part of decision making. Indigenous leaders should be responsible to the needs and desires of

their people. Among the Siksika (Blackfoot), leaders gained recognition and authority on the basis of their courage, generosity, honesty, and wisdom. They governed only as long as they had the confidence of their people. (p. 10)

Indigenous governance is community based with all benefits reaching every member of the community. Indigenous governance is seen through the lens of community building (Farrelly 2011). Governance is a community-based art (Gwynn et al. 2015). Indigenous governance never settles and is fluid and temporal. This creates new possibilities and chances for all to inform the art of governance. It means that everyone has a stake in the writing of the story (Marx 1857/58, 1864; Stewart and Warn 2017). This temporality denies the privatization and patenting of governance. Since the artist has no ownership, then the art takes its own course and can be tweaked to fit situations and circumstances without holding the society captive. At every step of the way, the art becomes prone to correction and rewriting. It shows that leaders must accommodate, relate, share, and respect communities in order to govern (Price 2008). Participation of members in governance is crucial. Indigenous governance encourages a shared responsibility and commitment of service. Wangoola (2002) describes African Indigenous governance as:

For millennia, African communities were guided and driven by a world view and value system at the center of which was a closely intertwined trinity of forces, values, and considerations. The trinity consisted of spirituality, development, and politics with spirituality forming the base and controlling and informing everything that happened in the realm of development politics. In the African world view, social life was dominated by spirituality following which there was some development and a little politics. At the center of African spirituality... according to African spirituality, being is the perpetual flow of energy among animate and inanimate things and between all of these and the gods. (p. 265)

Wangoola succinctly describes African Indigenous governance through spirituality as the foundation of governance in Africa that shapes the society. Development and politics had a spiritual touch. African governance was a capillary between the living, nonliving, and nature. In addition, Basheka (2015) highlights the nature of African Indigenous governance:

involved strengthened decision-making and control over their organizations, and building on people's skills, personal and collective contributions, and shared commitment to an organization's chosen governance processes, goals and identity. Indigenous governance relates to the variety of skills, teachings, wisdom, ideas, perceptions, experiences, capabilities and insights of people, applied to maintain or improve the governance of society. (p. 470)

Basheka clearly describes the African Indigenous governance as reflexively empowering and transformational. Indigenous governance is based on enhancing and building the capacities of community members through decision-making processes. This makes individuals own the outcome of the deliberation. It does not only serve the few, but it caters for all the needs of the people. It is a government by the people and for the people.

In the Philippines, Tauli-Corpuz (2006), an Igorot scholar states that “at a very early age our parents and elders taught us basic values deemed *gawis* (good): respect for nature and ancestors, honesty, and love for Mother Earth” (p. 13). Governance is about respect for living and nonliving, and nature. It is about the well-being of the whole community. Aeta Indigenous women healers in the Philippines agreeing with Tauli-Corpuz also state that governance spiritual (Torres 2012). Spirituality to them is about acknowledging the presence of their Creator in their everyday lives. The dead and the living are invited in governance through rituals and cultural performances. Indigenous governance believes in the power of ancestral spirits.

United Nations General Assembly recognizing spirituality among Indigenous peoples of the world states that:

As much as possible, problems are solved by consensus using procedures that engage all affected parties and exhaust dissent. . . The recognition and transfer of authority and leadership, whether hereditary or through selection, are also guided by oral history and spiritual and ceremonial traditions. (United Nations General Assembly 2010, p. 12)

Spirituality has a fundamental place in the definition of Indigenous governance. Spirituality is the cord that ties individuals together. Orality is core to governance among the Indigenous peoples. Oral histories bring to the present previous spiritualities through rituals. This connection honors the ancestor and their ingenuity. Governance incorporates both the spiritual and the physical world. This interconnection is necessary and core in decision-making processes. To allow orality to connect the spiritual and the physical world, there are special practices that are undertaken to invite the ancestor in decision-making process. Among the practices are chanting and talking in tongues, mostly done by shamans. The ancestors are invited to partake in healing or prayer. Invitation of the ancestor is ritualized and seeks their help since they can see what we cannot. Makokis (2008) says that “Traditional ceremonies are our spiritual centres and allow us to redefine self-determination in our own ways.” (p. 41). To that end, spirituality is political and transformational. In addition, Makokis also explains the importance of spirituality in their lives and community.

For many nehiyawak, we derive our identity from the family, community, and nation we are born into. How we relate to each other is a fundamental component of how we organize and govern our lives, which inevitably shapes who we are and who we become. By “relate” I am referring to how we relate to “all of our relations” and this includes our human relations, animal relations, spiritual relations, and the intimate relationship we have to Mother Earth who is our lifelong teacher in these unique kinship relations. In relating to each other, nehiyawak in my community will often ask the younger generation questions such as: where are you from? Who are your parents? And, who is your extended family? When I was younger I never quite understood the significance behind these personal questions but as I began to learn more about nehiyawak governance and social organization, I realized that we (nehiyawak) organize ourselves around our relationships to each other, to our families and how this becomes interconnected with our community. By relating to each other in this way we are able to establish a unique governance system based on kinship relations whereby each person holds a unique piece of our community governance lodge together. (Makokis 2008, p. 44)

Spirituality as relational connects human being in governance. Among Indigenous communities of the world, relationship building is an important aspect of governance. Such a spiritual oriented governance recognizes a self-determination while simultaneously inviting them to the common (Mayes 2001; Palmer 2003). For example, when one is asked where they come from, they identify their family names. The family picks names that have saliency from a past. Therefore, when asking someone a question it is about connecting the living and the ancestors. It is a way of making the dead come alive. Asking a name is a resurrection of the ancestors. It is a way of recognizing those who have gone before us and their role in governance. It is calling their names to claim land and bodies walking on them. Indigenous governance is thus holistic, self-determining, relational, and evolving.

Among the Indigenous peoples, spirituality is an epistemology of governance (Wane 2011, 2015). Iroquois scholar Oren Lyons quoted by Makokis (2008) explains the distinctiveness of Indigenous governance and the role of spirituality.

The central fire, of course, was the spiritual fire. The primary law of Indian government is the spiritual law. Spirituality is the highest form of politics, and our spirituality is directly involved in government. As chiefs we are told that our first and most important duty is to see that the spiritual ceremonies are carried out. Without the ceremonies, one does not have a basis on which to conduct a government for the welfare of the people. This is not only for our people but for the good of all living things in general. (p. 40)

Lyons powerfully explains the significance, centrality, and role of spirituality in governance. Lyons argues that if spirituality is not included in a nation's political action, governance results improper management of the community resources.

Nature of Indigenous Governance Through a Spiritual Lens

Indigenous governance has historically walked through a spiritual prism or continuum. Indigenous governance is a fluid concept, complex and transitional (Arthur 2011). It changes through time and space. The changes are based on the transitional movement of governance through the different spiritualities presented by members of the society (Strelein and Tran 2013). A case in point is the Mau Mau rebellion where rituals were used to create political resistance. Everyone took part in inventing an indigenous governing project against colonialism. To that end, Indigenous governance is ritualistic and culturally oriented. As discussed earlier, there are five qualities of spiritually led Indigenous governance. First, there is a greater "authenticity" to and evolving self and to others. Second is the respect for nature and diversity. Third is recognition of difference as strength. Fourth, there is a clear but complex path to equity and quality. Finally, there is a real demonstration of love and compassion through self to others and vice-versa.

A spiritually centered Indigenous governance provides credibility to leadership. Leadership is a talent to be shared for the well-being of the society. Leaders are given

the role to govern a community as a trustee. The leader is chosen by community members and is expected to work with members towards fulfillment of a need. Leadership is not charitable or servant oriented but rather works with the people towards meeting aims, desires, and aspirations. Under a spiritually led Indigenous governance, the power comes from the community (Centre for Indigenous Environmental Resources (CIER) 1996). The community is an asset of social changes. The leader is a facilitator since community members are the experts. Women, nature, ancestors, youth, disabled, seniors, and men perform reciprocal role. There is no division of labor but a goal that needs to be accomplished for the community to succeed (Wane 2002, 2015). Sterling (2002) says:

The grandmothers are natural teachers because they care for children. In the narratives they laughed and worked and told stories to little children and rode up into the mountains, were kind, were strict, made twine out of plants, cut willow switches to make the children behave, rocked the babies to sleep. Their creation stories and narratives show the children their unique place in their nation's history and contribute to a positive self-image by validating First Nations experiences. Like the grandmothers before us we can create lessons built on experience and storytelling to transmit knowledge and skills, cultural pride, and self-confidence. (p. 5)

Indigenous governance recognizes equity, fairness, and distribution of resources (Wane and Neegan 2007). This is key as Indigenous governance is reciprocal and respectful. It demonstrates love and compassion through working with community members. Case in point is the healing process of an ill member where every member of the society is expected to be present to send good energies. There is a spiritual connection between individual and the community. When a member is sick, the community is sick and by extension ungovernable. New forms of governing come out of the healing and ritualism. The healing is part of Indigenous governance and focuses on the mind, body, and spirit. Sickness is a conflict and a challenge that need community members to come together to solve it. According to the Indigenous women healers in the Philippines that conflict alienates us from ourselves and other (Torres 2012). Rang-ay states:

Healing other people is a joy for me. I do not ask for money in exchange for my services. I heal because of my "ayat" or love for my people. I do not want my people to suffer. I try my best to help them. There are moments that I get very tired, but I know that if I do not carry out my responsibility to my community and to my people, I will not feel good. Healing is a gift from my Creator and therefore I have to use it for the benefit of my community. (Torres 2012, p. 132)

Grandmother in Kenya have taken up the role of raising their grandchildren who are victims of HIV/Aids. For grandmothers in Kenya, taking care of their grandchildren is a joy and a commitment and not a burden. Being able to raise their grandchildren indicate their support to governance. This is because such children will become future leaders of the community. One of the grandmother said that:

I am very grateful to be part of my community. We love and support each other. We may not be rich in worldly material but we are happy, contented, and supportive of one another. There are times that I get tired; however, seeing my grandchildren growing healthy, strong and respectful is a joy that I cannot even explain. They remind me of my daughter who passed away that life is full of love and beauty. These things cannot be bought by any amount of money. (Wane interview 2007)

Conclusion

Governance without a spiritual focus can be disastrous. Spirituality must be the center of everything that we do in our lives and in our community. This chapter highlighted the role of spirituality in Indigenous governance. Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars spoke candidly on Indigenous governance and spirituality. Spirituality embraces the connection of mind, body, and spirit. Indigenous governance is relational in nature and does not privilege or discriminate. This chapter featured the nature of governance through a spiritual lens. These features were: greater authenticity to oneself and to others; a clear respect to diversity, nature, and difference; and love and compassion through self and others. This chapter shed light on recognizing the importance of spirituality in our lives and in our community. Let us continue working for a community that serves the benefit of everybody and unmap those practices that hinder us to attain our spiritual goals.

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Mi'kmaw Kina'matnewey and Mi'kmaw Control over Mi'kmaw Education: Using the Master's Tools to Dismantle the Master's House?

19

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Abstract

In 2010, the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) renewed the call for First Nations Control of First Nations Education, a vision they first laid out nearly 40 years before. While many Indigenous communities and community organizations in Canada are still working toward this ideal, Mi'kmaw Kina'matnewey (MK), a collective of Mi'kmaw communities in Nova Scotia, stands out as a unique example of the vision fulfilled. With high school graduation rates that range from 85% to 90% annually – more than double the graduation rate for Aboriginal students in the rest of the country – MK is undoubtedly the most successful Aboriginal Education system in Canada. In this chapter, we will describe the

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governance model for MK that includes a board of directors from all 12 member-communities who work collaboratively to guide education from pre-school to post-secondary. We will describe the beginning days of MK and show how it has grown into the organization it is today through a relentless pursuit to cultivate the capacity within Mi'kmaw communities to ensure Mi'kmaw people are working in all levels of Mi'kmaw education. We will show how preparation of pre-service and in-service teachers and administrators from the communities has been an essential component in the decolonization of MK education. We will explain how this work has been supported through partnerships, in particular, through an over 20-year partnership with the Faculty of Education at St. Francis Xavier University. Finally, we will share examples of program achievements in Mi'kmaw language revitalization, numeracy and literacy, and other student achievement measures while also striving toward a decolonized approach to education.

Keywords

Decolonizing Education · Indigenous Education · Self-Governance · Mi'kmaw · Mi'kmaq

[Survival] is learning how to take our differences and make them strengths. For *the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house*. They may allow us temporarily to beat him at his own game, but they will never enable us to bring about genuine change. [Italics added] – Audre Lorde (1984, p. 111)

We are a unified team of chiefs, staff, parents and educators who advocate on behalf of and represent the educational interests of our communities, and *we protect the educational and Mi'kmaw language rights of the Mi'kmaq people*. [Italics added] (Mi'kmaw Kina'matnewey 2017)

The tension between these epigraphs is palpable. Audre Lorde has argued passionately and articulately that “the master’s tools,” meaning cogs in the patriarchal and colonial apparatus can never dismantle “the master’s house,” or the oppressive global system, in its entirety. Lorde was largely focused on criticizing the racism, classism, and homophobia in the feminist movement as antithetical to challenging colonial-patriarchal power structures during the 1980s. However, her statement can be transplanted to the present, as a criticism of efforts to transmogrify the Eurocentric school system, a facet of the broader colonial construct, and use it in the empowerment of colonized peoples.

In this chapter we analyze this criticism through an examination of the governance model and subsequent achievements of Mi'kmaw Kina'matnewey (MK), a community-based organization that provides intermediary educational services and organizational representation to Nova Scotian Mi'kmaw communities seeking to exercise enhanced self-governance in education. In struggles to transform the assimilationist and Eurocentric school system into a decolonizing force in these communities, we argue that MK stands as an example of how to dismantle the master's house using the master's tools. The MK self-governance agreement has enabled capacity

building within MK communities that has provided the opportunity to decolonize education at the local level while allowing Mi'kmaw culture, language, and identity to thrive. Despite significant challenges, MK and its member communities have worked hard to further the mission of Indigenous control of Indigenous education and have achieved significant success in these endeavors.

Background and Context

The formal school system, consciously and unconsciously, has long served as a tool of oppression, assimilation, division, and ultimately colonization in Canada. By far the most notorious example of this is the culturally genocidal Indian Residential School (IRS) system, which was jointly established and operated by the federal government and various churches across the country from the 1880s until the last school closed in 1996 (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) has found these schools to have committed acts of “cultural genocide” (2015, p. 1) through their attempts to force assimilation, break down the family unit, and eliminate Aboriginal languages and cultures as a way to terminate the federal government’s treaty obligations by fully assimilating Indigenous youth into mainstream Canadian society. All across the country children were taken into residential schools “not to educate them, but primarily to break their link to their culture and identity” (2015, p. 2). Duncan Campbell Scott, the Minister of Indian Affairs responsible for implementing the IRS policy in the 1920s, was very explicit about this goal.

I want to get rid of the Indian problem . . . Our objective is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic and there is no Indian question, and no Indian Department, that is the whole object of this Bill. (As cited in Leslie 1978, p. 114)

Without consultation, the IRS system removed children from their homes to take them to the residential schools, often by force, banned Indigenous cultural practices, and foisted a Euro-Canadian curriculum upon students. For over a century, approximately 150,000 children were taken to residential schools where they suffered from physical, sexual, emotional, and cultural abuse, and many of the survivors have been scarred for life by the predations that they suffered (TRC 2015). Many children did not survive in residential schools. The TRC (2015) reported that children died of diseases at alarmingly high rates in residential schools compared with the general population, and this is based only on data that was recorded; many of the deaths were never reported.

The IRS system was built upon the “assumption that European civilizations and Christian religions were superior to Aboriginal culture” (TRC 2015, p. 4), an ideology that has left a damaging legacy that did not end with those who attended these schools. The impacts of these policies are being felt by survivors, their families, and communities still today.

The IRS system is far from the only example of the use of the Canadian education system to further oppressive colonial processes affecting Indigenous peoples. In provincial schools, institutionalized discrimination remains a fact of life for many Indigenous youth (Neegan 2005; Orr and Cameron 2004). Furthermore, through a process that Battiste (1998) referred to as “cognitive imperialism,” the “formal” education system has come to embody the belief that Western epistemologies are the only valid sources of knowledge. This has also entailed the discrediting of other (especially Indigenous) ways of knowing; as such, Indigenous languages, historiographies, and other aspects of Indigenous epistemologies continue to be underemphasized, if not completely absent, in the curriculum of provincial schools. For instance, a survey of Canadian secondary provincial school graduates revealed that almost 80% of respondents felt their schooling did not help them understand Aboriginal issues (Coalition for the Advancement of Aboriginal Studies 2002).

Based on these and other structural obstacles, it is hardly surprising that 36.4% of Aboriginal people in Nova Scotia aged 15 years and older had less than a high school diploma in 2006 (Statistics Canada 2007a), compared to 26.8% among the broader provincial population (Statistics Canada 2007b). Furthermore, the colonial pressures generated by the provincial school system have likely played a major role in the loss of Indigenous languages and cultures. Indeed, only 20.6% of Aboriginal people in Nova Scotia had knowledge of an “Aboriginal language” in 2006 (Statistics Canada 2007a). Evidently, the experience of many Indigenous peoples in Canada with the mainstream school system was, and to a significant extent continues to be, one of colonization and oppression.

Enter Mi'kmaw Kinametnewey and the Mi'kmaw Education Agreement

The vision of a “formal” education system that is empowering instead of disempowering, and which fosters local Indigenous educational control instead of furthering oppression, was perhaps first articulated in a policy format in the National Indian Brotherhood's *Indian Control of Indian Education* policy paper (National Indian Brotherhood 1973). In Nova Scotia, this vision of education was later manifested in the Mi'kmaq Education Act (1998), the product of the Mi'kmaw Education Agreement between the federal government and nine Nova Scotian Mi'kmaw chiefs, which aimed to “enable communities to exercise jurisdiction in relation to education.” The act gives signatory communities the power to make laws applicable to primary, elementary, and secondary education and to provide primary, elementary, and secondary educational programs and services to residents. The nine communities that originally signed onto the Mi'kmaq Education Act were Acadia, Annapolis Valley, Potlotek (Chapel Island), Eskasoni, Membertou, Pictou Landing, Sipe'kne'katik (Indian Brook), Wagmatcook, and We'koqma'q. Paq'tnekek, Bear River, and Glooscap also signed the act at later dates. Of these communities, Eskasoni, Membertou, Potlotek, Sipe'kne'katik, Wagmatcook, We'koqma'q, and Pictou Landing run band-operated schools. Millbrook remains as the only Mi'kmaw community

in Nova Scotia that has not signed on to this agreement. While the 1972 National Indian Brotherhood manifesto had served as a catalyst for several Mi'kmaw communities to assert their right to establish and control their own schools prior to the formation of 1998 Act, the Mi'kmaq Education Act was an important political watershed.

The Mi'kmaq Education Act (1998) also gave birth to a revamped MK as a "corporation without share capital" to support the delivery of educational programs and services in signatory communities. MK is based in Membertou and run by the Chiefs of these 12 communities, who serve as its board of directors. Most staff members are Mi'kmaw professionals, and community input from annual symposiums informs MK's strategies and policies. The impetus behind its creation was partly derived from a federal desire for an accountable organization. However, this and Mi'kmaw Kina'masuti before it, and the Mi'kmaw Education Authority before that, were also driven by community desire to build capacity, share resources, have their educational interests represented, and foster unity (McCarthy 2001). MK's main roles are to provide intermediary services (similar to those offered by a provincial school board), such as assistance with professional development of staff and needs assessment; as well as to provide a forum to represent the educational interests of its member communities, both in internal decision-making and in negotiations with the Euro-Canadian governments. It does this through a variety of programs and bodies, such as the First Nations School Success Program (FNSSP) and other intermediary services such as Mi'kmaw language resource development, support for students with special needs, and physical education collaborations amongst schools.

Self-Governance and Self-Determination

The National Indian Brotherhood's vision in 1972 of expanding "Indian control of Indian education" (ICIE) was inextricably linked to broader demands for greater powers of self-determination among Indigenous peoples in Canada. The relationship also exists between the Mi'kmaq Education Agreement/MK and struggles for self-governance. The Assembly of First Nations released an updated version of the ICIE document in 2010, calling once again for *First Nations Control of First Nations Education* in which they argued that consecutive federal governments have consistently failed to meet the expectations laid out in ICIE and they argued that the principles of this document were still relevant in 2010. Aboriginal communities are still fighting for the right to govern the education of their children. MK is often held up as an example of this vision coming to fruition.

Self-governance of education has been a structural way to advance Indigenous control of Indigenous education. However, governance without concerted attention to the end goal of decolonizing a system to enable and support individuals and communities to act in self-determining ways risks falling into re-colonizing ways. There are examples both within Canada (Rasmussen 2009) and beyond (Major and

Mulvihill 2009) that illustrate that movements towards self-governance have failed to create self-determination. Colonization has stripped away both governance and determination in Indigenous communities. Within the MK communities, some educational leadership capacity existed through earlier teacher training initiatives post ICIE. In the early 1990s, as the Federal government began moving away from federal schools and transferring control to each Mi'kmaq band, these groups of educators were well positioned to lead with both cultural rootedness and an awareness of the largely colonial education system. With this initial capacity already present, the opportunity to self-govern empowered communities to decolonize the system which then supported greater self-determination and that self-determination then shaped the governance structure to be able to be truly responsive to the community it serves. This was in keeping with the RCAP vision for Aboriginal self-government, with its core purpose of affirming Aboriginal identities, through "the entrenchment of the Aboriginal right of doing things differently" (Dussault et al. 1996, p. 665). This was a radical departure from the usual colonial approach of governing education so that it aligned "with pre-determined Canadian norms of how people should govern themselves" (p. 665). All of this allowed Mi'kmaq communities to realize that 1972 ICIE vision.

One of the key elements of the MK agreement was that the chiefs meet collectively several times per year to take up discussions and make decisions about educational matters affecting the collective. Decisions are made through consensus building. Because of the capacity that has been built within MK communities with respect to education, many professional educators find themselves in positions of leadership on councils, as chiefs, or on education committees and in positions of senior educational leadership within MK and the communities. In many ways, this ensures that the board of directors made up of the chiefs of communities has the educational knowledge and community rootedness to make these important decisions in ways that benefit all communities.

The capacity building brought cultural ways of knowing, being, and doing to what could have potentially become a very colonizing structure. The structure, though at first glance may resemble a typical school board, has been able to work in ways that emerge from community and cultural practices. The value of the collective embedded in a Mi'kmaq worldview mitigates communities pitting themselves against each other as might happen in some mainstream school boards. One unique feature of MK is the annual symposium where each community reports its accomplishments from the past year and sets out aspirations for the upcoming year. This symposium has cultivated a collective learning community and supportive environment that inspires and motivates all communities to continue the work of decolonization. Communities are represented by not only education professionals but also community members that represent multi-generations including elders, youth, and other adult community leaders. There has consistently been a focus on what is best for the advancement of all communities rather than for individual communities. This approach has shaped a communitarian identity, supported by consensus decision-making, as depicted in Orr and Cameron's (2004) *We are Mi'kmaq Kina'matnewey* report.

Although Schouls (2003) has argued that culture is an inadequate reason for claims of self-determination due to his view that many groups have experienced assimilation to the point that they are no longer distinguishable from the mainstream, this is not the case with the Mi'kmaq of Nova Scotia. Mi'kmaw culture is deeply rooted in Mi'kmaw ways of knowing, being, and doing, and transcends usual markers of material culture so often used to identify and discount Indigenous peoples. While it is true that some Mi'kmaw communities have experienced more assimilation and are therefore less connected to language and traditional knowledges, the overall group identity of the collective empowers these communities to decolonize as well. In fact, MK provides resources and supports to these communities to reclaim language and culture in ways that would not have been possible by acting alone. The strength of the whole is greater than any of the parts. Kimlicka (1989) would describe MK as an example of communitarian pluralism because of its efforts to protect Mi'kmaw communities from the dominant colonial agenda.

In educational governance terms, MK is coming to be known as one of Canada's foremost First Nation Education Organizations (National Panel on First Nation Elementary and Secondary Education for Students on Reserve, 2012), or FNEOs. Through the Mi'kmaq Education Agreement, many of MK's member communities have, to varying degrees, taken over the "first level" of educational service (i.e., actual education provision) through band-operated schools, which is another layer of self-governance in education. MK and its ilk serve to provide First Nations' control over the delivery of "second level" or intermediary services, which essentially replace the services provided by provincial school boards.

The MK agreement has been quite appropriately critiqued as failing to provide resources for second level services (McHue 2006; Paquette and Fallon 2010). Since 2008, these services have been provided through funding obtained through FNSSP which is a proposal driven funding program that requires demonstration of data to show student achievement is improving. As Walton et al. (2016) note

MK worried that mainstream school improvement models might be incongruent with notions of school success held by Aboriginal educators (Toney, 2012). Therefore, *A Framework for School Improvement for Schools* (Orr & McCormick, 2007) was developed, allowing more cultural relevance in terms of knowledge and measures of success. In this framework, MK schools develop school success plans that focus on literacy, numeracy, Mi'kmaw language, and student retention. The effect of including a language goal cannot be overstated as it validates the importance of language and culture in MK schools. Student learning assessments support the school success plan and the performance measures established to access and accelerate both student and school performance. FNSSP allocates funding for a variety of supports that allow access to mentors and consultants who travel to support Mi'kmaq teachers and principals. Prior to FNSSP, educators in MK had little access to these second level services that are common in public schools. The principal now has the range of supports to assist her school with continuous improvement. (p. 113)

While MK continues to argue that core funding for second level services should be part of their agreement, they work with the FNSSP funding to ensure that second level services are provided in a manner that is consistent with a decolonizing approach to education.

The Mi'kmaq of Nova Scotia, and all Indigenous peoples in Canada, does not currently have in place any organization controlling education provision at the "third level." This would include the ability to create educational curriculum – although the MK member communities can modify the existing curriculum to an extent – and oversee schools and second-level service providers. The third level of services is the equivalent of a provincial department of education.

This governance arrangement has been criticized on a number of fronts. Battiste (1998) argues that the limitations placed by the Mi'kmaq Education Agreement on the Mi'kmaq's ability to create their own curriculum is problematic, as it means that curriculum will continue to be created from an outside, colonial context and will thereby continue the aforementioned process of "cognitive imperialism." A more policy-oriented version of this line of reasoning builds on the recommendations of the 1996 Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. It contends that, due to the limited capabilities and resources of FNEOs like MK and of individual schools, an ideal direction to move towards in improving Indigenous education is the creation of a nationwide system of regional education authorities. These regional authorities would oversee a number of FNEOs and provide third-level services, especially curriculum development, thereby avoiding the intrusion of the provincial bureaucracy (McCue and Harvey 2006; Mendelson 2008). From this perspective, FNEOs like MK are not a bad thing; they are a necessary step in the right direction and a prerequisite for self-governance in education, but they are not the final step in the journey of self-governance.

The argument that some sort of larger regional body should supersede MK and provide leadership and third-level services has merit. At a purely abstract level, the argument that the Mi'kmaq should have full control over Mi'kmaq education, especially in the area of curriculum development, is in keeping with a decolonizing agenda. However, from a very pragmatic viewpoint, the implementation and administration of a regional FNEO would be a monumental task. It would require agreements with numerous governments at the federal, provincial, and band council levels.

Furthermore, there are many elements of community-based cultural knowledge that are embedded in the way that intermediary services are delivered, not just in who is controlling third-level services. For instance, significant efforts are being made to support the pedagogical development of Mi'kmaq language teachers across MK schools. Literacy, numeracy, and early childhood supports are also helping to embed cultural-practical knowledge of Mi'kmaq worldview into these subject areas. Preliminary findings suggest that these intermediary services are changing the ways that curriculum is enacted in schools. Additionally, to focus exclusively on a higher level of governance authority misses out on the reality that the decisions made by teachers "on the ground" in schools (classroom governance) have the biggest impact on processes and outcomes (Marzano 2003). MK has acknowledged this and is working hard to foster the certification of more Mi'kmaq teachers to teach in Mi'kmaq schools and to support these teachers to be role models and provide cultural-practical knowledge (Orr et al. 2002) to students, thereby enhancing the "formal" education capacity of its member communities (Mi'kmaq Kina'matnewey 2011). This being said, control over third-level services does

matter in the education that Mi'kmaw students receive, and thus future efforts to expand self-governance in this direction are worthy of study and perhaps support.

In recent years, MK has formed a more significant working relationship with the provincial Department of Education and Early Childhood Development (EECD) that has ensured greater inclusion of MK representation in decision-making processes. Second level services staff are included in provincial team meetings with representatives of public school boards and MK teacher delegates sit on committees relating to curriculum development, assessment design, and other related committees. Some specific documents, such as the Mi'kmaw Studies 11 courses and the Mi'kmaw Language Framework, have been collaboratively developed by MK and the EECD. The signing of a memorandum of understanding between the Province of Nova Scotia and the Mi'kmaw Nation on Treaty Day, October 1, 2015, that will ensure treaty education is taught at all levels in all subjects serves as a further mechanism for increased collaboration around curriculum development that honors Mi'kmaw knowledge and history. While this is not providing those third level services, it demonstrates how MK capacity that has developed since its inception enables greater influence over the provincial curricula, programs, and services that are being developed for public schools and implemented in MK schools.

Comtassel (2008) points out another critique of the MK type agreement citing that there are inherent dangers in basing self-governance efforts on a rights-based discourse. For instance, a rights-based approach may tend to deemphasize cultural responsibilities and relationships between communities and with the natural world. This suggests that these dangers might be relevant to MK and its member communities, as their role and powers are supposedly defined by the state-centric and Western-legalistic Mi'kmaw Education Act.

Paquette and Fallon (2010) also critique the nature of the local jurisdictional control and the positioning of MK as a "support service provider" (p. 190) which results in MK having "no meaningful *control* over anything of educational significance" (p. 190) and also results in fragmentation across the collective. We would argue that local jurisdictional control is one of the strengths of MK as collaboration and consensus building ensure greater community voice and accountability. The sharing of capital resources to ensure community schools are built in a timely manner is one example of how collaboration amongst the member communities strengthens all MK communities.

Orr and Cameron's (2006) policy work with MK determined that the organization's purpose is, in reality, driven by the following five key cultural principles:

1. MK respects and affirms its own people and believes they are the key to its success.
2. MK has shaped and is shaped by a collective Mi'kmaw consciousness, which advances issues of common interest and concern to the wider Mi'kmaw nation.
3. MK exists to support community-based aspirations, initiatives, and needs.
4. MK operates through a working group decision-making model, which is multi-layered, circular, and continuous.

5. Appropriate second level services [to be delivered by MK] are determined through the four principles of community, circularity, collectivity, and respect for the Mi'kmaw people.

Orr and Cameron (2006) provide numerous examples of how MK incorporates these principles into its programming and practices. Thus, contrary to the concerns of Cornassel (2008) and Paquette and Fallon (2010), the collective identity fostered by MK and its culturally oriented assertion of rights breeds confidence and trust amongst member communities, which leads MK to be accountable to these communities through the support it provides them – a fundamental shift from a top-down to bottom-up system of authority. Therefore, MK schools and communities are encouraged through an organization with the central purpose of culturally and academically supporting their success.

Evidently, despite its *de jure* origins in a legal discourse, MK's true beginnings and current governance mandate lie with Mi'kmaw people who are its members and their ways of being, knowing, and doing. The decision of MK in 2015 to enter into a third 3-year agreement with Canada to use funding to enhance intermediary service provides an opportunity to continue to advance the decolonization of the Mi'kmaw education system while also meeting accountability measures established by Canada. As such, it can be said that despite the potential ontological dangers stemming from MK's connections to a rational-legal discourse, it has shown its agency and made major strides towards using the powers that this system has available for decolonizing ends – or, to be more poetic, towards using the master's tools to dismantle the master's house.

Community Capacity for Community Control

As described above, one of the most significant factors contributing to the decolonization of education in MK communities is the capacity development that has happened within the member communities, largely through partnerships with institutions like Cape Breton University and St. Francis Xavier University. When community members are employed in positions at all levels of the education system, Mi'kmaw voice and vision can take center stage. This capacity development was a significant part of the vision for MK from the beginning.

In 1995, a province wide review of teacher education was conducted in Nova Scotia. At roughly the same time the BLAC Report (Black Learners Advisory Council 1996) and the Marshall Inquiry (1996) confirmed that Mi'kmaw and the African Nova Scotia communities continued to be underserved in the public schools in Nova Scotia with institutional and systemic racism in the education system cited as major factors. Teacher education needed to be changed in the province. A Memorandum of Understanding (1995) between the Mi'kmaw community and St. Francis Xavier University committed the School (now Faculty) of Education to include in its mandate the training and preparation of Mi'kmaw educators to teach in band and provincial schools. That mandate and the Faculty of Education's own

policies and practices related to addressing the underrepresentation of these groups has enabled the Faculty of Education to graduate 133 BEd students and 40 MEd students with numbers continuing to grow since 1996.

Additional universities have also run cohort programs at the graduate level as well to support MK capacity building. For example, in 2015 there were 13 graduates who received an MEd in Curriculum Supporting Diverse Learners from Mount Saint Vincent University. At the undergraduate level, Cape Breton University (CBU) has played a significant role over the past 20 years in attracting Mi'kmaw students and supporting them to complete Bachelor level degrees, often offering part-time and community-based programs. Cape Breton University has the largest population of Mi'kmaw students in Eastern Canada and produces the highest number of Mi'kmaw graduates. The Mi'kmaq College Institute at CBU has "made it possible for Mi'kmaq students, educators, scholars, and researchers of Mi'kmaq cosmology to establish a curriculum and research agenda which contribute to the achievement of the educational and community goals set by Mi'kmaq communities" (retrieved from CBU website, 2008). The BA in Community Studies program, in particular, allows many Mi'kmaw students to pursue Mi'kmaq Studies for which their lived experiences, cultural knowledge, and interest form a great deal of the curriculum. Having such a robust pool of Mi'kmaw students graduating from CBU has allowed the St. Francis Xavier University Faculty of Education to attract many well-qualified Mi'kmaw candidates into teacher education.

The restructuring of the teacher education program at St. Francis Xavier University in 1995 provided an important starting place for a refocusing of teacher education and considering the place of Indigeneity in it. The Memorandum of Understanding with Mi'kmaw communities marked a clear commitment to address the historical and contemporary imbalance in power relations between Mi'kmaw and non-Mi'kmaw communities and hence school achievement within the Nova Scotia schools. Social justice and equity became key program strands that have been threaded through the entire 2-year experience. This public articulation represented an important commitment by the Faculty of Education to acknowledge issues of power, privilege, exclusion, and marginalization in schools, the university, and the larger society.

As a result of having so many MK community teacher education graduates, MK schools have large numbers of Mi'kmaw teachers and administrators. As a result of this capacity development, more recent teacher education candidates have a high likelihood of being mentored by Mi'kmaw teachers in schools with Mi'kmaw administrators, continuing the project of decolonization through teacher education. Furthermore, Mi'kmaw people hold the majority of positions at the MK office and many Mi'kmaw educators serve as directors of education, members of community council, and at the time of writing this chapter two of the 13 chiefs hold Bachelor of Education degrees, including the chief who serves as the director for the MK board. When well-qualified community members are holding key decision-making positions at all levels of MK, community control can truly emerge.

Walton et al. (2016) recently compared two Indigenous schools, one Inuit and one Mi'kmaw, set in very different geographic, political, cultural, and linguistic contexts but who are both aiming to shed the colonial legacy of Eurocentric

schooling. Each community experiences the economic and social effects of colonization and its accompanying intergenerational trauma, yet also has a corresponding degree of resilience, persistence, and hopefulness. Both are headed by Indigenous women from the local community. However, the researchers noted dramatically different success, as defined by graduation rates, experienced in the two school contexts. A closer look at the two contexts suggested that two factors appeared to build school leadership capacity. The first, as previously mentioned, was the long-term partnership developed with St. Francis Xavier University which provided extensive and comprehensive pre-service and in-service education for Mi'kmaw educators thus populating the school with certified Mi'kmaw teachers. The second key factor that surfaced was the presence of MK as a governance structure supporting Mi'kmaw schools. In particular, they highlighted the second level services provided through the FNSSP as noted previously.

Secondly MK itself was an incubator for Mi'kmaw leadership development so that Mi'kmaw students and teachers saw themselves reflected throughout the MK system. MK provided both a leadership incubator for Mi'kmaw educators who took on leadership roles at the systems level and provided Mi'kmaw role models for those educators. Many educators deepened and broadened their skill set and confidence as they rotated through MK positions. Importantly they were supported and mentored by fellow Mi'kmaw educators. The same conditions were not apparent in Nunavut as community teacher education programs (TEP), so much a part of developing Inuit teacher leadership pre-Nunavut greatly diminished in the post-Nunavut period. While the intention for the creation was that Inuit people would be included at all level of governance, they are currently absent in significant numbers at the Ministry of Education levels. This partially explains the difference in the two systems and highlights the significance of the capacity building that MK has enabled.

Decolonizing Education Through the Centering of Mi'kmaw Language and Culture

Band-operated schools provide education at the primary, elementary, and secondary levels in many MK member communities. These schools have come under fire from Mi'kmaq community members and politicians, policy analysts, and academics. According to Poliandri (2011), members of Millbrook First Nation cited the existence of a band-operated school in Indian Brook as a factor in the community's social problems. Furthermore, former Millbrook Chief Lawrence Paul cited the benefits of "integration" from sending the band's children to a provincial school – an assessment with which Poliandri appears to wholeheartedly agree. This analysis fails to acknowledge the role that the Social Determinants of Health (Mikkonen and Raphael 2010) play in educational achievement. It also clearly demonstrates that the deficit view of Indigenous knowledges and the ideology of cultural superiority that was at the heart of the assimilationist policies of the IRS days are still entrenched in research and even community discourse today. From Poliandri's perspective, in order to thrive in the "modern" world, Mi'kmaw children need to be "exposed" to mainstream Canadian society through schools, to

learn how to interact and be successful in it. According to this logic, the band-run school's practice of keeping children in their community throughout their "formal" education runs contrary to the necessity of "integration" in mainstream society. The band-operated schools have also been criticized by some community members and students as being unable to teach English literacy skills effectively, due to their emphasis on teaching the Mi'kmaq language in the Mi'kmaq immersion programs (Tompkins et al. 2011), and lacking the necessary resources to create an adequate environment for learning (Orr and Cameron 2004).

There is a fairly limited amount of "hard" qualitative and quantitative data that assesses the band-operated schools, supported by MK, in terms of assessment outputs before and after the creation of MK over a long period of time. It is important to note that although one may not agree with a heavily quantitative and standardized approach to student learning assessment by MK and its schools – indeed, we believe that such data only tells a small part of the story – the quantifiable, accessible nature of the results that it can generate is integral to providing outcomes that will elicit support from communities, chiefs, and especially Indigenous Affairs.

In previous work, Orr and Cameron (2004) provided some valuable information regarding the academic success of band-operated schools. They explained that between 1991 and 2001, the percentage of persons 15 years of age and older without high school certificates decreased by 17.9 points, compared to a 10% decrease for all Registered Indians living on reserve (p. 36). Furthermore, over the same time period MK communities saw a decrease in their unemployment rate by 4.8%, compared to 3.3% among all Registered Indians on reserve (p. 45); and labor force participation in MK communities increased by 15.2 percentage points, versus a 5% increase among all on-reserve Registered Indians (p. 44). Additionally, MK and its member communities have seen a 9.7% increase in the number of persons who have completed a post-secondary education, compared to a 7.6% increase among all Registered Indians living on reserve (p. 42). More recent data of a quantitative nature indicates that Mi'kmaw students in Nova Scotian provincial schools, on average, have fared well below their Euro-Canadian counterparts in literacy and numeracy on provincial assessments in grades 3, 6, and 9 (Thiessen 2009). This helps to contest the mythology that Mi'kmaw students fare better in provincial than band operated schools.

Paul-Gould (2012), Sock (2012), and Tompkins et al. (2011) offer some useful data specific to the success of the Eskasoni Mi'kmaq K-3 immersion program. According to one Elder that they interviewed, there is a link between speaking Mi'kmaq and being able to absorb knowledge: "If you speak your language, then you open up your heart. Once you open your heart, the more knowledge you are able to absorb. You are able to express yourself better rather than it being lost in translation" (May 5, 2010, as cited in Tompkins et al. 2011, p. 57). The researchers found that the Mi'kmaw immersion program at Eskasoni had major positive impacts on students' leadership qualities, self-esteem, and Mi'kmaw identities. Their Mi'kmaw fluency was also impressive, although fluency sometimes declined over the years once students exited the program. Immersion students typically had the highest English reading levels after leaving Grade 3, the last grade of the immersion program. This idea is born out in the classroom, as interviews with immersion

teachers of the students during and after they completed the immersion program consistently cited the success of immersion students in a variety of subject areas, as well as their proclivity for extracurricular engagement. For instance, a reading test of the Grade 7 students at Eskasoni suggested that all 16 of the former immersion students were amongst the top 25 learners in terms of literacy levels (out of 81 students overall), and of the 14 students at the highest reading level, all but one were from the immersion program (see Fig. 1).

This information begins to make a strong case that even in the field of “formal” education, MK and its member communities are making important strides to improve outcomes – something that is integral to the success of the Mi’kmaq of Nova Scotia and the furtherance of a decolonizing agenda. Indeed, it appears that MK’s focus on greater local control of “formal” education is likely to provide more in the way of educational success than the “integration” approach, in terms of mainstream educational indicators – not to mention the benefits of fostering culturally appropriate education.

As the original immersion students are now graduating from high school and pursuing post-secondary opportunities, the community has moved the immersion program into its own building where students not only speak Mi’kmaq in class but in the hallways, in the gymnasium, and on the playground.

Protecting and growing Mi’kmaq culture and especially language, in order to foster the creation of stronger Mi’kmaq identities among students, has been a major focus of MK and its member communities. Initiatives undertaken with this aim include the creation and sustained support of the Mi’kmaq immersion programs in some schools, MK’s hiring of Mi’kmaq language specialists to support program delivery and development, and MK’s efforts to support the development of

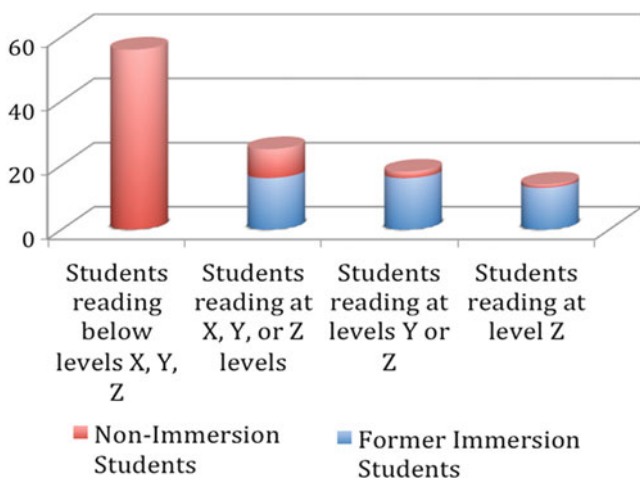


Fig. 1 Eskasoni grade 7 reading levels – immersion and non-immersion students (Source: Paul-Gould 2012, p. 62)

technological (e.g., internet) components of language programs through the First Nations Help Desk (Mi'kmaw Kina'matnewey 2011). MK is also making strides to develop language resources for all communities with the development of language apps and curriculum materials for all MK schools. MK has acquired the rights to translate several Robert Munsch books into Mi'kmaq and these and other Mi'kmaw books are readily available in MK schools. Many books have been made into iPad apps that enable students to read along as they hear the language being spoken. The support for second level services at the MK office has made these initiatives possible.

MK's commitment to Mi'kmaw language revitalization is not only supported by Indigenous elders and scholars but is also in keeping with a deep understanding of the research on bilingual education. Tompkins and Murray Orr (2013) in a review of the literature on bilingual education, and more specifically Aboriginal immersion programs, found that there is strong and robust growing evidence of the success of these programs to deepen identity, improve fluency, and increase academic achievement for Aboriginal children. Furthermore, Barac and Bialystok (2012), in their review of over 50 years of research into bilingual education, reported that "Bilingualism turns out to be an experience that benefits many aspects of children's development" (p. 36). Neuroscience research is also beginning to show the many benefits of bilingualism on brain development, particularly when it is learned in early childhood (Society for Neuroscience 2013).

Language is the heart of a culture and Indigenous people's knowledge of their cultures is integral to their wellbeing. Cairns and Flanagan (2001) disagree, arguing that assimilation of Aboriginal Canadians has largely already taken place, except for relatively minor "subcultural" characteristics, and that the future of these groups lies in further integrating into mainstream Canadian society and embracing the modern economy. Yet Battiste (1998) refutes this neocolonial argument, pointing out that Indigenous knowledge(s) is fundamental for the continuing survival and flourishing of Indigenous peoples. One need to look no further than the intergenerational trauma inflicted upon students through the cultural (not to mention physical and sexual) abuses of the IRS system to realize that assimilation has, and will continue to have, disastrous effects on Indigenous peoples in Canada (Frideres 2011). Battiste supports this position with numerous testimonies by Indigenous peoples surveyed by the Assembly of First Nations, citing the vital importance of preserving Indigenous languages and cultures. She also contends that Aboriginal languages are "beyond dispute" (p. 17) the most integral of all facets of Aboriginal culture(s), as language contains vital traditions and customs:

The complementary modes of knowing in the tribal world form the essence of tribal epistemology, and have been continually transmitted through the oral tradition. Without Aboriginal languages, the lessons and knowledge would be lost to the people, and their way of life gravely affected. (Battiste 1998, p. 18)

These languages, and their associated epistemologies and attached ways of being and doing, are languishing in the Canadian education system. Even in band-operated

schools, structural challenges remain, as the prevalence of the English language and non-Indigenous cultural practices, not to mention a lack of resources, can make learning the Mi'kmaq language and appropriate cultural practices challenging (for example, see Orr and Cameron 2004; Tompkins et al. 2011).

Culturally appropriate education extends beyond the language classroom in MK schools. Dedicated science teachers have encouraged students to build science fair projects every year that draw upon the idea of “two-eyed seeing” (Hatcher et al. 2009) and each year MK sends students to the Canada-wide science fair. Literacy initiatives have focused on bringing professional learning opportunities and classroom resources to teachers in MK schools with a focus on culturally relevant approaches and materials. The *Show Me Your Math* program (Lunney Borden et al. forthcoming) has encouraged thousands of Mi'kmaw students to engage in intergenerational conversations with Elders and other community members as they explore ways of mathematical reasoning inherent in community knowledge and practices. The *Show Me Your Math* program and related inquiry projects have helped center community knowledge as a starting point for mathematics learning which provides an example of how to decolonize mathematics (Lunney Borden and Wiseman 2016). Through all of these efforts, MK is bringing community knowledge into a central role while striving to meet provincial outcomes.

While many school systems across the country struggle to increase the graduation rates for Indigenous students, MK meets or exceeds the graduation rates for all provincial systems in the country. Data from 2009 to 2016 shows that graduation rates in MK schools ranged from 87% to 90% annually (Mi'kmaw Kina'matnewey 2016). Furthermore, attendance rates range from 86% to 91% indicating that students are attending regularly and completing school. Additionally, MK-generated data shows that students are increasingly graduating on time, with an average age of grade 12 students in 2014 being 18.34 years, down from 20.24 in 2009. With nearly 600 MK post-secondary students, the success of MK graduation rate creates new challenges as post-secondary funding is simply inadequate to support all of the students who are seeking post-secondary opportunities.

Furthermore, Orr and Cameron (2004) cite an INAC study conducted with Mi'kmaw students that suggests that only 15% of students in band-operated schools saw major barriers to post-secondary educational success as related to discrimination and lack of cultural programming, compared to 44% in provincial schools (p. 30). More recent comparative data collected in 2011 and 2012 corroborates this earlier finding (Orr et al. 2017).

This information shows that Mi'kmaw language, culture, and identity are inseparable from the wellbeing and future success of the Mi'kmaq. Furthermore, despite lacking resources and operating within a system that was once used to disempower the Mi'kmaq, MK and its member communities that operate their own schools have made major breakthroughs in fostering Mi'kmaq language, improving youth cultural knowledge and capacity, and nurturing Mi'kmaw pride and identity. These outcomes continue to be vital for the collective future of the Mi'kmaw nation.

Stones of Wisdom from the MK Experience

While context matters for MK and the complexity of this collective cannot be transplanted into other contexts easily, there are stones of wisdom that can be gleaned from the MK experience. With everything we have described, one key theme that emerges is that there is a collective community ownership within MK. It is within this ownership that MK finds its roots. The strength of MK is that its people are its most important asset, and there is a collective belief that its future is its people. There has been a consistent focus on the ongoing development of capacity within communities and within people. There are partnerships and organizations that provide the leadership development opportunities and spaces. There are regularized practices such as the annual symposium, the Mi'kmaw language, conference and other educational conferences, the chief's meetings, the education working group meetings for directors and MK leadership, the monthly principal meetings, the student focused experiences like speech festivals and math fairs, and so on that continually bring community members together to celebrate and support the on-going project of decolonizing education. These practices are how decolonization is enacted and they transcend any political shifts in local or school governance because they have become entrenched in the MK life cycle. These moments of coming together provide a public space to demonstrate the actualization of Mi'kmaw education. The conscious recognition of what colonization has done has mobilized the collective to follow a clear path to live out a more Mi'kmaw vision of education. Other Indigenous communities seeking to develop an authentic indigenous education system may learn from the MK's attention to collective ownership, capacity development, and relentless focus on bringing its people together to ensure what happens in classrooms for MK children is always linked to a shared vision. This means that MK has found ways to dismantle the master's house and reconstruct it in ways that are Mi'kmaq.

Conclusion

Colonial practices have been at play since contact and related government policies like residential schools, centralization, and so on have been shattering Indigenous community's ways of knowing, being, and doing for centuries and continue to do so today. MK's decolonizing approach to education is beginning to pull the shattered pieces back together to rebuild and reclaim a Mi'kmaw system of education. MK's vision clearly articulated, and shared by many, keeps language and culture as a central component in children's education:

Our people have a common opportunity that provides the best possible educational experience such that our students achieve the highest standards in Canada in the broadest sense, and they are comprehensively prepared for their chosen next steps after high school.

The education is provided in a way that our language, culture, and traditions are fostered in their lives thereafter and embedded in their character. We will achieve these goals in both our community as well as in provincial schools. (Retrieved from kinu.ca/introducing-mikmaw-kinamatnewey)

Such a formidable task requires collaboration and partnerships at many levels. This review of MK shows the multiple and complex ways in which communities, educators, institutions, and governments are working to do things in a new way that is rooted in old ways. MK is using the master's tools to dismantle the master's house and then rebuild a new dwelling rooted in Mi'kmaw language, culture, and values.

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Part III

Language and Culture

Margie Hohepa and Carl Mika



Language-Culture-Education: Problem and Potential – An Introduction

20

Margie Hohepa and Carl Mika

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Abstract

Education plays an enormous role in the regeneration and reconstruction of Indigenous language, culture, and knowledge. Examples span the globe of Indigenous peoples recreating “traditional” Indigenous education institutions of teaching and learning to support the continuation of their respective languages, cultures, and knowledges. Similarly, there are many and varied examples of Indigenous individuals and groups coopting colonial education institutions to establish education initiatives in support of language and culture regeneration. While originally aimed at dismantling and destroying Indigenous language and culture, colonially imposed education systems at early childhood, compulsory schooling, and tertiary levels have become significant sites for their regeneration and reconstruction. It is on the problem and potential of these systems that many writers in this section focus to develop rich and layered examinations of what we refer to in this introduction as the triad of language, culture, and education.

As section editors, along with section authors, we are ourselves very much implicated in the problem and potential across many dimensions of our respective identities. Along with all the authors, we find ourselves continuously engaging with conceptual shifts that are necessary for language and culture, which have been impacted negatively by colonization, to survive within educational spaces and systems that have invariably been set up with a primary goal

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of their destruction. We are both on a personal journey of language and culture regeneration – for Margie, this now includes three generations to her children and children’s children; for Carl, it is the subjective endeavor of theorizing a Maori philosophy of language. We are Indigenous educators who have taught in Indigenous education initiatives that span schooling (Margie) and higher education (Carl). We are now both Indigenous scholars in the “Western academy.” As Indigenous writers we are, in all respects, formed and spurred on by the limits and potential of both colonization and counter-colonial approaches to language and culture. The concern that the Indigenous writer has for these issues overrides any pretense at objectivity that the Western academic convention strives for.

Keywords

Culture · Language Regeneration · Pedagogy · Curriculum · Indigenous Philosophy

An Introduction

The triad of language, culture, and education that sits at the base of much Indigenous concern is so broad that it can be addressed in several ways. That those three aspects can cohabit so intimately should signal to the reader that, for Indigenous peoples, the problem of colonization is far from over and that this colonization ironically opens up possibilities for further approaches. It is our approach in this special section to consider the unlimited ways in which Indigenous peoples are called to describe a problem arising since colonization, but one that addresses elements that have their integrity in precolonial times. How Indigenous peoples are moved to oscillate between these two registers is not necessarily the focus of the authors that follow, but it is inevitable that any Indigenous writer on the theme(s) of language and culture will have at their backs the problem of colonization even as they discuss the liberating potential of language and cultural regeneration.

The inclusion of education moves the problem of colonization into a more direct line of vision. While research has been identified as “probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world’s vocabulary” (Smith 2012, p.1), it could be equally argued that “education” is considered so. Colonially imposed “education” systems were established with a fundamental aim of dismantling and destroying Indigenous language, culture, and knowledge systems (Fournier and Crey 1997; Simon 1998; Smith 2012). The ensuing present-day education systems at early childhood, compulsory schooling, and tertiary levels are sites that can either drive and support, or divert and subvert, Indigenous peoples’ efforts to sustain and strengthen their respective language, culture, and knowledge systems.

Acutely aware of the problem even if not explicitly articulating it, the writers who have contributed so expansively to this section are from communities that are

affected by a language-culture-education problem or potential. On their own, any of these separate elements of language, culture, and education complicate a theoretical description of life; in pairs, they produce even more inconsistencies and complexities. It will be obvious to many Indigenous readers that language and culture together, for instance, capture so much because they are deeply intertwined. Factor in education – and thus complete the triad – and we see the issues plummet to even greater depths. To attempt to signal the intricacy of this relationship, we can deal with language, culture, and education – to some extent – on their own accounts but always as located within the other elements' worlds. To start with “language,” which is the central theme of most of the authors' concerns it is complex, from an Indigenous perspective, and some of the authors allude to its tension with Western views on language. This nuanced complicating of language immediately opens up a set of expectations that cannot be understood by the conventional Western canon: Indigenous peoples are not simply regenerating language as an *item*, a medium of communication, but as a related, coextensive, vibrant entity that constitutes Indigenous selves, is formative, and in its own right educational (Mika 2017). Language can grasp the world according to the view of the Indigenous group, and it is thus a cultural concern. “Culture,” in turn, cannot be reduced to some notion of a social grouping that is preferred by the West, because it abstractly signposts the existence of all things in the world and how they allow one to express anything (and hence we return to the issue of “language”).

Of course, any attempt to neatly define and then make links between the three is difficult, but let us continue the process by starting with “education” from an Indigenous vantage point. It is multilayered and, like language and culture, deviates from what is expected. The emergence of Indigenous-initiated education firmly centered in language and culture across the globe, whether inside colonially imposed education systems (Hohepa 2014; Warner 2001) or founded on traditional Indigenous education (Cajete 1994), illustrates this Indigenous perspective which is always fuelled with the imagining of what might be and what should be. Indigenous education has close ties with cultural, spiritual, physical, social, and economic well-being, with belonging to land, water, sky, and each other (including the so-called nonhuman or inanimate “other”) and with ethics and justice and must therefore be articulated carefully within the local realities of an Indigenous group. Indigenous education's call to be articulated brings us back to the reality of language as a lived and relational experience and therefore as a cultural concern also. It encompasses language as an instrument of enculturation and socialization – language is called upon to help recreate Indigenous culture just as culture is called upon to help recreate Indigenous language (Hohepa et al. 1992). It becomes clear that the possibilities are endless for describing how the three are related.

Chapters in this section exemplify the density of this triad and include themes engaging with Indigenous language and cultural knowledge in the curriculum, Indigenous pedagogy inside and outside of colonial-developed institutions, policy leverages for language learning opportunities, the place of Indigenous language and

culture in teacher and higher education, and the politics and/or philosophies of language use, translation, and expansion. All the authors engage with conceptual shifts that are necessary for language and culture, which have been impacted negatively by colonization, to survive.

Some authors in this section present concrete interventions that involve the pairing of language and culture, in culturally defined educational environments or institutional classroom settings. In ► [Chap. 21, “Aloha ‘Āina-Placed Ho‘omoana ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i: A Path to Language Revitalization,”](#) Kapā (Katrina-Ann) Oliveira does this by highlighting the importance of concretizing interventions to ensure that Indigenous language education reflects the cultural reality of students and draws on traditional Indigenous education institutions. Acknowledging that language cannot be taught in isolation from culture and arguing that Indigenous language learning and teaching should not be confined to “western-style classrooms,” she explores the impact of Hawaiian immersion camps run under the auspices of the University of Hawaii. The camps not only immerse learners in language but also in contexts of “ancestral” practice, grooming them to become leaders within their Indigenous communities and the Indigenous Hawaiian nation.

In ► [Chap. 22, “Materials Development for Indigenous Language Learning and Teaching: Pedagogy, Praxis, and Possibilities,”](#) Candace Galla presents a concrete example aimed at meeting the significant resourcing challenges facing many Indigenous language regeneration enterprises. She discusses the extent to which digital technology can work as an ally to support the development of pedagogically, and culturally, relevant and authentic Indigenous language teaching materials. She also examines how digital resources help to take learning and teaching out of the “western-style classroom” and into family and community settings, normalizing Indigenous languages as part of everyday, as well as global, life.

In ► [Chap. 23, “Still Flourishing: Enacting Indigenous Language Immersion Pedagogies in the Era of US Common Core State Standards,”](#) the focus moves more explicitly to the classroom to examine the impact of the imposition of universalization on Indigenous language immersion schooling in this era of standardization. Mary Hermes and Erin Dyke examine how the so-called progressive common standards and curriculum aimed at the goal of national identity continue to “reinforce the settler state and Indigenous erasure.” Providing concrete examples from Ojibwe language immersion schooling, illustrate how standards attempt to divert and subvert the regeneration agenda in order to (although in their words “never successfully) reproduce students and teachers as colonized subjects.” The chapter exposes the complicated and contradictory challenges that immersion teachers and students have to confront and resist daily as they work to strengthen and grow the immersion schooling movement.

Colonization is a central theme in any discussion of Indigenous language and culture under threat and/or under regeneration. While all chapters acknowledge colonial impacts, a number of authors put colonization to the forefront of their discussions spanning language-culture-education. In ► [Chap. 24, “Listen to the Voices: Informing, Reforming, and Transforming Higher Education for First Nations’ Peoples in Australia,”](#) Jeannie Herbert draws on her lived experience as an Aboriginal woman from the West Kimberley region of Western Australia to reflect on language

and culture within the realities of colonizing institutions of higher education. She proposes that to truly comprehend Indigenous higher education in Australia, one must understand Australian education as a colonial construct. First Nations people's attempts to ground their tertiary education journeys in their own languages and cultures while engaging with Western knowledges and languages can be conceived as simultaneously themed by colonizing/colonized and counter-colonial experience.

Language and culture can also be reconceived within specific educational disciplines or curricula. Roberta and Jodie Hunter raise the possibilities of culturally responsive teaching in mathematics in ► [Chap. 25, "Maintaining a Cultural Identity While Constructing a Mathematical Disposition as a Pāsifika Learner."](#) In their critique of marginalizing practices experienced by Pāsifika students learning mathematics in Aotearoa New Zealand, they also touch on interplaying tensions between Indigenous Pacific identity and the colonial construct of minority immigrant identity in settler societies. They argue that teaching of curriculum can never be "culture-free" and, drawing on voices of Pāsifika students and their teachers, illustrate the potential of pedagogy that is closely linked to students' cultural identities and known worlds.

While also putting colonization to the forefront as a central theme, ► [Chap. 26, "Efforts and Concerns for Indigenous Language Education in Taiwan"](#) signals a shift in focus from Indigenous efforts to colonial government responses and responsibilities. Joy Lin Chen-Feng, Grace Gao I-An, and Debby Lin Pi-I outline the waves of assimilation experienced by Taiwan's Indigenous peoples and then turn to consider Taiwan's colonial government responses to the preservation of Indigenous languages and dialects. While these are described as "top-down projects" in the chapter, international Indigenous movements provided the initial impetus to Taiwan's Indigenous people's activism that brought about legislative change, which in turn leveraged space for concrete language and cultural regeneration efforts. The chapter overviews the language learning opportunities being provided for Indigenous children and youth and resource development, along with growing grassroots activity that has accompanied an increased level of awareness of Indigenous languages.

In ► [Chap. 27, "Sámi Language for All: Transformed Futures Through Mediative Education,"](#) Erika Sarivaara and Piggja Keskitalo continue the assimilation theme with a historical description of its Sámi legacy. The chapter proposes a mediative role for Sámi education in order for language regeneration to counter that legacy of assimilation and its deleterious impact on Sámi peoples. They tease out the problem and potential of "Sámi education" that transverses colonial and national borders crisscrossing Sámi territory(s). The chapter's premise that language regeneration will support the development of "social harmony in a postcolonial situation" is coupled with warnings against problems of essentialism and ethnocentrism, which may not only engender racism against but also within Indigenous peoples.

While ► [Chap. 27, "Sámi Language for All: Transformed Futures Through Mediative Education,"](#) posits a postcolonial future in which regeneration of Sámi languages plays a pivotal role, Mere Skerrett calls for a sovereign future in ► [Chap. 28, "Colonialism, Māori Early Childhood, Language, and the Curriculum."](#) She seeks to unsettle perceptions that the visibility of te reo Māori (the Māori

language) in Aotearoa New Zealand's education system particularly in curricula such as the early childhood document *Te Whāriki*, is an indication of its legitimization and a reflection that colonization is over. She reminds us that imperialism and colonialism are not located in the historical but remain ideologically and politically imbued within education via policy curriculum and pedagogy, even in the sites we identify as Indigenous language schooling. In those sites where children are the priority, there is much to gain and much to lose. The regeneration of *te reo Māori* is more than a resistance to colonial rule, more than a counter to assimilation and injustice, and more than a dimension of decolonization. Mere Skerrett argues that is "the assertion of Māori sovereignty" in "'our place'," providing clear "pathways to liberation and self-determination."

The final three chapters turn to forefront language itself. ► [Chapter 29, "Elaboration and Intellectualization of Te Reo Māori: The Role of Initial Teacher Education"](#) focuses on the necessity of expanding the scope of an Indigenous language in order to disclose the world that is important at the time. In ► [Chaps. 30, "Ka unuhi a me ka ho'okē: A Critique of Translation in a Language Revitalization Context,"](#) and ► [31, "A Term's Irruption and a Possibility for Response: A Māori Glance at "Epistemology"'](#)", the phenomena of language and culture are paired by placing particular emphasis on language as a carrier of tradition and/or colonization.

In ► [Chap. 29, "Elaboration and Intellectualization of Te Reo Māori: The Role of Initial Teacher Education,"](#) Tony Trinick advocates for an acceleration of "language intellectualization" to provide new linguistic resources and to support the ability to operate in deeply cognitive ways in an Indigenous language. This is not only important for language regeneration and language vitality argues that, in particular, this is crucial for preparing teachers to teach (and learn) in Indigenous languages at the high levels of abstraction required in schooling and higher education today. Developing a teaching workforce that can teach effectively through a regenerating Indigenous language presents complex challenges. This chapter examines factors that impact on Indigenous language teacher education programs, illustrating pedagogical and curriculum-related tensions that they face, and discusses implications for language planning for Māori medium initial teacher education.

Laiana Wong and Kekeha Solis address the immediate problem of translation and the sorts of worlds that are transported within translation in ► [Chap. 30, "Ka unuhi a me ka ho'okē: A Critique of Translation in a Language Revitalization Context."](#) In this chapter they explain their refusal to translate a weekly publication written in the Hawaiian language to English. They argue that translation of Indigenous language text works against language regeneration efforts. Translation of an Indigenous minority language to the colonial language of power carries with it implicit messages of dominance and subordination. Given that language expresses and reflects cultural views of the world, translation from Indigenous to non-Indigenous has potential to undermine the Indigenous cultural lens through repackaging the message to reflect dominant cultural understandings inherent to the translated word.

In the final chapter, Carl Mika further explores the nature of language in his examination of how language needs to be paired with the world philosophically. He

examines how the understanding of language, analysis of an utterance or evaluation of a term, encompasses layerings of personal and collective experiences, relationships, histories, and contexts. In doing so he articulates in greater depth the proposition we foreshadowed above: that language is a far from straightforward phenomenon in Indigenous thought and has very little to do with dominant Western views of language.

As a final word of introduction when we sent out the invitation for contributions to this special section, in line with the handbook editors' wishes we deliberately kept these separate concepts of language, culture, and education broad so that contributors could outline, examine, and theorize the concerns and solutions, problems, and potential, from specifically local experiences. Yet what this section also reveals is the possibility for further dialogue on the understandings emerging from the different communities. While language and cultural regeneration emerges as an agenda in common, chapters in this section weave a rich and intricate tapestry of the many and diverse ways Indigenous peoples engage with, challenge, and create "education" to advance this shared agenda.

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Aloha 'Āina-Placed Ho'omoana 'Ōlelo Hawai'i: A Path to Language Revitalization

21

Katrina-Ann R. Kapā'anaokalāokeola Nākoa Oliveira

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Abstract

I ka 'ōlelo ke ola, i ka 'ōlelo ka make (in language there is life, in language there is death). This 'ōlelo no'ēau (wise saying) inextricably links our survival as a people to the survival of our language. Languages convey nuances unique to our own worldviews, cultures, and traditions.

Kawaihuelani Center for Hawaiian Language at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa and the Hawaiian Language program at the University of Hawai'i at Maui are cognizant that language is the carrier of culture and worldview. It is further acknowledged that language cannot be taught in isolation or merely within the confines of a western-style classroom. Thus, both programs seek to incorporate various strategies that contribute toward indigenous language education by

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creating opportunities for students to study the Hawaiian language via learning environments outside of the traditional language classroom setting.

This paper will explore the impact that ho‘omoana ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian immersion camps) have had on increasing the language proficiency of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language) students, introducing students to ancestral Kanaka practices, and grooming the next generations of Kānaka to become leaders within the lāhui (Hawaiian nation; Hawaiian community). Furthermore, it will demonstrate how the lessons learned from these language immersion camps intersect with the field of education.

Keywords

Language revitalization · Place-based education · Language immersion · Indigenous knowledge

Introduction: A Synopsis of the History of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i

Despite the fact that ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i served as the medium of communication in ka pae ‘āina Hawai‘i (the Hawaiian archipelago) for many centuries, within a single century of foreign occupation, the native tongue of Hawai‘i became endangered. This is particularly astounding when one considers that Kānaka (Native Hawaiians) successfully transitioned from a solely oral culture to a highly literate culture rapidly (Lucas 2000). As Wong (2017) asserts

The technology of literacy was recognized immediately for its capacity to convey meaning at a level transcending that of vocalization. It was clearly an enhanced level of communication readily available to everyone. As such, the rush to acquire the ability to expand the dimensions of communication was so profoundly widespread, being supported and encouraged at the highest levels of society, that the Hawaiian population became one of the most highly literate in the world in a relatively short period of time, which is itself indicative of the capability of Hawaiians to adapt to a rapidly changing world.

By 1834, the same year that the first ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i newspaper, *Ka Lama Hawaii*, was published, between 91% and 95% of Kānaka were reported to be literate (Walk 2014). Over the course of 114 years, more than 100 different ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i newspapers were produced totaling approximately 125,000 newspaper length pages of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i text (Nogelmeier 2010). In spite of these efforts to sustain ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i as a thriving language, by the early 1980s, fewer than 50 native speakers under the age of 18 remained (Kawai‘ae‘a et al. 2007).

The rapid silencing of the native tongue of ka pae ‘āina Hawai‘i was the culminating effect of a number of factors including, but not limited to: the collapse of the Kanaka (Native Hawaiian) population due to introduced diseases, the severance of Kānaka from the ‘āina (the land, that which feeds) via land privatization and taxation, and the loss of sovereignty of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i by means of the illegal overthrow of the monarchy. On the educational front, laws were created to muffle ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i in the classroom. Act 57 of the 1896 Laws of the Republic of Hawai‘i stipulated,

The English language shall be the medium and basis of instruction in all public and private schools, provided that where it is desired that another language shall be taught in addition to the English language, such instruction may be authorized by the Department, either by its rules, the curriculum of the school, or by direct order in any particular instance. Any schools that shall not conform to the provisions of this Section shall not be recognized by the Department.

This law remained in effect for 90 years. Thus, it was not until 1986 that ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i immersion schools could legally run without fear of failing to be recognized by the government.

The marginalization of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i in a western-centric educational system historically through laws and ordinances has produced not only a monolingual society, but also a monocultural approach to education. This chapter will explore language revitalization efforts by Kanaka academics to challenge these western-centric monocultural educational approaches by repositioning Kanaka ways of knowing and understanding at the forefront. After discussing the historical context that sets the stage for the ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i revitalization movement, this chapter will delve into the role that aloha ‘āina-placed education has played in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i regeneration endeavors.

‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa

The University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, the flagship and inaugural campus of the University of Hawai‘i system, was the first campus to offer ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i instruction at the college level. In 1921, the University of Hawai‘i Board of Regents declared, “The University should become the center for the study of Hawaiian and a strong effort made to preserve the language in its purity” (Johnson 1998, p.138). To fulfill the University’s obligation to ensure the survival of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i in perpetuity, kumu ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language teachers) developed a variety of courses and teaching strategies over the years to reverse the language shift (Fishman 1991; Adley-SantaMaria 1997). In 1922, Frederick W. Beckley, the first instructor of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, taught a beginner’s course (Johnson 1998). Later, Beckley and his successor, John Henry Wise, relied on religious writings for the basis of their curricula. Succeeding instructors developed their own textbooks or adopted Kanaka ancestral mo‘olelo (historical accounts) as their texts.

During the Hawaiian Renaissance of the 1970s, interest in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i increased dramatically; several hundred students enrolled in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa alone. Kānaka sought to revitalize ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i as a living thriving language. Therefore, two measures pertaining to ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i were added to the Hawai‘i Constitution through the Hawai‘i Constitutional Convention. First, ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i was re-established as an official language of ka pae ‘āina Hawai‘i. Second, the Constitutional Convention (1978) acknowledged the state’s responsibility to “provide for a Hawaiian education program consisting of language, culture and history in the public schools” (Article X, Section 4). While the

Constitution was amended to declare that English and Hawaiian were the official languages of Hawai‘i, in reality, ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i was only “required for public acts and transactions only as provided by law” (Article XV, Section 4).

By the early 1980s, ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i revitalization pioneers, many of whom were ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i instructors at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, recognized the need to grow new generations of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i speaking children in order to ensure the survival of the language. They formed the ‘Aha Pūnana Leo, Inc. In 1984, the first ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i immersion preschool, Pūnana Leo, opened in Kekaha, Kaua‘i. Modeled after Māori Kohanga Reo in Aotearoa, these “language nests” sought to feed ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i to the next generations. As previously mentioned, after 90 years, in 1986, Act 57 of the 1896 Laws of the Republic of Hawai‘i which forbade the use of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i as the sole medium of education was finally repealed, thus paving the way for ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i to be legally reintroduced in the ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i immersion classroom. The next year, the Board of Education approved Ka Papahana Kaiapuni Hawai‘i (the Hawaiian Immersion Program) as a 2-year pilot project. In 1990, permanent status was granted to Ka Papahana Kaiapuni Hawai‘i as a K-12 public school program (Warner 2013).

Total Language Immersion

Total language immersion has proven to be an effective tool for language acquisition and intergenerational language revitalization (Reyhner 1997). The most ideal setting for a second language learner to engage in total immersion is among a community of native speakers. Unfortunately, for second language learners of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, the mother tongue of the Hawaiian archipelago, very few people speak ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i as their first language today. Native speakers, defined here as ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i speakers who not only have learned ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i as their own first language, but who have also learned ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i from a continuous unbroken line of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i first language speakers, fall into two categories: the Ni‘ihau community and the very elderly.

As time passes, it is becoming increasingly more difficult to find ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i native speakers. Ilei Beniamina, a former resident of Ni‘ihau, estimated that in 2008, less than 75 people remained in the ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i native speaking population of Ni‘ihau (Kimura et al. 2009). As a result, gaining access into the last ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i speaking community can be a daunting task for those eager to immerse themselves in the language. The geographical isolation that has enabled the Ni‘ihau community to maintain their mother tongue – in spite of laws and other efforts to silence Hawai‘i’s indigenous language in governmental and educational arenas – has also served as a nearly impenetrable barrier for language enthusiasts. Access to the privately owned island of Ni‘ihau is extremely exclusive. Few people outside of the Robinson family who owns the island and the native population that have been residing on Ni‘ihau continuously since precontact times have ever set foot on the island. Although a portion of the Ni‘ihau community currently resides on the neighboring island of Kaua‘i, access is generally limited to those who have previously established personal

relationships with members of the recluse community. Thus, total language immersion within a 'ōlelo Hawai'i native speaking community is extremely difficult to achieve.

When one compares the number of native speakers of 'ōlelo Hawai'i to the number of native speakers of various world languages, it becomes clear why so many indigenous mother tongues are on the verge of extinction. Unlike second language learners of world languages who may gain access to robust communities of native speakers, for second language learners of less commonly spoken languages such as 'ōlelo Hawai'i, access to these speech communities is not as readily available. As *Adley-SantaMaria (1997)* asserts,

Speakers of Chinese, Spanish, or other so-called “world languages” have non-speakers who can always find a speech community even into the future that will be available to them if they want to learn their languages, but indigenous languages are unique speech communities. Once our native speakers are gone and the younger generations become completely monolingual in English, the loss of our languages is permanent. (p. 136)

Anyone eager to learn a world language need not have a previously established personal relationship or an approved research agenda with members of that speech community in order to be immersed in their target language and culture. Rather, they may simply take a trip to that region of the world; instantaneously, they are immersed in the language and culture of that place. For languages on the verge of extinction, however, access to these scarce speech communities often require an intimate relationship with someone who is either a member of the speech community or is known and trusted by at least one member of that target community.

While total immersion in a thriving speech community is ideal, it is important to note that more than one type of language immersion experience exists. Ken Hale identifies five categories he refers to as “degrees of immersion.” The first and most desirable degree is where children learn a language within the home setting. The second degree of immersion is where young children attend a preschool or kindergarten where the target language is the only language utilized. The third degree of immersion is one where a native speaker and a second language speaker spend a great deal of time together speaking solely in the target language. The fourth degree of immersion is where the target language is used as the medium of instruction of a content course (e.g., geography, history, science). The fifth and final degree is the monolingual language course in which the target language is utilized in conversational settings (*Hale 2013*). The primary focus of this paper, ho'omoana 'ōlelo Hawai'i, falls within the parameters of the fifth degree of immersion.

Ho'omoana 'Ōlelo Hawai'i

To fill the void of an existing robust 'ōlelo Hawai'i speech community, kumu 'ōlelo Hawai'i have been utilizing ho'omoana 'ōlelo Hawai'i for student and faculty development for several decades. The main objectives of these camps are to achieve

increased language proficiency and cultural competency. Many kumu have created weekend-long camps with their students either as a solo venture or collaborative effort with other kumu. Some kumu have organized well-established programs that have spanned more than a decade.

Mauiakama is an example of a ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i immersion aloha ‘āina-placed (a program that places a love and respect for the land at the core of the curriculum) experiential learning initiative. For the purposes of this chapter, the term “aloha ‘āina-placed” is utilized rather than the more mainstream terms, “placed-based” or “‘āina-based” because “‘āina-based” simply Hawaiianizes the “place-based” pedagogy by translating “place” to “‘āina.” Aloha ‘āina-placed education is more than simply learning that occurs outside of the classroom. Aloha ‘āina-placed education is a recognition that Kanaka are genealogically related to the ‘āina and the ‘āina is our ancestor. The ‘āina is not only the source of our physical nourishment, but it also feeds us spiritually and mentally. Aloha ‘āina-placed education reinforces the notion that Kanaka have a birthright to reside on the ‘āina and by virtue of this birthright we also have a kuleana (responsibility, burden) to care for and protect the ‘āina.

The Mauiakama summer program, co-organized by kumu ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i from the Maui College and Mānoa campuses of the University of Hawai‘i system, was created in 2008 to revitalize ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i by providing participants with an opportunity to speak solely in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i for a week while engaging in hands-on ancestral Kanaka cultural practices with expert practitioners and native speakers of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i. Participants are taught about the history and significance of the places visited. They also engage in hands-on land management practices such as restoring traditional wetland lo‘i (poned taro gardens), cleaning and maintaining ancient irrigation ditches, clearing invasive plants, and rebuilding traditional fish-pond walls. In transit around the island, participants listen to audio recordings of native speakers related to the history of the places visited and the cultural practices that those places are known for. What makes this ho‘omoana ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i unique is its focus on engaging in various mālama ‘āina (sustainability) practices.

Mauiakama consists of two distinct components for which participants may receive up to six upper division university Hawaiian language credits. The first component, worth three credits, is a week of coursework at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa on the island of O‘ahu. Participants engage in a variety of Kanaka cultural practices including, but not limited to: speaking solely in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i for a week with students, faculty, and native speakers; carving out papa ku‘i ‘ai (poi boards); creating pōhaku ku‘i ‘ai (poi pounders); producing educational digital stories; fashioning ‘apu ‘awa (coconut bowls); working in a variety of different lo‘i; gathering ancestral foods; cooking foods using ancestral methods; learning historical accounts and traditions about the places visited; memorizing ancestral songs and chants; listening to audio tapes of native speakers and lifelong residents of the places visited; learning about the art of haku mele (song and poetry composition); visiting wahi pana (storied places); planting, cultivating, and harvesting taro; and identifying and classifying more than 30 varieties of taro. The second component of the program, worth an additional three university credits, is the weeklong ho‘omoana ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i on the island of Maui. All participants reside together with expert

Kanaka cultural practitioners and native speakers of 'ōlelo Hawai'i for the duration of the week at various locations on Maui. Since the kumu conducting Mauiakama are direct lineal descendants of the very families who have called these particular rural places home for centuries, participants have a unique opportunity to learn about the places, people, and practices of the communities they visit in ways that very few ever will.

The long-term, overarching goal of Mauiakama is to revitalize the mother tongue of Hawai'i by creating an educational setting integrating ancestral practices along with outdoor experiential learning techniques. The short-term goals of Mauiakama are to increase individual participants' 'ōlelo Hawai'i proficiency; foster a love and respect for the natural environment; introduce participants to ancestral Kanaka cultural sustainability practices (e.g., fishing, farming, food preparation); provide participants with a rare opportunity to engage in conversations with native speakers of 'ōlelo Hawai'i; increase the visibility of Kawaihuelani Center for Hawaiian Language (Kawaihuelani) at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa to community college campuses; recruit students from community colleges to attend Kawaihuelani by establishing a link between community college students and Kawaihuelani faculty; and educate participants about significant Kanaka cultural sites.

The indicators of success used to measure the progress toward achieving the program's objectives include: conducting written and verbal pre-tests and post-tests to evaluate participants' 'ōlelo Hawai'i proficiency levels before and after participation in Mauiakama; creating a video documentary to record participants engaging in ancestral Kanaka cultural sustainability practices, conversing with native speakers of 'ōlelo Hawai'i and learning about significant Kanaka cultural sites throughout the island of Maui; and compiling a portfolio for each participant to measure and document his/her own growth.

Over the years, numerous kumu 'ōlelo Hawai'i have offered their own ho'omoana 'ōlelo Hawai'i (e.g., Ola Nā Iwi, Huaka'i i Kaho'olawe, Kaulakahi Aloha). The location and duration of these immersion camps have varied as have the cultural activities that participants engaged in. However, the goals and objectives of these initiatives remained constant: to increase students' 'ōlelo Hawai'i abilities; expose students to hands-on activities incorporating 'ōlelo Hawai'i, culture, and history; and to provide opportunities for students to converse solely in 'ōlelo Hawai'i for extended periods of time.

While most of the immersion camps created by kumu at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa target students, Annette Kuuipolani Wong, a 'ōlelo Hawai'i native speaker from Ni'ihau and faculty member of Kawaihuelani, established a faculty development program known as Kaulakahi Aloha in 2002. The purpose of Kaulakahi Aloha was to strengthen the language skills of Kawaihuelani's 'ōlelo Hawai'i faculty by immersing them into the Ni'ihau community. For 1 week, faculty members resided together on the island of Kaua'i along with native speakers from Ni'ihau. Faculty and native speakers spoke entirely in 'ōlelo Hawai'i for the duration of the program, engaged in various Kanaka cultural practices, visited historical sites on the islands of Kaua'i and Ni'ihau, and discussed some of the intricacies of the Ni'ihau dialect including vocabulary, jokes, slang, and other expressions unique to the Ni'ihau community. Although it

only ran for 3 years, Kaulakahi Aloha remains one of the most beneficial professional development initiatives of all time for Kawaihuelani. Faculty members were able to strengthen their own ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i skills via language immersion with native speakers. The lessons learned and knowledge gained on these immersion trips inspired many faculty members to rethink and revamp their own teaching styles and strategies to include more practical applications of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i in their lessons.

Educational Frameworks from a Kanaka Perspective

Ho‘omoana ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i are rooted in ancestral knowledge systems and ways of knowing. Ancestral knowledge applied in a modern context is what Ledward refers to as “new old wisdom at work” (Ledward 2013, p.35). Indigenous scholars often recognize that many of the so-called “new approaches” and educational teaching philosophies currently utilized in the field of education actually intersect with ancient indigenous epistemologies.

The progress made by Kanaka scholars, who are disenchanting by western pedagogies that fail to value traditional ways of knowing, sheds light on the brilliance of holistic ancestral knowledge bases. Through these collective efforts, great strides are being made to infiltrate the academic arena and legitimize ancestral ways of knowing. Kānaka are demonstrating that their ‘ike kupuna (ancestral knowledge), rich in science, mathematics, engineering, and mālama ‘āina lessons, are just as relevant today as they were centuries ago.

Gaining recognition for this vast ancestral knowledge is not a struggle that Kānaka face alone. As Adley-SantaMaria (1997) contends,

In their traditional societies, indigenous people educated the youth in holistic ways teaching them that all of life is interconnected. Those teachings fell on the wayside along with many of our cultures and languages a tragedy of our times. The more we revive and understand the traditional skills, knowledge, and beliefs needed to succeed in an interdependent world, the more one sees the error of thinking that we can focus exclusively on the dominant societal education system and ignore our indigenous ways of teaching of the past. (p.134)

When one considers the massive shift in the intergenerational transmission of knowledge that has occurred over the last century and a half, it comes as no surprise that Kānaka struggle in today’s educational system, receiving the lowest scores on standardized tests in comparison to any ethnic group in Hawai‘i.

Aloha ‘Āina-Placed Learning: Place-Based Perspectives

Learning from the natural landscape and the local community through “place-based education” is not a new phenomenon (Smith 2002). Learning from the environment outside in the elements was commonplace in ancestral times. Educational approaches of this nature, as C. Kanoelani Nāone (2008) asserts,

helped children build brain connections necessary for higher level thinking skills, empowered families culturally, passed on cultural 'ike (knowledge) for further perpetuation, reified the importance of listening to the stories of kūpuna (ancestors) and oral tradition, built community relationships, fostered family relationships, nurtured the land, helped to ensure that native plants that are endangered in their natural environment will have a chance to survive and physically connected families to that specific place (p. 192).

Gruenewald and Smith (2008) insist, “All education prior to the invention of the common school was place-based. It is education as practiced in modern societies that has cut ties to the local” (p. 1). Returning to this more traditional way of teaching allows for adapting the curriculum to suit the unique needs of the particular students being taught by taking into consideration where they are from and how their places inform their worldviews.

The connection between Kānaka and 'āina in aloha 'āina-based pedagogies cannot be overstated. According to Kanaka historical accounts, the 'āina is the older sibling of the Kanaka. As the younger sibling, the Kanaka has a duty to respect and honor the 'āina as its elder sibling. In turn, the 'āina provides sustenance for the Kanaka. Kānaka are connected to each other and to the natural environment by a common mo'okū'auhau (genealogy) (Kame'eleihiwa 1992). Moreover, the 'āina is viewed as a chief while the Kanaka is a servant in the 'ōlelo no'eau (proverb), “He ali'i ka 'āina, he kauwā ke kanaka” (Pukui 1983, p. 62).

Kanaka connection to places is further reinforced by their experiences and interactions with the 'āina. According to Kanahēle (1986),

In the case of the traditional Hawaiian, for example, almost every significant activity of his life was fixed to a place. No genealogical chant was possible without the mention of personal geography; no myth could be conceived without reference to a place of some kind; no family could have any standing in the community unless it had a place; no place of any significance, even the smallest, went without a name; and no history could have been made or preserved without reference, directly or indirectly, to a place. So, place had enormous meaning for Hawaiians of old. (p. 175)

Aloha 'āina-placed education grounds students in experiential learning tied to their own places. Aloha 'āina-based programs encourage a reconnection with one's ancestral homelands, cultural practices, as well as one's communities (Young 1998; McGregor 2007; ho'omanawanui 2008; Naone 2008; Beamer 2014; Oliveira 2014; Oliveira and Wright 2016).

Aloha 'āina-placed initiatives that blend the natural environment with Kanaka worldviews are fundamental to revitalizing 'ōlelo Hawai'i in a manner that is authentic. Warner (1999) insists,

Language—the words people use to describe their environment, thoughts, emotions—as an expression of worldview is a medium through which people transmit culture and history. Language, separated from the environment it evolved to describe, and the thoughts and emotions that grew in that environment, becomes something new and different. That Hawaiian language taught and learned out of context, distinct from the culture (i.e., its people), becomes a new language that evolved from the original. (p.77)

This approach allows students to connect and relate their academic lessons to their own lives and local environment, not just to the sterile objects and situations conjured up in the confines of a traditional classroom setting. Similarly, Stiles (1997) contends, “Teaching a language in a sterile environment outside the companion culture dooms the language to only academic application” (p. 256). A more effective method of teaching a language is to immerse second language learners in second language rich environments such as those created by ho‘omoana ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Reyhner 1997).

Mauiakama and Kaulakahialoha are aloha ‘āina-placed programs built on the premise that Kanaka epistemologies are holistic knowledge systems that incorporate language, place, culture, identity, and personal experience. Thus, these programs seek to increase participants’ language production, place-based knowledge, and cultural competency through hands-on experiential learning within the Kanaka community to better understand the worldview of native speakers. Aloha ‘āina-placed educational programs such as these embrace the ‘āina as a kumu (source of knowledge; teacher). The ‘āina grounds the language, culture, worldview, and identity of Kānaka to our kulāiwi (ancestral homeland).

Since the ‘āina is revered as an educator, the western educational notions of “teacher” and “student” are somewhat abstruse. While the kumu kula (school teacher) may be the primary source of knowledge in a traditional western classroom, from an aloha ‘āina-placed perspective, the kumu kula is perhaps better described as a facilitator or catalyst of knowledge seeking. In an aloha ‘āina-placed program, kumu kula openly acknowledge that students and teachers alike may learn a great deal by observing and interacting with the ‘āina. Manulani Aluli Meyer (2003) writes, “Learn from land and not simply about land. Land educates us . . . We must all begin, again, to learn from ‘āina. We have places and people who can teach us how” (p.8).

‘Āina-based collaborative community initiatives, included under the umbrella of aloha ‘āina-placed initiatives, are gaining popularity and becoming established throughout ka pae ‘āina (Ledward 2013). Aloha ‘āina-placed pedagogies are transforming the educational system by normalizing ‘āina-centric teaching strategies. No longer are aloha ‘āina-placed programs seen merely as kīpuka or isolated sites of resistance to the dominant educational system. Rather, aloha ‘āina-placed models are catalysts for systemic societal change (Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua 2013).

Numerous Kanaka scholars have highlighted the positive impact of ‘āina-based pedagogies on learners (ho‘omanawanui 2008; Naone 2008; Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua 2013; Ledward 2013; Maunakea 2016; Oliveira and Wright 2016). Today, aloha ‘āina-placed programs provide alternative teaching strategies that may appeal to some students who do not thrive in a typical classroom setting. In aloha ‘āina-placed programs, students are often encouraged to work together as a community of scholars to find solutions for the common good of all. Rather than creating a competitive environment where students are pitted against one another, in an aloha ‘āina-placed model, external forces such as climate change and pollution are often the polarizing forces that unite students to work together (Adley-SantaMaria, 1997).

Through aloha 'āina-placed pedagogies, students learn the 'ike ku'una (ancestral wisdom) residing on the 'āina or as Kanaka scholar, ku'ulaloa ho'omanui (2008) refers to it as "'ike 'āina" (ancestral knowledge about land and place). According to emerging Kanaka scholar Summer Maunakea (2016), 'āina-based pedagogies are, "processes of learning and teaching from the natural landscapes and oceanscapes of Hawai'i's environment utilizing 'ike kupuna (ancestral knowledge, language, and customary practices) to frame curricula for all learners. 'Āina-based pedagogies help learners develop a sense of connection to place and instill values of responsibility and interdependence" (p. 3).

Importance of Local Knowledge

The realization that people worldwide have their own socially accepted lens through which they perceive and interpret the world is key to acknowledging the importance of local knowledge. Such a consciousness honors and legitimizes the varied systems of wisdom that exist both locally and globally. It further acknowledges that people relate to the world in ways that are unique to their own life experiences and interactions with their places. All too often, people assume that the Kanaka society is homogenous; Kanaka traditions, practices, and experiences are identical throughout ka pae 'āina Hawai'i.

Through an aloha 'āina-placed curriculum, immersion students learn firsthand from cultural practitioners of various places who approach the same cultural activity (e.g., fishing, farming, weaving, kapa making) differently depending on the lay of the land and sea as well as the resources available to their communities. By engaging in the same cultural practice in different locations, students observe for themselves how cultural practices are performed in ways that are unique to particular communities (Smith 2002).

Local knowledge often reveals itself in a performative nature through cultural practices. David Turnbull (2000) asserts "performative links" are key to understanding places and that a universal aspect of all knowledge systems is their "localness." Performance is a vital means of reinforcing people's identities, giving credence to their social experiences, and constructing a framework by which a society can be understood (Blunt 2003).

Experiential Learning

Kānaka heavily rely on experiences and sensual information to better understand their world. By seeing, hearing, touching, tasting, and smelling, Kānaka draw insight from their environment (Meyer 2001). Therefore, Kānaka are encouraged to "nānā ka maka, ho'olohe ka pepeiao, pa'a ka waha" (watch with your eyes, listen with your ears, and close your mouth) (Pukui 1983, p. 248). Close observation of knowledgeable people coupled with lived experience leads to enlightenment. "Ma ka hana ka 'ike" is a proverbial saying asserting that one learns by actively participating (Pukui

1983, p. 227). “‘Ike” has the dual meanings of being able “to see” and “to know.” Those who actively participate in various activities can literally “see” how something works and are better able to understand it intimately. Thus, experiential learning is a key component of Mauiakama and other ho‘omoana ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i. As Cajete (2000) suggests, “True knowing is based on experiencing nature directly. ‘Doing’ and playing are integral parts of Native learning; apprenticeship is a form of directed learning” (p. 66).

Historical Accounts

As previously stated, Kanaka ways of transmitting knowledge were primarily oral in nature in ancestral times. Thus, contextual clues about Kanaka worldviews, culture, and relationship to the ‘āina are embedded in language. Mele (songs) and ‘ōlelo no‘eau (proverbs), for example, are prime sources of this type of knowledge. Through songs, composers make references to people, places, and other aspects of their culture. Ancient stories are revealed and remembered through the lyrics of songs. Similarly, proverbs provide a deeper understanding of the culture from which it is derived as well as the traditions and beliefs of the society.

Aloha ‘āina-based programs also provide opportunities for Kānaka to reconnect with the ‘āina by learning the history of events that occurred at these places by studying some of the mele, ‘ōlelo no‘eau, and mo‘olelo. By singing mele, reciting ‘ōlelo no‘eau, and retelling ancestral mo‘olelo, the land and kūpuna are given a voice. The ‘āina serves as a textbook on ‘ike kupuna (Peralto 2014). The ‘āina is a source by which Kānaka learn about their kūpuna, their struggles, and their successes. By virtue of the fact that Kānaka share the same land base that their ancestors once called home, much of their wisdom is still situated in these places. In *I Am This Land, and This Land is Me*, hula master and Kanaka philosopher Pua Kanahēle (2005) exclaims, “We have to pay attention to our Hawaiian native intelligence and experiences. We should be able to look for them, define them—because nothing is lost. In fact, we still have a lot of knowledge that was left to us by our ancestors. It’s still there, we just have to go and look for it” (p. 21).

As numerous Kanaka scholars note, ka lāhui Hawai‘i (the Hawaiian nation) has a long history of being displaced from their ancestral homelands (Young 1998; Warner 1999, 2013; Lucas 2000; Kanahēle 2005; McGregor 2007; ho‘omanawanui 2008; Naone 2008; Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua 2013; Ledward 2013; Beamer 2014; Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua et al. 2014; Oliveira 2014; Peralto 2014; Maunakea 2016; Oliveira and Wright 2016). Hawaiian Studies Professor Jonathan Osorio (2014) asserts,

The alienation of ‘āina from Kānaka so accelerated and intensified over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that there has been few of us today who consciously recognize the enormous harm that has been done to us physically, emotionally, and spiritually by that separation. But the evidence of harm is everywhere: crippled and dysfunctional families, rampant drug and alcohol abuse, disproportionately high incidences of arrest and incarceration, and alarming health and mortality statistics, some of which may be traced to diet and lifestyle, which themselves are traceable to our separation from ‘āina (p. ix).

Aloha ‘āina-placed initiatives seek to rebuild relationships with kulāiwi and local communities and to create a heightened appreciation for the history of each place.

Community Engagement

The aloha ‘āina-placed educational framework values learning via a focus on collaborative community action (Naone 2008; Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua 2013; Beamer 2014). Through grassroots efforts, students learn the value of working with others to achieve a common goal that is mutually beneficial. On ho‘omoana ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, for example, participants often engage in a variety of mālama ‘āina activities. The communities visited relish the opportunity for the ho‘omoana ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i participants to work with them because the group is able to accomplish a great deal in a short period of time. With the collective effort of 30–40 people, Mauiakama participants have been known to clear large lo‘i in a single day – a task that would take individuals an entire month to accomplish. They have cleared an acre of land of trees and shrubs in a day or two. Participants are reminded of the ancestral proverb, “‘a‘ohe hana nui ke alu ‘ia” (no task is too big when many work together) (Pukui 1983, p. 18). Through experiences like these, they are doing more than just caring for the land, they are building strong communities and lasting connections to the places they visit. They are developing a sense of kuleana to care for one another as well as the ‘āina that sustains everyone.

Once a deep and personal relationship with the ‘āina is made, magic happens. Students tend to be more receptive to learning the stories and historical accounts about the places they have visited. They develop a lasting bond with the ‘āina – even places that they have not been to before. Through aloha ‘āina-placed education, students are eager to learn because they are learning about themselves, their ancestors, and their ancestral places; they have a vested interest in the knowledge that they are learning. Students tend to develop an appreciation for language as a link to the past – a way of quoting the kūpuna that came before. Therefore, there is a deep sense of kuleana that they should be good keepers of this knowledge so that they may one day pass this knowledge onto succeeding generations. Through various aloha ‘āina-placed educational approaches, including ho‘omoana ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i such as Mauiakama and Kaulakahi Aloha, students are taught the importance of place.

The Importance of Aloha ‘Āina-placed Ho‘omoana ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i

Aloha ‘āina-placed ho‘omoana ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i at the university level have been instrumental in the ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i revitalization movement in many ways. When aloha ‘āina-placed programs are coupled with second language acquisition instruction, a strong emphasis is placed on students as agents of their own knowledge production. By utilizing a place-based approach, second language learners are able to adapt their language production to real-life situations within their own lived

communities. Through immersion in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i and experiential learning strategies, students are not simply consumers of others’ knowledge, but agents of their own knowledge creation (Smith 2002). The thoughts they construct in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, in spoken and written form, have a direct applicability to their own lives. Unlike classroom assignments where students may be asked to translate sentences void of context and cohesive meaning, when students engage in authentic language production, they seek ways to best express their own thoughts and ideas.

Aloha ‘āina-placed ho‘omoana ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i aid in increasing the language proficiency of participants by creating an environment where they feel safe to speak. Through an activity-based approach rather than a grammar-based approach to ground the language to the ‘āina, these ho‘omoana ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i seek to increase the language proficiency of students via sustained periods of language immersion. By being immersed in a ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i speaking community for an extended period of time, participants have no recourse but to communicate in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i. Without exception, all 246 second language participants of Mauiakama have consistently increased their ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i proficiency through their participation in the program. Posttests conducted at the end of the programs are unswervingly higher than the scores received on pretests conducted prior to the commencement of the ho‘omoana ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i. The students themselves comment on the positive impact that these immersion opportunities have had on their speaking proficiency and listening comprehension skills.

These programs also build a community of scholars who share the common interests of perpetuating the native tongue of ka pae ‘āina Hawai‘i and reviving Kanaka cultural practices. The fact that people shopping in a grocery store are still amazed to hear families speaking to one another in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i is a sobering reminder that those of us in the ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i movement still have a lot of work ahead – ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i usage is not yet normalized in ka pae ‘āina Hawai‘i. Therefore, it is important for ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i practitioners to create speech communities to improve their language proficiencies and to pass their knowledge down to succeeding generations.

Aloha ‘āina-placed ho‘omoana ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i also instill a sense of kuleana in their participants, thereby developing future community leaders. By nature, ho‘omoana ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i attract self-starters and leaders – people who are willing and able to put themselves in vulnerable situations in exchange for the opportunity to strengthen their language skills. Not all college students have the self-confidence to voluntarily expose themselves to a situation where they anticipate feeling somewhat uncomfortable – especially if that experience lasts a week or longer. Time and time again, as former participants of ho‘omoana ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i graduate from the university and seek employment, many of these students enter the workforce poised to make a positive impact on their communities. As they gain more and more work and life experiences, they often become notable figures within the Kanaka community-at-large. Many become activists advocating for the betterment of the Kanaka people and the protection the natural resources of ka pae ‘āina Hawai‘i. Others become high-ranking officials who have the best interests of their Kanaka community at heart. Still others become educators eager to impart the ‘ike ku‘una that they have

learned for the benefit of the next generation. The kumu of these aloha 'āina-placed 'ōlelo Hawai'i immersion programs have the kuleana to prepare the next generation to be the leaders of the not so distant future.

Aloha 'āina-placed ho'omoana 'ōlelo Hawai'i also create alternative learning places for students to thrive. While a great deal of instructional time is still spent within the confines of a classroom, kumu kula who value place-based teaching strategies often incorporate 'āina-based pedagogies into the classroom in the form of mo'olelo, 'ōlelo no'eau, and mele to name a few. For those students who thrive in the classroom setting, the incorporation of mo'olelo, 'ōlelo no'eau, and mele into the curriculum links them to the 'āina. Aloha 'āina-placed programs also provide alternative teaching strategies that may appeal to those students who do not thrive in a typical classroom setting. Beamer (2014) suggests, 'āina-based learning has the power to "create culturally grounded and civically responsible learners who can achieve their full potential" (p.60).

Aloha 'āina-placed ho'omoana 'ōlelo Hawai'i likewise instill a sense of pride for 'ike ku'una. By introducing students to ancestral Kanaka cultural practices through the medium of 'ōlelo Hawai'i, kumu reinforce the notion that not only is 'ōlelo Hawai'i a living language suitable for use in the twenty-first century, but so too are the ancestral cultural practices of their kūpuna. Aloha 'āina-placed learning allows kumu to couple the realities of today with the 'ike ku'una of the past to reinvent Kānaka to meet their current needs. Ultimately, aloha 'āina pedagogies perpetuate ancestral knowledge as links to the past and pathways for the future.

Finally, aloha 'āina-placed ho'omoana 'ōlelo Hawai'i reconnects Kanaka and 'āina. It imparts a sense of respect for the interconnectedness of all living things. Aloha 'āina-based programs reinforce the kuleana of the Kanaka to the 'āina, their 'ohana (families), and the community-at-large (Naone 2008; Goodyear-Ka'ōpua 2013; Oliveira 2014; Osorio 2014; Oliveira and Wright 2016).

Conclusion

I ka 'ōlelo ke ola, i ka 'ōlelo ka make (in language there is life, in language there is death). This 'ōlelo no'eau inextricably links the survival of Kanaka as a people to the survival of their language. Numerous studies support the impact that language immersion has on increasing language proficiency. According to Larry Kimura et al. (2009), a leading scholar in the 'ōlelo Hawai'i revitalization movement, "indigenous language medium education for both the native speaker and non-native speaker can provide a stronger knowledge of the workings and history of the aboriginal language as compared to learning it through a non-indigenous medium of education" (p. 125). Hinton supports the "notion that people can learn second languages similarly to the way in which they learn first languages, through being immersed in an environment where the language is the dominant one being used" (Hinton (1994); quoted in Adley-SantaMaria (1997)). (p. 140)

Ho'omoana 'ōlelo Hawai'i require a huge commitment in terms of planning and funding; nevertheless, Kanaka educators that are committed to the advancement of

their people, language, and traditions often value these precious opportunities to immerse second language learners of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i in the Kanaka culture and language. After all, if language is to survive and thrive, so too must one’s culture; language and culture are inseparable (Warner 1999, 2013). As Ahlers suggests, “There is almost a metonymic relationship between a language and its culture” (Ahlers (1999, p. 137; quoted in King (2009), p. 101). The worldview and identity of native speakers are inextricably linked to their cultures and ancestors (Warner 1999, 2013; King 2009).

A return to Kanaka pedagogies is a return to ancestral knowledge systems that link contemporary Kānaka to their ancestors, land, language, and culture. Aloha ‘āina-placed ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i immersion education is important to the field of education because it provides a venue for indigenous students to thrive and succeed. For too long, Kānaka have been marginalized in their homeland by educational systems that seek to assimilate them to ways of knowing that are foreign to them. Since ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i aloha ‘āina-placed immersion programs are a radical departure from mainstream western educational approaches, teachers who choose to participate in this style of education are by nature usually very receptive to alternative teaching strategies, especially those that honor ancestral ways of thinking and formulating knowledge as well as “anchoring the truth of the discourse in culture” (Gegeo 2001, p. 58).

In as much as the native speaking ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i community has dwindled, current second language learners still have the privilege and honor of conversing with native speakers and learning their heritage language – a privilege and honor that is not guaranteed for future generations. Therefore, the challenge posed to indigenous language teachers is to consistently and intentionally infiltrate the academy by incorporating innovative teaching approaches that honor ancestral ways of knowing such as place-based, culture-based, and oral knowledge transmission strategies.

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Materials Development for Indigenous Language Learning and Teaching: Pedagogy, Praxis, and Possibilities

22

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Abstract

With an increase in awareness of Indigenous languages on a global scale and with local, grass roots revitalization efforts and initiatives underway, a significant challenge that exists for language learning and teaching is the formulation and availability of language materials. Based on a university course, developed and taught in various iterations at the University of British Columbia, this chapter will discuss pedagogy, praxis, and possibilities for materials development using digital technology in contemporary university settings for Indigenous language learning and teaching. This course has reach beyond students enrolled in the course and in fact has consequences for language speakers and learners of endangered language communities, students

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in K-12 schools, post-secondary institutions, Indigenous communities, families, and so forth that are recipients, readers, and users of the newly developed materials – print or digital resources.

Keywords

Indigenous language revitalization · Indigenous language learning and teaching · Materials development · Multimedia technology · Digital technology · Training and praxis

Introduction

In the nineteenth century, an assimilationist movement swept across the United States and Canada in an effort to erase linguistic and cultural evidence from the first inhabitants - Indigenous peoples that include American Indians, Alaska Natives, Native Hawaiians, First Nations, Métis and Inuit. Migration, urbanization, wage labor, extractive industries, and schooling have shaped Indigenous communities current cultural and linguistic landscape (Luykx 2016) in North America and beyond. Residential schools, language policies, colonial and post-colonial institutions, created long lasting impacts on these populations, resulting in a language shift from Indigenous languages towards English. Despite drastic measures by colonizing powers, “the imposition of European languages and the dislocation of myriad indigenous societies did not halt the dynamic interactions among indigenous speech communities themselves” (p. 1). Indigenous languages, cultures, and people still exist. With an increase in awareness of Indigenous languages on a global scale and with local, grass roots revitalization efforts and initiatives embarked upon in community, a significant challenge that exists for language educators, practitioners, and the community is the limited amount of language materials that are available. While some communities have established orthographic systems, written and audio documentation by early Indigenous community scholars, linguists, missionaries, or published materials in the form of dictionaries, grammars, newspapers, books, digital media, and so forth, other communities continue to rely on oral forms of communication. Further, commercially printed materials used for school curricula have historically excluded Indigenous peoples’ histories, knowledge systems, stories, language, and culture, and these are often misrepresented and told from the perspective and voice of cultural outsiders. Over the last decade there has been increased attention by academic researchers and Indigenous scholars on providing critical perspectives and analyses of Indigenous peoples in children’s and young adult books as well as a concerted effort by Indigenous authors, illustrators, and publishers to represent Indigenous peoples in a culturally sustaining, authentic, and relevant way (see Harde 2016; Hoffman 2010; Jackson 2016; Reese 2006; Sheahan-Bright 2011). Digital technology addresses some of the disparities that endangered Indigenous languages face, providing a means for Indigenous peoples to develop language materials and resources. The adoption and adaptation of digital technology has been especially evident, for example, in the Hawaiian language educational

settings since the 1990s (see Ka'awa and Hawkins 1997; Hartle-Schutte and Nae'ole-Wong 1998; Warschauer and Donaghy 1997). Indigenous youth have increasingly become active users of digital technology and producers of digital media in an effort to archive, promote, document, and learn their Indigenous languages (see Carew et al. 2015; Cru 2015; Kral 2010, 2011, 2012; Rice et al. 2016; Wyman et al. 2013, 2016).

Drawing on my combined reaching and teaching experiences to date as an Indigenous language and technology teacher and scholar to date, I will outline a university course on materials development and discuss its relevance to Indigenous language education, broadly defined, to reflect pedagogy, praxis, and possibilities while adopting or adapting digital technology. I continue with two frameworks – technacy framework for language revitalization, which proposes contextual factors to consider when considering digital technology for Indigenous language learning and teaching, and multimedia technology training and praxis model, which conceptualizes how multiliteracies are realized in a materials development course for Indigenous language education. The chapter continues with a discussion of course outcomes, findings, and implications. This course has reach beyond students enrolled in the course and in fact impacts language speakers and learners of endangered language communities, students in K-12 schools, post-secondary institutions, Indigenous communities, families, and so forth that are recipients, readers, and users of the newly developed materials – print or digital resources.

Positionality

As a Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiian), my introduction to materials development began during my graduate studies at the University of Arizona when I attended the American Indian Language Development Institute (AILDI) – an internationally renowned institute, cited by the US Department of Education as one of the ten outstanding programs for minority teacher preparation in the nation (Leighton et al. 1995). AILDI has been a bridge to connect academic institutions with Indigenous communities. Since its inception, AILDI has engaged Indigenous and non-Indigenous allies from a myriad of professions, backgrounds, and communities from across the USA, Mexico, Canada, Australia, South America, and beyond, making significant contributions to Indigenous language learning, teaching, revitalization, documentation, research, and policy.

One of the courses at AILDI that inspired my research included “Computer Applications for Indigenous Communities” taught by Susan Penfield and Phil Cash Cash (Cayuse and Nez Perce) in 2004. The course assignments allowed students to explore the potential of digital technology for language learning and teaching. I created a multimedia language lesson in Hawaiian with the intention to share my “work-in-progress” with a Hawaiian language preschool teacher, who also happened to be a friend of mine. In spite of Hawaiian having a standard orthography, a history of published print material, and more recent success with Hawaiian immersion programs and Hawaiian medium schools, Hawaiian language teachers

and educators were working with limited language materials and culturally relevant resources to support and enhance Hawaiian language development (Hartle-Schutte and Nae'ole-Wong 1998; Warschauer and Donaghy 1997) – a hurdle that extends across Indigenous communities working towards language revitalization.

Following the course, I reached out to my teacher-friend in Hawaii but learned that she left her position. Though my project was not shared beyond my peers at AILDI, I used my experience to further my understanding of materials development. In 2005, I had the opportunity to co-teach the AILDI course with Susan Penfield and Tracy Williams (Oneida). Later in the fall, I attended a digital storytelling workshop hosted by the Indigenous Language Institute (ILI) with the then AILDI Program Coordinator Regina Siquieros in Pojoaque, New Mexico. We were tasked to write a story with the hope that we would leave with a printed book by the end of the three-day workshop. I created an original story using pencil drawings and Hawaiian language text, knowing that I would need a proficient Hawaiian language speaker to review my work (though born and raised in Hawaii and brought up in a hula – Hawaiian performative arts – family, Hawaiian was not my first language. I formally learned Hawaiian from grade seven through grade twelve when I attended Kamehameha Schools). I left the workshop with my printed, hard copy, work-in-progress book and was elated to know that materials development for endangered and Indigenous language communities can be created, produced, and published in-house with control over all aspects of the story, text, language, images, and so forth.

My growing interest in Indigenous language learning, digital technology, and materials development provided me the opportunity to join the ILI training team, which traveled to various Native American communities offering digital storytelling workshops. This interest led me to a research study (Galla 2010) involving the aforementioned AILDI course to determine how Indigenous peoples are using digital technology for language documentation, conservation, revitalization, education, and promotion. In addition, three case studies of students were provided to examine whether the digital technologies that were introduced in the 4-week university course to the students were applicable upon return to their respective Indigenous communities. Reflecting on my combined experiences, I have used my knowledge and research to develop a similar course at the University of British Columbia titled “Materials Development for Indigenous Language Learning and Teaching” which has been offered in various iterations since 2012 to the time of this writing.

Materials Development for Indigenous Language Learning and Teaching

Materials development is a recent field of academic study that investigates the principles and procedures of the design, writing, adaptation, production, implementation, exploitation, evaluation, and analysis of language materials, whilst exploring theory and praxis (Tomlinson 2012). Language materials can refer to any resource

that is used by language teachers and learners to facilitate language learning. For Indigenous communities, these material products can be in the form of documentation field notes, newspapers, grammars, dictionaries, textbooks, children's books, audio and video recordings (analog and digital), computer and video games, social media, and so forth. The sampling of materials that comprise bits and pieces of the language are instrumental resources for endangered and Indigenous languages that are working towards building language capacity within and for the community. Although these materials are not commercially produced – as we would expect for English language learners, for example – and may not be instructional in nature, the materials nonetheless are relevant and pertinent to Indigenous language learning. Materials development for Indigenous language learning and teaching faces a stark reality than that for languages with billions and/or millions of speakers, especially at a time where many proficient speakers are in the later stages of their life.

During the initial stages of the Hawaiian language revitalization movement, the language programs and classrooms were constrained by the lack of textbooks, pedagogical materials, and other resources in Hawaiian language to support language learning. Hawaiian language parents, extended family, and community members were invited to create pedagogical materials by cutting and pasting Hawaiian translations over original English texts and textbooks (Hartle-Schutte and Nae'ole-Wong 1998; Warschauer and Donaghy 1997). Laiana Wong (as cited in Warschauer and Donaghy 1997), a Hawaiian language instructor, expressed that materials that were created in this manner imposed perspectives from outside the Hawaiian Islands: “We need to develop original materials in Hawaiian that can reflect our own culture, perspective, and reality” (p. 352).

The shortage of pedagogical, culturally relevant, and authentic materials depicting Indigenous language and culture in an appropriate way is a significant challenge that language teachers face worldwide, especially in communities that do not have a standard orthography or a tradition of literacy. Community-based materials development has the power and ability to

instruct and delight its audience by teaching them histories (and her-stories), enabling them to hear voices that are too often silenced, entertaining them, and allowing them to find their way to understanding even the most complex situations. (Harde 2016, p. 7)

The adoption and adaption of digital technology soon thereafter became critical to revitalizing the language, developing curricula and materials, disseminating materials throughout Hawaii, expanding the domains of communication, and raising the profile of Hawaiian language juxtaposed with English (Galla 2009; Hartle-Schutte and Nae'ole-Wong 1998; Warschauer 1998). Where, since colonization, language, cultural, and historical resources have been published and disseminated about Indigenous communities from the perspectives of non-Natives (Ingle 2003), now Indigenous people and voices can be heard locally, nationally, and globally through the medium of digital technology.

It is critical now more than ever with a reconciliatory movement – specifically in Canada – that books and resources published about and for Indigenous children,

youth, and adults are “depicted in positive and human ways in a variety of settings, urban, rural, and reserve” (Harde 2016, p. 5). Children and youth especially need to have books available at their disposal that are representative of themselves and their communities, in various mediums and in the media as well – something which Indigenous people yearn for. Materials development are at the “heart of Native survivance, self-determination, recovery, and development” (p. 7); approaches to them must reflect Indigenous values of relationality (Carjuzza and Fenimore-Smith 2010), respect, responsibility, relevance, reciprocity, (Kirkness and Barnhardt 1991), and resiliency (Galla et al. 2014).

UBC Course: Materials Development for Indigenous Language Learning and Teaching

As mentioned previously, through my cumulative experiences over the last decade, I developed a course at UBC to reflect my theoretical and applied research in the area of Indigenous language learning, teaching and digital materials development. Since 2012 until the time of this writing in Spring 2017, I have offered the course four times and have learned significantly from my Indigenous and non-Indigenous students who represent diverse ages, backgrounds, and professions. Their feedback as language teachers, language learners, and educators has helped me to refine and adapt the course to meet the needs of Indigenous language learners. The following two sections include frameworks that I use to efforts and the consideration of digital technology, whereas the subsequent framework is used as a technology training and praxis model to guide students through levels of progressions during the class.

Technacy Framework for Language Revitalization

Technacy, proposed by the Australian Science, Technology and Engineering Council, is the “ability to understand, communicate and exploit the characteristics of technology to discern how human technological practice is necessarily a holistic engagement with the world that involves people, tools, and the consumed environment, driven by purpose and contextual considerations” (Seeman 2009, pp. 117–118). The framework, as described by Seemann and Talbot (Seeman and Talbot 1995) aims to create “technate individuals” who understand the interrelationship between contextual factors. In a later study on multimedia technology and Indigenous language revitalization (Galla 2010), the framework was reconceptualized as the techacy framework for language revitalization (TFLR) (Galla 2016) to includes five factors – linguistic and cultural, social, technological, environmental, and economic – that are deemed critical in determining the appropriateness of digital technology use for Indigenous language revitalization and education. Each element requires consideration of the other four factors to help decide the appropriateness of technology based upon local context, language endangerment, resources, and individual or community linguistic and cultural goals. Since

digital technology may be considered a contentious matter in Indigenous communities due to varying complexities, the TFLR is offered as an introduction to discuss and determine whether digital technology is a practical solution and option that will lead to achieving language goals.

Over the last decade, digital technologies have proliferated to support teaching and learning, and opportunities to interact with languages in non-traditional domains have been created and developed. Additionally, some of these technologies have claimed to “save” endangered and Indigenous languages. The integration of such technologies for endangered and Indigenous communities must place an emphasis on building capacity for language learning and teaching leading towards language proficiency and fluency. Once a language goal is determined, consideration of each of the TFLR factors is encouraged to determine if digital technology is a necessary tool and method to achieve the target objective (Fig. 1). Students are asked to reflect on their unique contexts and explore how each of these factors contributes to or impedes certain language activity within their community. This exercise helps students understand the resources (or lack of resources) they are working with as they work towards revitalizing their respective languages.

This framework and the factors involved offer a reference for individuals and communities who are considering using digital technology for language initiatives. The following questions for each TFLR factor reveal the uniqueness of each community, and by doing so define what types of initiatives (digital and non-digital) are possible. The conversation and discussion that result from these initial questions are foundational in determining what factors inhibit, contribute to, or support the proposed language goal, and whether digital technology is a necessary tool. Table 1 provides a sampling of questions associated with each factor to begin the process of understanding the unique language context we face when working towards Indigenous language revitalization.

This framework seeks to “develop skilled, holistic thinkers and doers who can select, evaluate, transform, and use appropriate technologies that are responsive to local contexts and human needs” (Seeman 2000, p. 2). This holistic approach is based upon factors that influence digital technology use. Indigenous peoples, since contact, have adapted to their changing landscape and environment, using new tools to adjust to changing tides.

Through this exercise, students are able to understand the contextual importance of Indigenous language learning and the resources that are available to help support language development and proficiency. Each student reveals a distinctive situation that they in a sense work from, as the resources will vary tremendously between language, community, and so forth. Students immediately learn that what works for one community may not work for the next, despite our continuing exposure to digital technology.

Multimedia Technology Training & Praxis Model

In 1994, the New London Group coined the term multiliteracies – the “multiplicity of communications channels and media, and the increasing saliency of cultural and

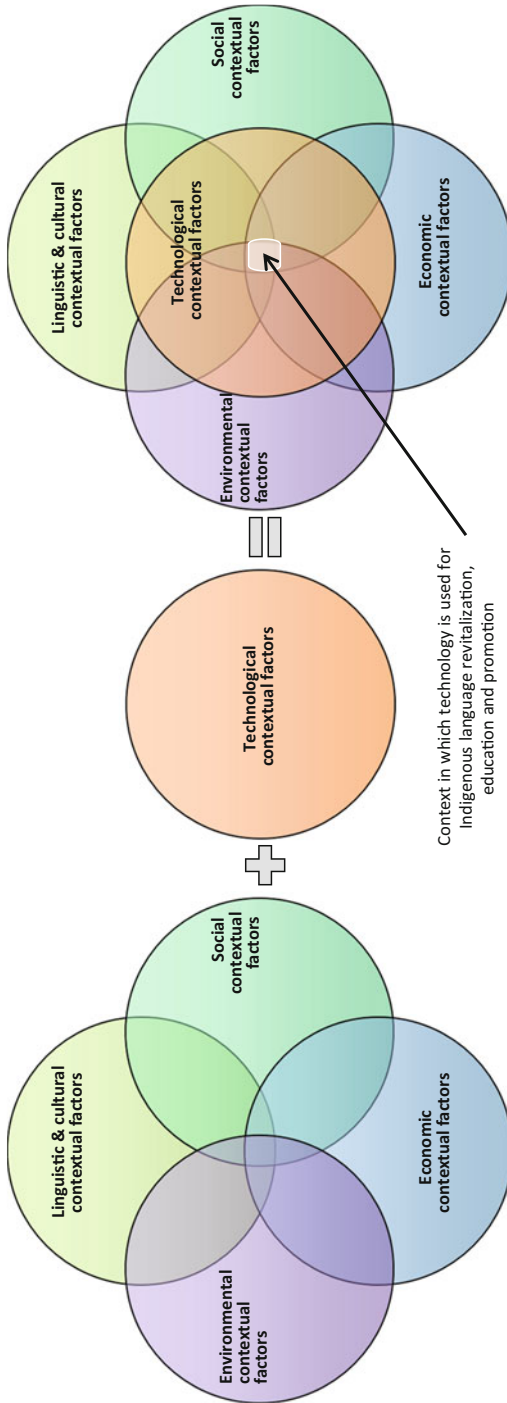


Fig. 1 Technacy framework for language revitalization (Galla 2016)

Table 1 Technacy framework for language revitalization factors (Galla 2016)

TFLR Factors	Questions
Linguistic and cultural factors	<p>What is the vitality of the language (i.e., speaker population, age group)?</p> <p>What are the language ideologies, traditions, values, and cultural beliefs of the individual or community?</p> <p>What are the oral and literacy practices (associated with the language) of the language?</p>
Social factors	<p>In what domains are the language used (home, school, church, community, university government, media, workplace, etc.)?</p> <p>What contexts, activities, and/or gatherings does the oral language appear in (i.e., radio, news, prayer, ceremonies, graduation, parties, etc.)?</p> <p>What literary and/or communicative contexts does the written language appear in (i.e., books, newspapers, magazines, website, blog, e-mail, social media, elections, etc.)?</p> <p>With whom is the language used? (i.e., friends, family, elders, teachers, government officials, etc.)?</p>
Economic factors	<p>What types of financial resources are available to support language revitalization and education efforts?</p> <p>What human resources are available to support language revitalization and education efforts?</p> <p>What additional resources are available to support language revitalization and education efforts?</p> <p>How much time and/or resources can be allocated toward language revitalization and education efforts?</p>
Environmental factors	<p>Where are these language speakers geographically situated (i.e., on traditional land base, urban, suburban, rural, etc.)?</p> <p>Is the language accessible outside of the traditional or home territory (i.e., specific cities/ states/ provinces/ countries where speakers are located)?</p> <p>What terrestrial biome is the language situated in (i.e., polar, temperate, (sub)tropical, dry, wet)?</p> <p>What landforms contribute to the landscape of the traditional or home territory (i.e., mountains, plateaus, canyons, valleys, bay, ocean, volcanoes, etc.)?</p> <p>What natural elements minimize the amount of face-to-face interaction for an extended period of time (i.e., hurricane, flood, drought, blizzard, tornado, landslide, avalanche, etc.)?</p>
Technological factors	<p>What types of infrastructure are in place to support the use of technology?</p> <p>What types of technology are available (to support language learning and teaching)?</p> <p>What types of technology training and information technology support are available?</p>

linguistic diversity” (New London Group 1996, p. 63) – to address the evolution of new media and new literacy practices. Multiliteracies is a pedagogical approach that includes: situated practice, which draws on the experience of meaning-making in lifeworlds, the public realm, and workplaces; overt instruction, through which

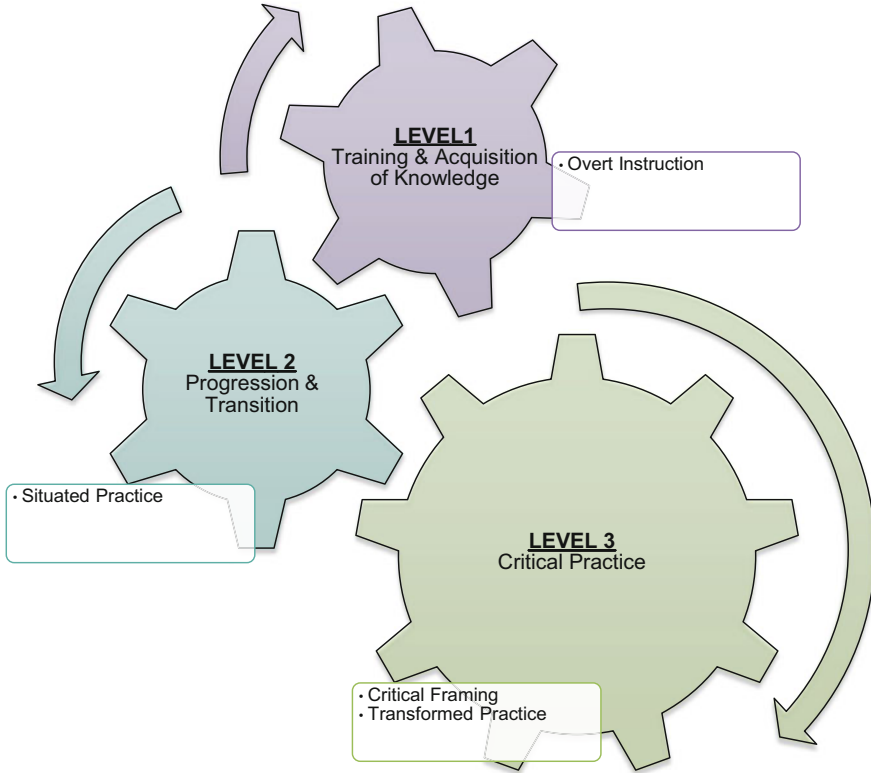


Fig. 2 Multimedia technology training & praxis model

students develop an explicit metalanguage of design; critical framing, which interprets the social context and purpose of designs of meaning; and transformed practice, in which students, as meaning-makers, become designers of social futures.

The multiliteracies framework and its four components are used to guide the training and praxis when developing materials for Indigenous language learning and teaching. I indicate the primary components that transpire in the three levels of this training model in Fig. 2; however, each of the segments may “occur simultaneously, while at different times one or the other will predominate, and all of them are repeatedly revisited at different levels” (New London Group 1996, p. 85). Applying this pedagogy to the university course, in Level 1, students are (re)introduced to common software and learn different built-in features they may not be familiar with. Technical knowledge and skills are acquired through direct instruction and hands-on training. This teaching and training includes

active interventions on the part of the teacher and other experts that scaffold learning activities, that focus the learner on the important features of their experiences and activities within the community of learners, and that allow the learner to gain explicit information at

times when it can most usefully organize and guide practice, building on and recruiting what the learner already knows and has accomplished. (New London Group 1996, p. 86)

With overt instruction, students are able to “accomplish a task more complex than they can accomplish on their own, and . . . they come to conscious awareness of the teacher’s representation and interpretation of that task and its relations to other aspects of what is being learned” (p. 86). The diversity of students enrolled will vary tremendously each time the course is offered; thus, this community of learners will require different types of technological assistance – some more complex than others. In Level 2, depending on their familiarity with the digital technology introduced, willingness to explore on their own, and motivation, students use their prior knowledge, as well as overt instruction and hands-on training, to consciously practice what is acquired – they find ways to connect what they have learned to their particular interest and/or needs. With guidance from the instructor or more capable others (e.g., assistants, other peers in the classroom), students can apply their knowledge of what was acquired in Level 1, so as to become more comfortable and make the skill intuitive. In Level 3, a critical awareness, understanding of knowledge, and growing mastery of skills are applied to their practice, taking into consideration various contextual factors mentioned in the TFLR. At this stage, “theory becomes reflective practice” (p. 87), in which students are creating and developing materials for real purposes. Through this process, students determine the various resources they have in their community (e.g., school, library, home, and community center) that can contribute towards materials development and Indigenous language revitalization. Depending on the resources, students transfer meaning from one context (e.g., university) to another (e.g., their community) and can decide what digital technology can be used to best support their resource development and language learning and teaching efforts.

Course Outcomes

Universities are entitled and privileged spaces that are afforded a wealth of resources (e.g., computers, language labs, new high-end technology, IT staff and support, language education specialists) and often house archived language materials from Indigenous communities in various mediums (e.g., wax cylinders, reel-to-reel, field notes, and records documented by linguists and anthropologists). To build on earlier research (Galla 2010) and iterations of the course, it was important to use, (re)introduce, software and digital technology that is commonly found in most homes, offices, workplaces, schools, libraries, and community centers.

The tools chosen for this course are based on three levels of technology initiatives: low-, mid-, and high-technology (Galla 2009). These initiatives scaffold students’ learning with digital technology as well as interaction with language. Low-technology or unisensory initiatives “emphasize one sensory mode, allowing the learner to receive the Indigenous language through sight or hearing. More specifically, the user visually sees the language either in printed material

(e.g., books) or on a screen (e.g., subtitles), or audibly via a speaker or sound system” (p. 173). Mid-technology or bisensory initiatives allow “the learner to receive the Indigenous language through sight and hearing and/or require the use of a keyboard and mouse (point and click), and access to the Internet” (p. 174). High-technology or multisensory initiatives include “asynchronous communication, synchronous communication, or multimodal interactivity between the user and the technology. In this category, input and output of the Indigenous language are key factors” (p. 175).

The project-based outcome is also scaffolded so that students build on earlier initiatives. Depending on the audience, the materials that are developed for the course will vary tremendously from the medium, context, lesson, and language. For example, using the publishing layout format in MS Word (on a Mac) or MS Publisher (on a PC), students create original text for their low-technology initiative (LTI) to include in a printed material (i.e., storybook, manual, workbook). Images, photos, graphics, and tables can be included to support the language. To continue with this example, the next level – mid-technology (MTI) – uses the LTI as base to then record audio that accompanies the text (i.e., audiobook, ebook, digital story). Students can use Audacity – a free audio editing software – to record audio that is exported to a CD, or record audio in PowerPoint to support the language text in a multimodal environment. To produce a high-technology initiative (HTI) emanating from the aforementioned examples, students are tasked with creating a multimodal lesson that provides an interactive experience incorporating text, images, audio, hyperlinks, and so forth, which allows the learners to evaluate their learning at their own pace. Listed in Table 2 are additional examples of low-, mid-, and technology initiatives.

The funds of knowledge that students bring into this course, as well as their linguistic and cultural diversity, shape how they each develop original material and for whom the materials are intended (e.g., early learners, adult learners, family members, language teachers). Students are also asked to consider the types of technology they use in the course, since university settings oftentimes offer more resources than their community, schools, and organizations they are working with. At the end of the course (approximately 40 contact hours), students develop three materials that they can use independently or collectively, while (re)learning new features of existing technology and building and developing ICT skills.

Course Findings

The course title “Materials Development for Indigenous Language Learning and Teaching” attracts both Indigenous and non-Indigenous students who are speakers and/or learners of an Indigenous language. Students that enroll in the course who are not familiar with Indigenous languages are generally interested in learning how to apply principles of materials development to their language teaching and practice (e.g., ELL, EAL, heritage languages), as well as learning about Indigeneity. On the first day of class, it is always revealing to hear about the language diversity of each of

Table 2 Representative media and products of low-, mid-, and high-technology initiatives

Levels	Media	Examples of Products
Low	Desktop publishing/ printing press	Books, fliers, newspapers, newsletters, calendars, posters, banners, advertisements
	Radio	News, headlines, language lessons, songs, commercials, public service announcements
	Audio recordings, digital storybooks, lessons	Wax cylinders, 8-track tape, LPs, cassette tapes, CDs, DVDs, audio podcasts, mp3, digital audio files, presentation software, e-books
	Videos/movies	Tape reels, Betamax, VHS, DVDs, video podcasts, digital movie files (mp4, mov)
	Television	News, headlines, language classes, cultural events, commercials, public service announcements
Mid	Audio media accompanied by texts	Audio recordings in the Indigenous language (IL) accompanied by a transcript in the IL, audio/digital storybooks in the IL accompanied by the story in the IL, video/movie in the IL with subtitles in the IL, television programs in the IL with subtitles in the IL
	Web-based media	Wikis, electronic libraries, search engines, on-line dictionaries (with or without audio), web sites, social media platforms
High	Asynchronous communication	Blogs, discussion boards, e-mail, course management systems
	Synchronous communication	Telephone, chat, webcam, audio/video conference, VoIP
	Interactive multimedia	Digital/computer/video games, electronic bulletin board system, language learning software, virtual reality

the students. Due to the heterogeneity of the students, a multitude of languages and professions are represented in any given course. Since the course requires students to apply what they are learning and the materials they are developing to their learning and teaching environments, there is great motivation to create high-quality language resources that can be used in their practice.

In addition to theory, practice, and hands-on-training, some class time is made available for students to work on their projects, as well as to seek help from the instructor and/or peers. Students spend a significant amount of time outside of class meetings to storyboard, gather resources, test out software, consult with speakers, write text, and record audio. Knowing that not all students in the class speak, learn, and/or have obtained permission to develop materials for an Indigenous community, students are encouraged to create language resources in their heritage language.

Due to the nature of the course and its intensive schedule, students continue to revise their materials when the course has been completed, seeking additional language resources (e.g., archived documents, curriculum material) and consultation from proficient speakers and language authorities (e.g., grammar, nuances), graphic designers (e.g., culturally relevant and appropriate images), and community (e.g., authentic representation of Indigenous knowledge). This is a critical component of

materials development, especially when working with and for Indigenous communities who are continuously finding ways to bring their languages back to fruition. For materials that embed Indigenous knowledge into language resources, it is recommended that a protocol be established (if not currently in place) to provide a framework that guides the process. For example, students may work with language speakers in their family; however, if materials will be provided to the larger community, there may be a Language Authority and/or Language Council that would need to review and authenticate the materials before the resources are made available (e.g., community, schools, public) and published in print and digital form. Materials that contain Indigenous knowledge must be treated with ultimate respect and care since recent colonial history, from an outsider perspective, still often misrepresents Indigenous peoples in images, books, film, and media.

For some students, the technology initiatives have reconnected them with their linguistic and cultural heritage, sparking opportunities to inquire with family members about ancestry, language, history, identity, travels, and photographs. A bond develops, as many students have not had the opportunity to learn their Indigenous language or heritage language through intergenerational language transmission. Colonial languages have had detrimental effects on students' well-being and ancestral knowledge, severing the direct connection between children, parents, grandparents, and the many generations that have come before. Parents are thrilled with the opportunity to teach their adult children their Indigenous or heritage language, thus creating a language bond that brings generations closer together. For others, new relationships with language speakers and learners are established.

The project-based outcome compelled many students to inquire about their unique cultural heritage, which made them cognizant of language ability. Students were exposed to language diversity and came to appreciate their own linguistic heritage and experiences. For some, this prompted discussions with family members to learn about their genealogical and linguistic history, while other conversations focused on writing, pronunciation, and so forth. This resulted in retracing their family's journey, having open dialogue about language attitudes (i.e., reasons for choosing to speak the "dominant" language instead of their heritage or Indigenous language), reminiscing about past and current events, and revisiting family photos. These experiences, some of which were painful, helped to shape and form some of the students' very personal projects.

Theoretical discussions were complemented with practical hands-on technology training, which provided speakers, learners, and educators with opportunities to create and develop materials for language education. In addition to learning the foundational theories and concepts of Indigeneity, multimodality, multiliteracies, new literacies, and the adapted technacy framework, their learning went far beyond the course goals and requirements. Embedded in the classroom environment were notions of funds of knowledge (Gonzalez et al. 2005), democratic merit (Brayboy 2014), community of practice (Lave and Wenger 1991), and identity (Esteban-Guitart and Moll 2014a, b).

In a short period of time, each student successfully created several language materials, which included a printed resource (LTI), audio recording to accompany

the printed resource (MTI), and a multimedia interactive language lesson (HTI). Additionally, students demonstrated how their materials would be implemented in a language learning and teaching environment. Though each student varied in their language ability, digital technology skills, and academic background, their enthusiasm and success came from the need to create language-learning environments for their family, community, students, and themselves. This space acknowledged Indigenous “‘funds of knowledge’ (Moll et al. 1992) as valid and relevant pedagogy and scholarship” (Galla et al. 2014, p. 203), allowing students to draw from their linguistic and culture knowledge and ways to bridge academia and community.

Course Implications

The course objectives have guided the project-based outcomes, drawing critical attention to implementation, schedule, and training opportunities. Theory, practice, and daily readings are discussed to reflect students’ careers, professions, and personal interests. For some students (particularly non-Indigenous students), this is the first course that draws from an Indigenous perspective. Though the content of the course is based on language learning and materials development, the discussions in essence reveal many forms of colonization that have been imposed on Indigenous peoples, and knowledge systems that have not been widely acknowledged or accepted by academe. This requires foundational grounding in Indigeneity from the start of class and having open dialogue about the various terminologies that is used in practice – some forms of which may be more appropriate than others depending on situational context (e.g., Indigenous, Aboriginal, First Nations, Inuit, Metis, Native American, and American Indian).

Offering the course in condensed timeframe (2.5 hours per day for 3 weeks – usually a summer session) provides students with an “immersive” experience in a sense, because we are meeting on a daily basis and (re)learning skills, which are then applied to their material resources – to be used in their practice. There is no downtime but rather an accelerated momentum that requires students to create original text and then add different elements to develop their low-, mid-, and high-technology initiatives – their project-based outcome. The products that they finally create can be used independently or collaboratively. To combat the potential anxiety of what is expected in the class, examples from the instructor as well as former students’ work are shared to formulate some ideas.

Since time is limited, it is beneficial for the instructor to conduct a short questionnaire beforehand to determine the language background, technology skills, and particular interest in the course for each of the students to determine what their overall needs may be. In an effort to connect with the students prior to the beginning of the course, this will help them to identify, gather, and/or contact relevant resources (e.g., language materials, speakers) that may be necessary for their materials development for language learning and teaching. Collaboration is also key as students find that they do not possess all the tools necessary to successfully develop materials. Consultation is required with their peers and other language speakers so that they can

receive feedback on their initiatives. Class time is primarily allocated to the daily theme inclusive of required readings, local and global examples of materials, hands-on training, and some lab time, in addition to a few guest speakers. It is imperative that students be provided in-class time to “test” out software and have multiple opportunities to ask questions specific to their project.

Finally, in an effort to see how their technology initiatives will be used in a language-learning environment, a microteaching immersive language lesson is presented at the end of the class. This provides students a chance to showcase their newly developed materials, but more importantly it gives students an opportunity to evaluate the effectiveness, usability, appropriateness, and relevancy of their technology initiatives in practice with a group of motivated adult learners – their peers in the course. Creating these technology initiatives encourages self-reflection and self-assessment (Hartle-Schutte and Nae’ole-Wong 1998) as materials are developed for under-resourced languages. For Indigenous communities, the process is “as much about personal integrity as [it is] about collective responsibility and as much about research as [it is] about education and other forms of engagement” (Smith 2012, p. 125). Materials that are developed and created are “cultural artifacts with epistemological orientations” (Harde 2016, p. 7) that help readers, learners, and users mediate Indigenous knowledges.

Conclusion

Indigenous peoples have the right to “revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations” their own Indigenous languages (Article 13.1), “establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages” (Article 14.1), “establish their own media in their own languages and to access to all forms of non-Indigenous media” (Article 16.1), and “practise and revitalize their cultural traditions and customs” which includes “the right to maintain, protect and develop the past, present and future manifestations of their cultures, such as . . . technologies and . . . and literature” (Article 11.21) (UN 2008). With the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, language policies, funding opportunities, and activism Indigenous communities have moved forward on language programming and schooling initiatives in an effort to restore the language in homes, schools, community, and beyond. Language resources are at the crux of this revitalization movement to support language speakers, learners, and teachers towards proficiency and fluency. By engaging in materials development, language educators can help themselves “to understand and apply theories for language learning” and “to achieve personal and professional development” (Tomlinson 2001, p. 67).

Digital technology has presented opportunities for communities to develop language materials and resources in-house, which has the potential for newly created materials to be disseminated and distributed locally, nationally, and/or globally; to expand the environment in which the language is used; to provide relevance, significance, and purpose; and to document, archive, and revitalize Indigenous

languages (Galla 2009). Though this course is offered at a university, the ideal situation would be to teach these courses in community at a local facility (e.g., computer lab, school, language center) using their existing technologies to determine what is possible with their current resources based on their language goals.

The ability to generate culturally sustaining, relevant, place-based, and authentic materials in-house allows for complete control, ownership, and rights of the creation, development, production, publication, and distribution of resources. With appropriate software, communities are no longer dependent on large-scale publishing companies to print, to distribute language materials, and to oversee what type of content, text, and images would “sell” or appeal to a general audience. Materials development costs for printed books typically would be relatively inexpensive and would cover a laser printer (capable of duplex printing in color), toner, paper, cardstock, extended stapler, and staples. In addition to printed resources, an equally suitable format is a digital file that can be selectively available to community members, language speakers, language learners, and/or made publicly available to the general public for download or viewing. This energy efficient format eliminates paper altogether, which may allow for greater distribution for language materials to reach those who are living away from the traditional homelands where the Indigenous language is spoken. The digital file may also be saved as a pdf file, as well as in a booklet (and duplex) format so that these resources, in particular a folded book sized 8.5 inches by 5.5 inches, can be printed in homes, schools, work, community centers, and libraries as needed.

As Indigenous peoples around the world are finding ways to revitalize their languages, digital technologies can be recognized as an ally that supports language learning and teaching efforts, initiatives, programming, and education. Developing and learning new skills to assist with language revitalization builds capacity within Indigenous communities to grow the number of in-house material and curriculum developers, as well as language speakers. Digital technology for materials development and digital technology as resources requires appropriate planning to ensure that technology-based initiatives enhance language learning (Jones 2008) “in a manner that is appropriate to their cultural and linguistic realities” (Villa 2002, p. 92). Materials and resources – linguistic and cultural – published in Indigenous languages allow the languages to “co-exist with other, more dominant, languages. It helps the languages feel more “normal,” more a part of daily life” (as cited in Galla 2016, p. 9) – a goal that endangered language communities are striving for.

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Still Flourishing: Enacting Indigenizing Language Immersion Pedagogies in the Era of US Common Core State Standards

23

Mary Hermes and Erin Dyke

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Abstract

Since the common schools movement, the struggle for the American curriculum is the struggle for the means of (re)producing national identity. For Indigenous peoples, state-sanctioned standards and curricula, no matter how progressive, have always served to naturalize and reinforce the settler-state and Indigenous erasure. Yet, language immersion schools have become widely popular tools in efforts to revitalize Indigenous lifeways in North America and beyond. In this chapter, we discuss the controversial relationship between education and revitalization within the context of North American, and specifically Ojibwe efforts to reclaim school spaces for the enactment of Indigenous ways of knowing

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(epistemologies). We describe common tensions that arise in designing curricula that aim to simultaneously revitalize an Ojibwe land-based and relational epistemology *and* meet local and national standards in Wisconsin, USA. We recount examples from a Prekindergarten-5th grade Ojibwe language immersion school in order to illuminate the ways standards attempt to (but never successfully) reproduce students and teachers as colonized subjects, pulling them into a complex of state rules, unstated expectations, and discourses. Through our examples, we illustrate the ways immersion teachers and students must resist daily the universalization of Western epistemologies within the standards and, correspondingly, students' and teachers' own erasure. We conclude by offering considerations and future directions for research and practice that can help us to better understand the contradictions and complexities of working within education institutions that aim to revitalize Indigenous lifeways.

Keywords

Common Core State Standards; Indigenizing pedagogy; Indigenous education; Indigenous language revitalization; Ojibwe

Introduction

Since the common schools movement during the late nineteenth century, the struggle for the American curriculum is the struggle for the means to (re)produce a national identity, including narratives that legitimize the nation's existence (Kliebard 2004). Kliebard writes that state power over the curriculum was, and continues to be, wielded as a tool to manage moments of crisis and contingency that threaten the state's hegemony (p. 1–5, also see Grumet 1988; Grande 2004). As Coulthard (2014) and many others have noted, the state's investment in reproducing a dominant narrative of "democracy," and contemporarily, "liberal pluralism," serves to mask the histories of the nation's origins in Indigenous genocide, slavery, and the plundering of the land's natural resources. The (re)production of a national identity via curricular standards has always been premised on the erasure and sentimentalization of the land's Indigenous peoples and their diverse lifeways and worldviews.

Against attempts to stabilize (and accumulate capital via stabilizing) a naturalized settler American subject via standardization, Indigenous and other oppressed peoples in what is now called the USA continue the long struggle for cultural self-determination. Today, people are rising up against colonial erasure – from Black Lives Matter to immigrant rights and labor movements to Indigenous-led movements against extractive capitalism, including the ongoing (as of writing) Standing Rock Sioux-led multination coalition fighting to protect their (and many North Americans') water against the Dakota Access oil pipeline. (Water protectors argue the pipeline would seriously impact the Missouri River and its many tributaries (Woolf 2016).) The popular visibility of decolonial and abolitionist social movements is fracturing the foundations of America's master narrative on multiple fronts, including the intersecting movements against police brutality, mass incarceration and deportation, and the slow

death of Black, Brown, and Indigenous bodies and ecologies. Such movements illuminate the failures of and “cracks” within efforts to standardize and control what young people can know or study within and beyond school. The official curriculum is never neatly transferred between teacher and student: classroom spaces are often sites of struggle, possibility, rebellion, and tension.

We write from within the transnational movement to revitalize Indigenous languages, and, more specifically, the movement for Ojibwe language revitalization. As McCarty and Nicholas (2014) write, despite our current era of intensified “language policing” via federal policies that mandate high stakes testing and standards, schools have been targeted by many Indigenous communities as sites of linguistic and cultural reclamation. The Indigenous language revitalization (and interrelated) decolonial movements have existed as long as state education has been working to “kill the Indian and save the man,” attempting to force Indigenous and other peoples to abandon their languages and ways of life in favor of European “civilization” (Grinde 2004). However, with immersion schooling emerging as a tool for revitalization, today Indigenous education is a complex terrain of interests and social trajectories. In this chapter, we focus on contemporary tensions that play out within sites of language immersion education, using the context of Ojibwemowin (Ojibwe language) education in the USA as example.

We first contextualize movements to revitalize Indigenous languages in North America, and within that, the state of Ojibwe revitalization. Next, we consider the US Common Core State Standards (CCSS) and attempt to “[unveil] the epistemic silences of Western epistemology” (Mignolo 2009, p. 162) encoded within what many have argued are relatively progressive standards. Drawing on specific moments within a Pre-K-5th grade Ojibwe immersion school in Wisconsin, USA, we describe the ways that schools are simultaneously, and often contradictorily, state technologies that perpetuate colonization *and* gathering places for the subversive enactment of decolonial resistance and self-determination. Through these examples, we highlight tensions that arise from immersion educators’ engagement in efforts to revitalize Ojibwe language and culture *while simultaneously* being forced to prove to the state that they are teaching according Wisconsin’s Common Core Standards (WCCS, or Wisconsin’s version of CCSS). We argue that while state-enforced curriculum structures attempt to constrain the content knowledges and structures that are emerging from the language and culture of the Ojibwe people, immersion classrooms can offer possibilities for students and teachers to question, resist, and critique the perpetuation of Indigenous erasure.

We conclude by arguing that Indigenous knowledges represent a very different way of perceiving the world, or a different epistemological stance, than those found in WCCS and state-sponsored standards more broadly. Along the lines of McCarty and Nicholas (2014), we suggest that language revitalization efforts *within* state education are limited yet strategically important, and that they be understood in relation to and in collaboration with Indigenous institutions *beyond* education and the state that serve to reproduce Indigenous lifeways, i.e., kinship relations, ceremonies, and sites of organized resistance (i.e., the Standing Rock Camp of the Sacred Stone). Indigenous knowledges are not lost, forgotten, or dying, as many official

textbooks imply. They thrive best where our Indigenous languages also thrive. It is through recognizing and better understanding the contradictory state and decolonial interests at play within Indigenous immersion education that we can further develop strategies and practices for “affirming the epistemic rights of the racially devalued” (Mignolo 2009, p. 162), creating more resilient indigenizing pedagogies in and through Indigenous languages and cultural ways.

A Note on Coauthorship, Settler Accomplices, and Strategic Essentialism

Mary/Waabishkimiigwan is of mixed Native American (Dakota), white (mostly Irish), and Chinese (Toysan) heritage. She is a longtime community member at Lac Courte Oreilles Ojibwe reservation and speaks Ojibwe. She does not qualify for “enrollment” or citizenship under the current constitutional rules – in some sense she is an “undocumented immigrant” to the Ojibwe nation. In 2000, she collaborated with Ojibwe language activists to found the Waadookodaading Ojibwe Language Institute (Waadookodaading), a Pre-K through 5th grade immersion school, where she served as director for its first 5 years. For the past 20 years, Mary has simultaneously balanced her community language efforts with her bill-paying efforts, and so has enjoyed being a professor at the University of Minnesota. We coauthors met at the University of Minnesota when Erin took an Ojibwemowin revitalization course with Mary and became coconspirators in all things political and meaningful.

Erin’s ancestors, in an attempt to escape poverty, migrated from Poland to Chicago, Illinois (unceded Miami territory) during a wave of Eastern European immigration to the USA in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Her ancestors’ language and cultural ways were quickly lost (forsaken) upon arrival as they became White, learned to speak English, and passed as “American.” She is just one of many settler and Indigenous graduate students that Mary has expertly recruited to revitalization.

Our approach to movement work draws inspiration from the North American-based Indigenous Action Network’s (2015) concept “accomplices not allies.” They write: “An accomplice as academic would seek ways to leverage resources and material support and/or betray their institution to further liberation struggles. An intellectual accomplice would strategize with, not for and not be afraid to pick up a hammer” (n.p.). It recognizes that universities continue to coerce Indigenous communities into violent, paternalistic relationships (cf. Smith 1999), and that Indigenous language revitalization is necessarily entwined with movements against the university as such.

We locate the origins of many of the tensions that we identify in immersion education in the forceful ways education and the academy become so easily and quickly dehistoricized and disconnected from their mutual constitution with settler-colonialism. In our coauthorship, as we write across our differences in histories, settler and Indigenous identities, and racialization, we pay close attention to these differences in power and perspective and the ways in which they inform or create controversy within our coproduction of knowledge and representation.

Overview of Ojibwe Language Revitalization and Education

Historically and contemporarily, First Nations and Native American peoples have a distinct perspective that exists in conflict with those of the US and Canadian settler-colonial nation-states. This difference in view is marked first by the reciprocal relationships to land and other beings, as opposed to the capitalist accumulation mentality. And second, it is starkly marked by the collective experience of genocide, dispossession, and forced migration. Indigenous communities fight to protect and nurture this perspective in spite of American cultural hegemony. Yet, Indigenous people in North America are not uniform in worldview, politics, or visions for the future. They are made up of multiple identities, and speak many different, and sometimes opposing, discourses. They move between and hybridize cultural practices that vary according to the vast differences in the politics of place across North America, creating anew every day what it means to be Indigenous here. Like other nations, they comprise people who make infinite and unpredictable decisions about who they are as individuals in today's world while maintaining membership in their own tribal communities and fighting for their communities' self-determination. It is this struggle against the forces of Eurocultural domination and capitalism that produces a uniquely Indigenous/Indigenizing and enduring oppositional perspective against official Eurotraditional worldviews privileged in many US and Canadian textbooks, tests, and standards.

A traditional Indigenous way of identifying differences while maintaining the fluidity and complexities of "difference" has been through our Indigenous languages. Like many Indigenous people all over this Mother Earth, we (Mary) listen to the particular sounds animals make to know where they are from and what our relationship to them might be, knowing that they do not need us to survive as we do them. Our word for language itself is the same for all animals' sounds: "inwe" or "she makes a characteristic call" (Ojibwe People's Dictionary). These sounds can be recreated, additional languages learned or appropriated and exchanged with other groups. With endless creative variation, along with a stable (enough) way to identify a place of origin, language is remarkable in its ability to be fluid and anchored in the same moment.

Historically, speaking many languages or even distinct varieties of Ojibwe served as a way to identify the particular place and group or groups a person originated from. Ojibwe country comprises a vast area of land in North America. Imagine a halo that emanates from the Great Lakes, encircling a wide swath of territory within the central part of the continent. Ojibwe people travelled these lakes and rivers all the way to the east coast, including the St. Lawrence seaway. All over the core of North America, the Ojibwe traded, traveled, and shared language and culture via small dispersed (not centrally organized) communities. The so-called "dialects" of Algonquian, or even specifically of Ojibwe, are like infinite variations on a flowering vine – beautiful, distinct, and affected by its particular place yet recognizable across many places. Today ("Language table" is a commonly used term to describe relatively informal community language initiatives that gather people, often around a table of food, to speak and socialize in their Indigenous language.):

Ojibwe (or Chippewa or Anishinaabem) has an estimated 50,000 speakers across the United States and Canada. With an estimated 500–700 first speakers of Southwestern Ojibwe, the most endangered dialect of Ojibwe, currently there is a strong grassroots push for revitalization. Encouraged by language tables, 2 language immersion camps, widespread second language or heritage Ojibwe classes, and recently, Ojibwe immersion schools, second language learners of Ojibwe are struggling to find effective ways to learn a language that they rarely, if ever, hear spoken in everyday conversations. (Hermes and King 2013, p. 126–127)

To date, there are six Ojibwemowin immersion schools in the Minnesota/ Wisconsin area. Waadookodaading Ojibwe Language Institute (Waadookodaading), where our examples derive, was one of the first (Niigane Ojibwe Immersion School within the Leech Lake Band of Ojibwe started during the same year). Although we cannot report on immersion schools on the Canadian side, Mary has heard of at least seven more by word of mouth. There exist even more language programs within public and tribal schools, with Ojibwe being one of the most widely institutionally taught Indigenous languages in the United States. These programs are gravely affected by the fluency/teaching skills of the teachers. At the same time, they fight to thrive despite limited funding sources, assimilative teacher preparation programs, and certification requirements. Further, there is little curriculum already produced using Ojibwemowin as the medium of instruction. These challenging work conditions are also operating under racist structures of American schooling – for example, under the weight of (White) fellow public or tribal school educators' perceptions that they are “just doing their Indian voodoo thing,” as one Ojibwe immersion teacher described (Dyke 2016).

Waadookodaading teaches in and through Southwestern Ojibwe. It is attempting to create infrastructure that allows us to decide and prioritize the knowledge and skills we want our young people to have. Mary has been involved in revitalization for 16 years, marked by assisting with the start-up of Waadookodaading (Hermes 2004). But actually, it is not quite accurate to call the start of an immersion school the start of revitalization. All of those Elders, all of those children of speakers who learned and many more who did not learn, still kept the love for our language alive. *There is no “beginning” of a revitalization effort, we are ones in a long line of sentries. Bearing witness, remembering, keeping alive with love, our languages.*

McCarty and Nicholas (2014), in their review of school-based reclamation in the USA and Canada, describe the reason why such efforts have become so important to the broader revitalization movement:

Despite the fact that schools are “extremely contentious places” (Rockwell and Gomes 2009, p. 105), the reality is that in settings around the world, schools – the single place where children spend much of their waking hours – are looked to as prime sites for language reclamation. As stated by the Hopi linguist, educator, jurist, and activist Emory Sekaquaptewa, “Someone must take the responsibility for language preservation, and the logical place is the school” (quoted in Nicholas 2005, p. 34). We now have more than 25 years – fully a generation – of data on such efforts. It is time to take stock and to reconsider: What roles have schools played in reclaiming and revitalizing threatened Indigenous mother tongues? (p. 108)

Their complex answer to this question: “School-based programs are not the only means to reclaim a threatened language, nor are they necessarily the most efficacious” (p. 130). Yet, they argue, schools are a critical and strategic tool in the movement. Like McCarty and Nicholas (2014), so many others have long pointed to historical and contemporary iterations of state policies shaping education standards and federal language policies that serve as barriers to decolonizing the US educational system (Hermes 2005a, b; Richardson 2011; Lomawaima and McCarty 2002). Most recently, Native American and allied scholars have argued that the recuperation of multiculturalism in education has made popular the insidious notion that one can “add” culture into curriculum founded in White epistemologies (Hermes 2005a) (CITE).

Mary’s foray into language revitalization began when elders critiqued the ways that culture was being taught in tribal schools. They argued that, for example, just adding in a pipe ceremony to the normal school day did not constitute a culture-based curriculum. As one parent and elder described it:

To me, it’s a way of life—you have to live it. Just talking about it or reading about it, that’s not enough. I see that academics could be taught differently at the school but I don’t know exactly how. My kids ... have a hard time. I know they have to learn that stuff [academics], but I believe there is definitely a different way to teach it. I mean math and science, reading. They could integrate it with culture. (Hermes 2005a, p. 49)

In her visits to tribal schools and conversations with elders and administrators, Mary found that elders viewed culture as a verb, an everyday practice (versus a noun or static set of aesthetics), and that, as a tribal school administrator stated, “the Ojibwe language is where it all comes from, it’s all based out of that” (p. 49).

When static representations of cultures are added to existing structures of thought in US schools (structures that are premised on Indigenous erasure), the curricula’s conceptual frameworks act as a container. On the one hand, the represented culture fulfills the teachers’ “duty” to be culturally responsive in our era of cultural pluralism. On the other hand, such a framework of “inclusion” serves to contain the knowledge-building power of non-White peoples. As we illuminate in the following, attempts to reclaim education as sites of Indigenous language and culture revitalization are in deep tension with the epistemologies that have historically and continue to undergird the American curriculum. We argue that both cannot exist alongside one another in harmony but are always already in conflict. Indigenous immersion education is a continuous struggle to center epistemologies to which Western education has historically constructed itself in opposition (Tuck and Gatzambide-Fernández 2013; Meiners 2002).

Resurgences of Ways of Knowing and (in Spite of) State Standards

I (Mary) know that all of the many layers of identity within myself are real; there is not one “real” indigenous self buried under all the rest. And, I (Erin) know that my whiteness was historically wielded as a tool to control and exploit the labor of my

working class Eastern European ancestors, who brought with them their own traditions and ways of knowing rooted to their homeplaces. They/we were conscripted into the project of colonization and nation-building via the psychological wage of whiteness (cf. Roedigger). And so we struggle in writing this piece to keep that at the forefront, even as we use these imperfect categories of “Indigenous knowledges” or “White knowledges”. We try, where we can, to interrupt this thinking and to acknowledge and theorize the polyphony of voices, identities, and discourses that live in these terms and across our own co-authorship. Just as we attempt to hold the complexity of differences that exist within ‘Indigenous epistemologies’, we cannot act as if there is a unified ‘European epistemology’. For now, we name this as a theoretical problematic, and, at times, employ a tactic of strategic essentialism (Spivak 1990), using temporarily unified categories that enable us to describe the tensions between state standards and Ojibwe ways of knowing. At the same time, we recognize and signal the importance for historical and geo- and body-political situated specificity (Mignolo 2011) in discussions surrounding epistemology.

As of January 2016, 42 out of 50 US states have adopted the Common Core State Standards (CCSS), a public-private venture to standardize curricula across the USA (Au 2013, pp 1–4), the most recent iteration of the (highly profitable) struggle for the American curriculum. States that have not adopted CCSS tend to have their own similar version of these standards (i.e., Oklahoma State Standards). CCSS encompasses kindergarten-12th grade English/language arts skills (including literature, informational text, foundational skills, writing, speaking and listening, language; and it defines texts according to their range, quality, and complexity). It also encompasses and defines level-appropriate literacy in history/social studies, science, technical subjects, and a range of mathematics (CCSS Website). In states where the standards are in place, school administrators must demonstrate the alignment of their curricula, and often purchase standardized curricula that make this process more efficient. States that have adopted CCSS or similar standards hold schools accountable via regular state testing. Often these tests are high stakes (e.g., in Oklahoma, 3rd graders who do not pass their reading test are disallowed from moving up to 4th grade). In Wisconsin, the main geographic focus of our paper, through a state test system called Wisconsin Forward, students are tested in English language arts every year in grades 3–8; grades 4 and 8 in Science; and 4, 8, and 10 in Social Studies. The Wisconsin High School Assessments are comprised of a series of tests in English, reading, math, science, and writing in grades 9–11 (Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction Website).

Today’s era of standardization and high stakes testing, a massive billion-dollar industry, is increasingly subsuming most aspects of education under capitalist market logics that reinforce Western values of individuality, competition, meritocracy, and modernity (Brown 2015). For example, now, most teacher candidates in the USA are required to be evaluated by the multinational corporation Pearson Education and their Teacher Performance Assessment (edTPA) prior to certification. Interrelated moves to standardize, universalize, and metricize a discrete set of knowledge – what students (and teachers) “need” to know for today’s world – are

the latest in a long line of attempts to, among other things, discipline the space-times of and decolonial possibilities for Indigenous education.

One of the more potent myths of American democracy – that education is a ladder to upward social and economic mobility – is swaying. The new millennium ushered in massive political and economic shifts that have seriously impacted local and global landscapes in education. Weis and Fine (2012) note that in the last decade:

Educational segregation and stratification have become more normative; the testing industry now dominates public schools; mass incarceration of Black and Brown bodies is well recognized as a national problem; “college for all” is the mantra while the tertiary-level sector itself becomes increasingly stratified; [and] unemployment rates and student loan debt skyrocket. (p. 177)

This new educational era is most notably marked by aggressive federal policies, like the 2001 No Child Left Behind Act and its subsequent reiterations, that served to privatize large portions of the education system (Lipman 2011) and police Indigenous languages (McCarty and Nicholas 2014).

Many Indigenous cultures have long been aware of the assimilative effects of American public education, yet understood education as a means for surviving the violences of our settler colonial reality (See Grinde 2004; Grande 2004; Lomawaima and McCarty 2002). Yet given the recent transformations in the political economy of education, popular belief in educational “achievement” as a means for climbing out of poverty is waning, even among middle class communities for whom success in education previously ensured class security. We would argue that such a belief has never really had much hold on many Indigenous or working class communities (cf. MacLeod 1996; Willis 1977). Study of decolonial social movements from the 1970s and on illuminates that interest and participation in education, especially higher education, among Indigenous communities has grown largely in response to Indigenous-led efforts *to reclaim these institutions*.

As a result of the gains made by the American Indian Movement and Indigenous-led efforts toward tribal sovereignty (Smith and Warrior 1996), the number of American Indians in public and private degree-granting institutions more than doubled between the years of 1976 and 2006 (Lomawaima and McCarty 2002). More and more Indigenous people are completing degrees in higher education in no small part due to the resurgence of Indigenous intellectual traditions within these institutions (e.g., the creation of Native American Studies departments and research centers) and the creation of Indigenous-led tribal colleges. The collective memory of the violence of boarding and public schools has produced in Indigenous communities a resilience and resistance to schooling alongside strategies for reappropriating space and resources within it.

Today, a major barrier to the language revitalization movement’s appropriation and subversion of school spaces is state surveillance of the curriculum via CCSS. Some proponents (and even some skeptics) of CCSS have argued that the standards are at least better than previous attempts to contain and prioritize what (certain people believe) students must know because they are ostensibly “focused on

developing critical learning skills instead of mastering fragmented bits of knowledge” (Au 2013, n.p.). For example, the Wisconsin Common Core Standards (WCCS), the US state where our story takes place, are said to “help educators in Wisconsin build a ladder of skills and dispositions that lead to accelerated achievement across disciplines” (WDPI 2011a, p. 23). According to the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction (WDPI), the skills and dispositions acquired as a result of implementing CCSS will better prepare students for postsecondary education as well as the workforce by means of disciplinary literacy (read: English) acquisition:

In Wisconsin, disciplinary literacy is defined as the confluence of content knowledge, experiences, and skills merged with the ability to read, write, listen, speak, think critically, and perform in a way that is meaningful within the context of a given field. (WDPI 2011a, p. 1)

And further, a brochure from the state superintendent states that English Language Arts standards are meant to “build an understanding of the *human* experience” and produce students as “thinking and feeling *world citizens*” (Evers 2011, p. 1, emphasis added). Unifying terms such as “the human experience,” “every student,” and “world citizens” serve to mask the uneven power and relations of coloniality between (especially White) settler and many Indigenous students or English and Ojibwemowin. Why is “every student in Wisconsin” expected to become a “world citizen” when some students are actively prohibited from belonging to their own sovereign nations? How is it that Indigenous students in Wisconsin are expected to study “the world” and the “human experience” when they are actively frustrated by the state from learning their own communities’ languages and cultural ways? Whose experience or world are they studying?

WCCS’s epistemic silences are further exemplified in the language they use to describe and place value on “literacy.” Its default language is English despite the fact that myriad languages, Indigenous and otherwise, are spoken widely in Wisconsin and the USA more broadly. According to the WDPI, English is synonymous with reading, writing, speaking, and listening. Nowhere in the WCCS, or the CCSS more broadly, exists the notion that there may be vast differences in the ways “literacy” is understood in other, particularly oral, cultures, and languages. Evidence of this lies most visibly in WCCS’s assumption that one can dissociate the “skills” of literacy from “content.” The relative freedom with which teachers can choose content is used as an example of its supposedly progressive aspects. As we illuminate in our examples from the immersion school below, this dissociation is impossible within complex, oral, and verb-based storytelling and relational languages like Ojibwemowin. The standards articulate an “education for every child,” where “every child” subtly (or not so subtly) implies “every English-speaking white child.”

In WCCS, while English serves as an umbrella term, “culture” functions to distinguish content that is (O)ther than English or normative conceptions of an American student (white, suburban, and middle-class). In the efforts to ensure that every child within the US graduates prepared for college and careers, “schools need to provide high quality instruction, balanced assessment and collaboration reflective of culturally responsive practices” (WDPI Website). To understand precisely where and how there is a conflict, we must ask from what epistemological viewpoint do

these standards originate? What does it mean for the state to espouse values of cultural responsiveness while mandating these particular standards without Indigenous communities' input or participation?

Throughout the WCCS and CCSS, culture is referred to as something that can be added in, as something that is not in conflict with the universalized, generic skills supposedly necessary for developing successful learners. For example, WDPI states that "WCCS provide the foundation for learning for every student in Wisconsin, regardless of their unique learning needs" (WDPI 2011a, p. 14). It goes on to state that "students in Wisconsin [shall] come to understand *other* perspectives and cultures" (p. 24, emphasis added). WCCS claims that, first, the standards are for every student, and, second, that "other" cultural perspectives can be understood via the set of scaffolded skills WCCS universalizes as the "foundation" of learning. The overlay of a Western indexicality silences Indigenous ways of knowing that cannot (nor should) be parsed into skills versus content.

Western discourses are positioned as the neutral location from where knowledge is produced, what Walter Dignolo (2011) describes as the zero-point epistemology. Belief in the zero-point is a belief that what one knows is not situated, partial, or limited by one's relations. The construction of "culture" is interrelated with this Enlightenment-era stance. Duranti (1997) writes, "In the nineteenth century culture was a concept used by Europeans to explain the customs of the people in the territories they came to conquer and populate" (p. 23). "Culture" is the "object" of study, distinct from the researcher, who is objective and untainted by the "other." Producing knowledge about "culture" from the zero-point not only enabled colonialist government administrators and military to more effectively discipline and manage the colonized; the stance also legitimized a supposed European moral and religious superiority. The zero-point epistemology and its perpetuation today in the academy has been heavily critiqued by many postcolonial and postmodern feminist scholars (see for example: Said 1979; Haraway 1988; Harding 1986).

As Richardson (2011) writes, the legacy of the zero-point continues to undergird state-mandated standards and curriculum in schools:

The theoretical and philosophical foundations of curriculum act as forces which continuously eclipse the conceptual, theoretical and philosophical forces of Aboriginal intellectual traditions. (p. 333)

The bifurcation of "skills" from "content" in WCCS exemplifies the kind of supposed neutrality and universality of "knowing" espoused by those who (fail to) locate themselves at the zero-point. The study of Indigenous languages in a variety of fields illuminates, however, that language itself orients us in deeply different ways (Hermes 2005a). While the zero-point epistemology, and its reproduction within the field of education and education policy, orients teachers to make certain pedagogical choices appear to be normal, "best practice," or "common sense," immersion educators' attempts to teach Ojibwemowin *and* meet state standards are painfully aware that the "zero-point" is a historically European epistemic stance that exists in tension with Ojibwe ways of knowing.

Examples of Curricular Tensions within an Ojibwe Immersion School

One of the things I (Mary) love about ceremony is the distribution of knowledge. At first it appeared to me that there was clearly a hierarchy, as I started to understand the ceremony through the Ojibwe language I realized, that everyone was just “sitting in” for someone – some spirit – anyway. The idea of hierarchy and expert unraveled from there. An expert is someone that knows more, perhaps in a certain context, knows the most, and that is the one who is on top of the pile. The smartest, the best, the most powerful. But when different people, sitting in for different manidoo (spirits), all know something slightly different, and from a different point of view, well then, this idea of expert goes out the window. We all know parts, and we all sit in a different place. And this is how we share, teach and reinvigorate that conversation, in the ceremony. The structure holds us in this way. The idea of a “standard” then – something written by an expert (the first kind), the individual with “the most” knowledge is foreign to this Indigenous learning structure, actually has no place in this particular social context. Standards are generated by experts within disciplines, all of these structures are from Western academics, which are also based on individual knowledge, and in this US colonial context, that translates to power.

In our examples, the immersion teacher’s move to subvert the standard is an opportunity to resist and appropriate space in the classroom for decolonial study. Many Ojibwe immersion teachers, and likely other Indigenous teachers as well, have become masters at this epistemic disobedience. As one Ojibwe immersion teacher recounted to Mary during a language pedagogy workshop, “I can take a speck of dust, make a lesson that meets five standards *and* has a cultural teaching in it.” Such a statement illuminates the pressures and constraints that standards place on immersion teachers’ work. Appropriating and subverting the language of the standards, rearticulating the skills from the WCCS under a framework of Indigenous knowledge and values, or ignoring the standards altogether at times to make space and time for Indigenous epistemology is the work teachers grounded in Indigenous languages, but situated in settler-colonial places, must do.

The Significance of the Change, the Significance of the Name

In Bimijiwanikwe’s (Bimijiwanikwe (Michelle) Haskins was a kindergarten immersion teacher for 9 years. She is our colleague, friend, and sister. We refer to her here as Bimijiwanikwe and many of these examples are published in her masters thesis and in Hermes and Haskins (2018). She currently works at Lac Courte Oreilles Tribal Community College.) Kindergarten classroom at Waadookodaading Ojibwe Language Institute (Waadookodaading), many parents are hoping that their children are “ready for first grade” by the end of the year. Bimijiwanikwe is a talented veteran immersion teacher. Depending on the year, she often has the class reading in Ojibwe and English by mid-year. One of the most telling examples of a clash of expectations is in a seemingly simple name-writing activity. Writing one’s name is a part of the

Wisconsin's state standards (WDPI 2011a) and a normative preschool and kindergarten activity. It's often presented to children and families as a matter of safety – children need to be able to provide their names to authorities and adults in cases of emergency. It is also one of the first writing skills that Kindergarteners are expected to learn in order to indicate whose worksheets or assignments belong to whom, a kind of individualizing surveillance wrapped up in the individualized system of testing, evaluation, and promotion predominant in most schools.

In the immersion school however, Ojibwe names are usually much longer and typically have more syllables than English names. Some children are learning to say their name in Ojibwe for the first time. They struggle to speak it, let alone to write it. Take, for example, the Anishinaabe name, Niiyaandiwed (Nee-yawn-di-wade), typical in its level of difficulty. Writing all 12 letters requires a significant amount of time and fine motor skills. One immersion teacher recalls a little boy saying, "I wish my name was Makwa [bear]," as he was writing his 15-letter-long name (Hermes and Haskins 2018).

Beyond this difference, at Waadookodaading, the skill of name-writing is intimately entwined with the work of providing space and guidance for students to make sense of and re-value their own Indigenous identities and histories. Ojibwe cultural values are transmitted orally, often through storytelling, and Ojibwe spiritual names are deeply rooted in culture and identity. Kindergarten students at the Ojibwe immersion school spend the first 6 weeks of school participating in cross-curriculum activities to assert their identities are valid and powerful. For example, Bimijiwanikwe (2015) describes in her masters thesis how she supported students' lack of motivation to engage in learning activities where they were required to first write their name on a worksheet or piece of paper:

In my heartbreak and determination to find a better way to help my students to meet the outcomes of WCCS of early literacy, reduce anxiety, and foster cultural identity, I created tracing-name strips to glue onto their work. This adaptation was made for all students so that no student was made to feel singled out [because while some students had as few as six letters, some had upwards of twenty three]. Having a choice is empowering for all mankind. Additionally, a discussion on the importance of our Anishinaabe spiritual names, how it came to be that Ojibwe people have them, and how we take care of our names, even in print, occurred. This conversation was a review of content learned earlier about the Ojibwe naming ceremony, which is retold in the Ojibwe Creation Story. The Ojibwe Creation Story is transferred generationally by the means of oral tradition, a natural learning facet for Anishinaabe people. (p. 42)

Here, Bimijiwanikwe describes the ways in which teaching and encouraging students to persevere in writing their names is entwined with the developing of their understanding of where they come from, who they are in the world, and linking the skill of printing one's name with "how we take care of our names," and, thus, our identities and cultural traditions.

Alternatively, in WCCS name-writing is treated as a basic skill detached from the cultural significance of naming: for WCCS, the name is merely a unique identifier, a way for children to associate themselves with their individual writing assignment or

worksheet. However, in Ojibwe culture, one's spiritual name is provided during a naming ceremony. It signifies who one is to this world and to the spirit world, it connects a person to a group of namesakes, and it leads one through many ceremonies and steps of life. One's Ojibwe name is a source of pride for Anishinaabe people, and one of the strongest ceremonial traditions in practice today.

Further, Ojibwe traditions of learning are collaborative and relational. Alternatively, in normative school practice, a student's name at the top of the page signifies that s/he "owns" this work, it is his/hers to receive credit for, and plagiarism is often met with strict discipline. This form of knowledge ownership does not translate well in Ojibwe intellectual traditions, which emphasize such values as honoring the wisdom of elders and collaboration, and which are predicated on a trusting relationship between one who seeks knowledge and one who can offer guidance. It is important to note here that "Waadookodaading" in Ojibwe means "the place where we help each other," a phrase with a categorically different and less hierarchical associations than "school," "teacher," or "student."

Within Indigenous oral traditions, one initiates learning by offering tobacco to a person one believes can guide them (Archibald 2008). The learner knows whom to ask a priori or discovers this via his/her kinship relations. The asker already exists in a network of relationships with the elder or guide. In fact, it is through this network that the asker would know who to even ask for the teaching. A common way of greeting an unfamiliar face is by asking questions that place an individual within a network of relations: questions like, "where are you from? What is your clan? Who is your mother? Are you related to so and so?" There is no need to say one's name because there is almost always a relationship that exists between the two, and this relationship is what enables one to ask for guidance in the first place.

Example 2: "Measuring Text Complexity" and the Naturalization of Settler Ideologies

Within WCCS literacy standards, the state rationalizes the importance of literacy almost solely along the lines of how such literacy skills will prepare students for the worlds of college and work. The research used to support this rationalization deemphasizes critical thinking (although pays it lip service) and focuses on research that argues that vocabulary in K12 texts is becoming simpler, while colleges and workplaces are requiring students and workers read more complex vocabulary. For example, the WDPI cites a 2006 study conducted by ACT, Inc. (a major transnational testing corporation) that studied "which skills differentiated those students who equaled or exceeded the benchmark score (21 out of 36) in the reading section of the ACT college admissions test from those who did not" (p. 2). This study built on a previous ACT, Inc. study that correlated reading scores on its test to a college student's probability of earning a C or higher in an introductory U.S. history or psychology course. WDPI asserts that this research supports their definition of measuring text complexity, which is largely based on Lexile scores, or a system that measures the difficulty level of individual words. WDPI states:

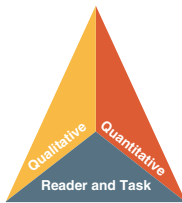
The most important implication of this [ACT, Inc.] study was that a pedagogy focused only on “higher-order” or “critical” thinking was insufficient to ensure that students were ready for college and careers: what students could read, in terms of its complexity, was at least as important as what they could do with what they read. (WDPI 2011b, p. 2)

The significance of student growth in understanding big words and “doing something with them” is described by WDPI along the lines of participation in college, careers, and citizenship.

Within the tripart system of evaluation (below), the only allusion to text ideology or epistemology exists within the qualitative evaluation of the text: “knowledge demands,” or do students have enough background knowledge to comprehend the text?

Standard 10: Range, Quality, and Complexity of Student Reading K-5

Measuring Text Complexity: Three Factors



- Qualitative evaluation of the text:** Levels of meaning, structure, language conventionality and clarity, and knowledge demands
- Quantitative evaluation of the text:** Readability measures and other scores of text complexity
- Matching reader to text and task:** Reader variables (such as motivation, knowledge, and experiences) and task variables (such as purpose and the complexity generated by the task assigned and the questions posed)

Note: More detailed information on text complexity and how it is measured is contained in Appendix A.

The quantitative evaluation factor gestures toward the studies cited by WDPI that argue that K12 texts and literacy pedagogy must keep up with the level of difficulty of vocabulary demanded in colleges and workplaces. The third factor “matching reader to text and task” is tied deeply to what WDPI describe as the ways in which K12 schools fail to hold students “accountable for what they read on their own,” citing the need for students to be able to engage in independent reading in college and for their careers (WDPI 2011b, p. 2). The standard, taken as a whole, illustrates the WCCS’s zero-point epistemology: its preoccupation with producing “good” students and workers, the devaluation of critical analysis, and the lack of recognition that texts are not authorities but rooted in place, history, and perspective.

The following in-class example describes Bimijiwanikwe’s (2015) kindergarten class discussion of *The Three Little Pigs*. Her facilitation of a classroom discussion of the text illuminates the tensions between the intentions of the WCCS literacy standards and the aims of Waadookodaading to foster Ojibwe self-determination in learning and living with the land. For Bimijiwanikwe and her class, the discussion and comprehension of a common fable becomes deeply entwined with understanding and critically analyzing the origins of the fable in relation to an Ojibwe relational worldview. In Bimijiwanikwe’s recounting of her class discussion, it is clear that their collective engagement with the story is not legible within the framework that WCCS outlines for the purposes and measures of literacy skills. We quote her here (Haskins 2015) at length.

We read the story of *The Three Little Pigs*, a story retold to ensure that the fear and hatred toward wolves lives for generations through Euro-American fairytales because early settlers feared the loss of livestock brought to North America (PBS 2008). Students were asked to reflect on whether or not wolves are bad and were asked why they thought these stories were being told? S4 raises his hand and waits to be called upon and said, “*Mii wenji nishkaadizid ma’iingan* [Because the wolf is angry]”. S5 raised her hand shaking with enthusiasm. I call on her. S5 said, “*Eya’ mii wenji bakade* [Yes because he is hungry]”. S10 didn’t raise his hand but I wanted to know what his thoughts were. S10 said, “prolly because he’s bad”. S6 chimes in without being called on and said, “*Gaawiin, gimikwendaan ina Bimijiwanikwe gi-ikido awesiiyag omaa ayaawaad dabwaa niinawind* [No, remember when the teacher said the animals were here before we were]?” Although the construct of S6’s Ojibwemowin was not grammatically correct, I accepted S6’s response. I was looking for deeper meanings and interpretive knowledge on why the students thought the story was written. I did not make corrections in speech nor did I recast in this activity.

S8 raised her hand and waited to be called on. When S8 was given an opportunity to speak, she said, “*Ma’iingan wa’aw Bimijiwanikwe’s doodem* [Wolf is the teacher’s clan]”. I responded by saying, “*Ma’iingan ogikendaan gichi-niibowa, gichi-gikendaasod* [Wolf knows a lot, as he is really smart]. *Wenipanad da-amwaadwaa gookooshag miinawaa bizhiikiwag, agiw miigaazosigwaa Chi-mookomaanag awesiiyag* [It’s easy to eat pigs and cows as those European animals have no way of fighting].” S7 said, “Oh yeah! *Nimikwendaan gi-piidoonaawaag bizhiikiwag* on those *gichi-jiimaanings mewinzha* [I remember they brought the cows on ships a long time ago].” I said, “*Mii gwayak, ishwaaso daso-giizisag booziwag da-bi-izhaawaad omaa Anishinaabe akiing* [It took several moons/months to get to America on a boat]”. S1 said, “*Ma’iingan nindinawemaagan* [Wolf is my relative]”. I reinforced S1’s statement by saying, “*Gidebwe, Ma’iingan gindinawemaaganaanig* [You speak the truth, the Wolf is our relative]”. I asked the students again, “*Aaniin dash awiyya gaa-tibaajimowaad yo’o Niswi-gookooshag* [Why was the story of the Three Pigs told]?” S9 said, “*Ganabaj. . .Aaniin ge-ikidoyangiban* to make people be scared of *Ma’iingan* [May-be. . .How do we say, to make people scared of the Wolf]?”

The students did not see wolves as being bad, and they did indeed need to be respected for their intellect and wolf’s role in our Creation Story. Students also identified how the wolf helps to keep balance among the lifecycle and should be especially respected as brother of the Anishinaabeg. (Haskins 2015, p. 36–37)

Bimijiwanikwe revalues the Ojibwe Creation Story as a strategy for interpreting the fable. Yet, according to WCCS, oral stories such as the Ojibwe Creation Story are not considered complex texts for use in teaching literacy skills (WDPI Website, K-5 Literacy Standards). Yet Bimijiwanikwe’s classroom discussion illuminates that the Ojibwe oral tradition is a critical resource for unmasking the settler colonial underpinnings of pervasive fables, like *The Three Little Pigs*.

For Bimijiwanikwe, the practice of “reading” the fable was less about facilitating students’ comprehension of some predefined authoritative interpretation, and more about assessing and developing students’ cultural knowledge. She writes that her lesson on the fable had to do “both/and”:

These students emerging cultural knowledge was revealed through further classroom discussion and completion of the Story Maps where the students wrote the name of the story, the author, and drew pictures to illustrate the story setting, characters, and the sequential events that took place in the story. (p. 38)

While she engaged students in a critical discussion of the fable in order to situate it within an Indigenous history (the fable was a tool for the reproduction of settler identities), she also engaged students in practicing normative literacy skills, such as naming parts of the story and understanding sequencing. Bimijiwanikwe's example illuminates the tensions between the standards and Ojibwe epistemology – while the standards find the latter skills sufficient to produce good workers, students, and citizens (of the USA), Waadookodaading as a decolonial education project struggles to provide space for students to understand the ways in which this production (of workers, students, and citizens) is premised on their own Indigenous erasure.

Example 3: What Western Curricular Cycles Mask

Our final example illuminates the space-time differences in CCSS/WCCS and Ojibwe lifeways. While the WCCS uses and naturalizes as universal the Gregorian standard (12-month) calendar, Indigenous communities (especially those that heavily rely on subsistence hunting, growing, and gathering) respond to cyclical transformation in the land and weather (i.e., harvest cycles). It is in following the natural progression of the seasonal gifts of harvest that the Anishinaabe have survived by first having spiritual acknowledgement of “Who” the Creator is and that we are related to all living beings. Paying homage to our Creator and our ancestors is done through ceremonial rites of passage and other cultural practices that are determined by the universe. Ojibwe people respond to the universe by migrating, gathering, and cultivating Indigenous knowledge from season to season as a way of life, rather than adopt Euro-models of industrial agriculture or resource extraction (i.e., iron ore mining) – modes of living that currently dominate Ojibwe ancestral lands.

One staff member from Waadookodaading stated the overarching curriculum goal as: “We respond to the food cycles of the season.” While Waadookodaading follows a Gregorian calendar, they also have an entirely different way of viewing time – one that is not determined by a square on a page, but by what is happening in the environment. While many school calendars also were historically created to respond to planting and harvest seasons, the school calendar was determined largely by settler agrarian practices, and, in many places, other nonagrarian rationales like physical comfort in buildings without or before air-conditioning technology or, in urban areas, the labor needs of industrialism (Fischel 2006). Alternatively, the immersion school schedule is determined by when the fish are spawning, the sap is running, and the rice is ready to harvest. The ability to “read” the environment is important. Responding to the Earth, gathering foods that are ready, means that the overarching school structure is shaped by these activities *and* literacy, math, or any other academic skills that can be covered while also carrying out these activities.

For an example of such a land-based pedagogy, Keller Paap, a Waadookodaading teacher, describes Waadookodaading's responsiveness to the land and the relationship between land-based knowledge and language:

Language, I think with any cultural practice, it has a specific vocabulary and teaching in that activity within that practice. So, for instance, all the words about boiling sap, the way that it boils, have specific terms that describe it very very accurately that allow you to develop a deep comprehension of the activity and why you do it and how you do it. (Finn 2016)

He describes the ways in which the cultural practice of the sugarbush harvest, or the spring season where maple syrup is harvested from trees, is encoded in the language in ways that enunciate the actual work and skills of harvesting sap. In the forest-as-classroom, the hoses, buckets, fire-tending, and various complex tools needed for the sugarbush give the appearance of an outdoor science classroom. Students are working alongside teachers and elders, working the taps, tending the fire, and tasting the sap. Here, science, culture, history, tradition, and language are all intimately entwined (versus discrete disciplines and subject areas within WCCS).

He goes on to describe the ways in which this land-based knowledge is a critical tool for “reading” the world, including the social, political, and the global (which, from an Ojibwe perspective, are inseparable from the “natural”):

Ultimately it’s prepping them and building an intellectual framework that they’ll be able to apply to and adapt to. No matter where they are in the world, that will help them. And I think they’re prepared with knowledge and ability that they feel proud of, that they feel connected to their ancestry in a deeper way. They have a much broader and deeper understanding of Ojibwe perspective in relation to the local community, the local environment, and the world. (Finn 2016)

Paap highlights the importance of preparing students with “knowledge and ability they feel proud of” and that connects them “to their ancestry in a deeper way.” This rootedness in place, history, and identity are all, according to Paap, assets in surviving within and understanding their fraught relationship to settler-colonialism (e.g., the politics of their mostly White, rural surrounding community). As many scholars studying the value of ethnic studies programs and culturally relevant pedagogy in US schools have noted, such culture-based schooling – while not necessarily legible within the framework of the standards or testing – has had the overall effect of supporting minoritized students to complete high school and attend college at much higher rates (cf. Sleeter 2011). This body of research supports Paap’s assertion that students learning in and through an Ojibwe perspective (versus the universalized perspective of WCCS) can be just as, if not more, “successful” in navigating settler colonial institutions and life than their peers without access to the kind of learning and relationships that Waadookodaading offers.

Such a land-based structure and pedagogy exemplifies a reciprocal relationship to the environment that is at odds with WCCS social studies standards that privilege and naturalize a political economy of scarcity. For example, in the grade two standards:

Students [...] continue to build their foundational understanding in the social studies disciplines of citizenship and government, economics, geography and history. They learn about the need for fair voting processes, and the importance of constitutions and obeying rules. They *study indigenous people and the influence of a variety of cultures on our society,*

gaining an understanding of the United States' common heritage and diverse roots. Students begin to understand how resources and physical features influence the distribution of people around the world, and use maps and other geographic tools to explain the characteristics of places. They use *calendars and timelines to track the passage of time and chronicle events*. By describing the trade-offs of a decision, *students learn the concept of opportunity cost and its connection to scarcity of resources*. (WDPI Website, Social Studies Standards, emphasis added)

Analysis of the standard reveals the tensions between Waadookodaading's land-based approach and the naturalization of a White settler "we/our." The language used ("Indigenous people" and "a variety of cultures" have influenced "our" society) implies that Indigenous and "other" (nonwhite) cultures are not included within "our." The language ignores the social constructedness of space-time and naturalizes "scarcity of resources" as if it is not something that was artificially created via the export of capitalist accumulation via colonialism and the extraction and plundering of natural resources – the foundation of the wealth of the nation.

Ojibwe people in the Great Lakes region lived for hundreds of years with an abundance of wild life (fish, moose, caribou, deer, elk, porcupine, beaver, partridge, goose, duck, bear, squirrels, muskrat), wild rice, edible plants (including every wild delicious berry, plum, and tuber under the sun), and medicinal plants too numerous to mention here. Ojibwe people would harvest this abundance in addition to summer gardens, where harvests were shared among relations. In and through a land-based Ojibwe perspective, students are made aware of multiple orientations and are learning flexibility and adaptability. Although the standards are meant to create an umbrella containing all "other" cultures underneath it, Ojibwe ways of knowing and living on the land directly contradict the foundational premises of concepts such as scarcity and of the fixedness of time and space. Waadookodaading attempts a form of learning that both acknowledges and works within these dominant ideologies (e.g., the Gregorian calendar), yet it also practices what Medin and Bang (2014) describes as adaptive reorganization within a complex system. The immersion school teaches through yet resists compliance with a system that is incongruent with Ojibwe heritage, all the while in and through an endangered language that most are still learning. This is the daily work of Indigenous immersion teachers.

Conclusion and Future Directions

When I (Mary) arrived in Thunder Bay, in the ceremony that wasn't for me, but really was for me, I spoke only in Ojibwemowin. Ron commented "It's the change! It's coming!" as he did a silent happy dance. Ron travels, as Mashkikiwinini do, and he talks to all kinds of folks. I have noticed more and more that others share his perspective. Now the conversation is shifting: We are no longer talking about how we need to "save the language." We (the ones who are learning) are talking about health and wellness and we can already see the change. The conversation has shifted from a focus only on policy and immersion schools to health, wholeness, and to spirituality – where it has always been. My move, and maybe other people see this

too, is to grow language in families, grow health in families (and I mean the Ojibwe version of “families” that recognizes all kinds of complex kinship relations we are situated within in daily life (not the Western, heteronormative version). We are starting this fall. We let the word spread through the families we see at ceremony because they are the ones using the language. Many but not all, are the ones whose children attend the immersion school too. The immersion school is the smallest of concentric circles. We need to keep reaching out, beyond who we know or who we see is making an effort. We need to widen the circles and make sure there is room for everyone.

The examples we share illuminate the complex ways that immersion schools are both sites that reproduce the settler state *and* places that resist, reproduce, and create a new Ojibwe lifeways. The education system in North America was historically created and implemented as a means to construct a national identity. Within an interlocking web of ruling relations, schools continue to be manipulated by federal and state policies that harm language revitalization efforts and discipline Indigenous teachers and students via standards that devalue and invisibilize Indigenous ways of knowing. As the examples from Waadookodaading illuminate, Indigenous language activists and educators have managed to subvert the aims of the state through appropriating school spaces through Indigenizing pedagogies. Immersion teachers teach students to write their name, not as a simple skill to master so the teacher can identify a student’s work, but as a practice of caring for and forming a deeper connection to one’s spirit name. Literacy is a decolonial practice, not merely a skill to socialize “good” students, workers, and (US) citizens. And, Waadookodaading maneuvers and negotiates its curriculum within the normative school calendar to ensure students are learning how to “read” and respond to the land.

The struggles that Waadookodaading immersion teachers face as they attempt to prepare children for a world that privileges and naturalizes Western ways of knowing are struggles that many immersion schools face in North America (McCarty and Nicholas 2014). Within many Indigenous communities, parents and young people face “mixed messages” about the value of their heritage language. “Within “the hierarchical positioning of Native languages and English,” Lee (2009) states, there is a continuous negotiation “to determine the place of Native languages in relation to the privileged position of English” (p. 310, as cited in McCarty and Nicholas 2014, p. 128). Yet, despite these challenges, McCarty and Nicholas (2014), in their extensive review of the roles and responsibilities of immersion schools, illuminate the ways in which the appropriation and reclamation of school spaces for revitalization has significantly increased the number of Indigenous speakers in North American communities where these efforts exist.

While Indigenous immersion schools have produced more speakers, it is critical that we learn from these efforts, including paying attention to their limitations. Within immersion school efforts, it is critical we ask questions such as: How do the relatively small projects of immersion schools (relative to the communities they seek to include) coupled with the hierarchical and prohibitive associations that many working class people have with education institutions impact accessibility to such

projects? How do the historical tensions that exist between education institutions and parenting/families, community, and alternative spaces of learning impact the Indigenous language revitalization movement? While we must strategically build from within the system (i.e., appropriating immersion schools, creating immersion programs within tribal schools), we must also build within (and create anew) our own institutions (e.g., ceremonies, families, reservations, and tribal governments) (see also McCarty and Nicholas 2014).

These are major questions for revitalization workers within immersion schools generally; however, academic researchers can do much to strengthen immersion school efforts in ways that can support the growth of the movement more broadly. Immersion school efforts are just getting off the ground in many places – McCarty and Nicholas (2014) write that the immersion school movement is just 25 years old. As one immersion teacher stated to Erin, Waadookodaading is one of the oldest Ojibwemowin immersion schools at 16, “but it is still just a baby.” We ask of academic researchers studying immersion schools and other school-based Indigenous language revitalization efforts (including ourselves): How can researchers further study and build institutional knowledge of immersion teachers’ strategies and “adaptive” practices across other Indigenous immersion sites? How can researchers (including the authors) support immersion schools and programs to productively share knowledge and resources across such efforts in ways that are practically minded and not merely subsumed into relatively closed academic circuits of knowledge?

Ojibwe lifeways are here, they have always been. We spend millions of dollars searching for something we have lost, looking outside of ourselves. And it is all right here, under our noses. We are drawn in by the grants, the systems that threaten our existence, teacher educators who appear to have something we are lacking. Of course we can learn from teacher education, we can learn from experienced curriculum makers, we can learn about language acquisition from linguists and language pedagogues. But learning is not a one-way street. We do not need to forget what we know to become teachers or to grow the movement within, against, and beyond state education. We need only to believe in it, to dig deeper and to look to those in our communities perpetually excluded from the academy who have been doing this work all their lives. Digging medicine, watching where the beavers make houses, and knowing the difference between what makes us sick and makes us well – this knowledge continues to be relevant and have always been here.

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Listen to the Voices: Informing, Reforming, and Transforming Higher Education for First Nations' Peoples in Australia

24

Jeannie Herbert

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Abstract

This chapter will provide insights into the value of tertiary education journeys that are grounded within First Nations peoples' own cultures and languages. This practice provides a structure that enables the learner to navigate through what could be argued

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to be an alien learning environment where learners are bombarded by language and/or epistemologies that serve to confuse and often exclude them from engaging in the learning activity. In Australia, First Nations people are relative newcomers to the university; hence, their engagement with the Western knowledges and epistemologies, which underpin higher education offerings in this country, has not been easy. Doubtless, this reality could be argued as reflecting the evolution of higher education in Australia. But equally, it could be argued that it is impossible to comprehend the contemporary realities of Indigenous higher education in Australia, without having some appreciation of how it has evolved within the wider framework of what Australian Education really is – an essentially colonial construct. In this chapter the author draws upon her own lived experience, as an Aboriginal woman and long-time educator, to critically reflect upon the impact of Australia’s colonial history and the increasing need for change that will enable First Nations students to engage in the process of empowering themselves through their education. Based upon her own experiences, she discusses some of the positive pathways that have begun to emerge in recent years. In exploring some realities of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander student learning journeys she seeks to highlight experiences that have had a positive impact upon the individual’s capacity to take up the challenge.

Keywords

Act of cultural remembering · Cultural knowledge · De-colonisation · Education as a colonial construct · Education as tool of empowerment · First Nations · First Nations reclaiming spaces · Higher Education · Indigenize the Academy · Indigenizing the Academy · Indigenous Australians · Narratives of success · Universities as sites of transformation

Introduction

As an Aboriginal educator, I would argue that a critical aspect of appreciating the tertiary education journeys of contemporary Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples is to have some knowledge of what has gone before and some insights into the way in which this country’s First Peoples were positioned within the formal education structures that are claimed to enable people to access the knowledge and skills they need to live full and rewarding lives. This is where we come up against the first hurdle – actually obtaining information that will inform our understanding: in other words, listening to the stories of people who were a part of that history.

Beginning with a Personal History

I believe that education was the natural career choice for me. My mother had an abiding belief that a good education was the means to enable individuals to build a “good life” for themselves and their families. My grandmother, a Nykinya woman

from the West Kimberley region of Western Australia, saw education as the key to people being able to make their own decisions concerning the work choices they could make in order to earn a living. Being prepared for life as a servant, she had, from a very young age, lived within the confines of a station homestead, an aftermath of the spread of pastoralism into the Kimberley during the late 1800s. My grandmother received no formal schooling, hence was illiterate in terms of being able to read and write English. However, being dumped by the station owners as a young pregnant teenager in the town of Derby and left to fend for herself, she became very literate in terms of reading the society in which she lived. In due course, however, her three daughters, then aged 8, 6 and 4 years, were taken, bundled onto a ship with other Aboriginal children, similarly summarily removed from their families, and sent over 1550 nautical miles south to be institutionalized in Perth. My mother, in recounting the story of her childhood many years later, told me they had received a very basic education over about 3 years and were then removed from the classroom and placed in training within that same home. Each girl was trained in every aspect of domestic service – cleaning, housekeeping, cooking – so that by 14 years of age, they could be put out to work as domestics. This was no escape into a “normal life.” Each girl was released into service under an agreement that rendered her totally under the control of her employer, working very long hours for little, if any, reward. As time-off or payment for labor depended entirely upon the whim of their employer, it took my mother 10 years to save enough to pay her boat fare back to Derby in an effort to find her mother and brothers. In retrospect, I quite understand why both women had such total belief in the value of education and why, in my mother’s case, in the continuing absence of any secondary schools north of Geraldton, she was determined to send every one of her eight children south to receive a secondary education. The oldest child, I was dispatched to Geraldton High School in 1956.

I decided to begin this chapter with a personal family history as a means of providing “an insider” view of what has happened to many layers of our First Nation’s families, over the years it has taken for the process of colonization to play out across the continent. These stories may never have been recorded in any publication but they were nevertheless the very real life experiences of my mother, my aunts, and my grandmother, and, without doubt, these “family” stories have had a profound influence upon me, my siblings, my cousins . . . but I also appreciate that we are not alone. Many have suffered similar or worse experiences – dreadful, demeaning intergenerational histories that continue to oppress many. This approach is not intended to imply that the written records of the process that left people without their country, their means of survival, and destroyed their family structures and cultures are not valuable. But, unless they also reflect the knowledge, the memories of those who were actually subjected to the “lived experience,” then one could question the validity of the opinions offered, the conclusions drawn. Such thinking, concerning the importance of the Indigenous “experience” could be argued as aligning with Smith’s (2009) arguments concerning the importance of “Indigenous educational leadership” in achieving improvement in Indigenous educational outcomes, in which he indicates “major change is possible in a relatively short time in terms of indigenous educational underdevelopment” (2009, p. 1).

Our Histories: Levers to Decolonize and Heal?

Reflecting upon the historical framework, I would argue that before we can hope to redress the “high and disproportionate levels of educational underdevelopment” (Smith 2009, p. 1) that also accrued to First Nations learners in Australia, we need to better inform ourselves of the possible underlying causes and the apparent persistence of such underdevelopment. Hence, it is critical that we find a way of filling the gaps in the written history of Aboriginal education prior to 1967. “Working Together: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Mental Health and Wellbeing Principles and Practices” (2010), a ground-breaking publication presenting the outcomes of a study into the state of Indigenous mental health, was designed to address community concerns regarding the increasing level of Indigenous youth suicides across the country. I would recommend it become mandatory reading for all contemporary, and intending, educators. Specifically, in chapter “The Social, Cultural and Historical Context of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians,” Dudgeon et al. identify the direct outcomes of passing the so-called “Aboriginal Protection Acts,” within each of the Australian states and territories, as being an increase in racism and legislation that virtually ensured the “pauperization of Aboriginal peoples” (Milnes 2001, p. 32). Significantly, having revealed the Western Australian Aborigines Act 1905 as “a gross erosion of rights” marking the beginning of a “period of formidable surveillance and oppression of Aboriginal people.” Dudgeon et al. further argued that, if the “1905 Act is symbolic of Indigenous oppression . . . the 1967 National Referendum, when Aboriginal rights were won back, is symbolic of emancipation” (2010, p. 30).

Through in-depth examination of the historical records in my own study (Herbert 2003), I came to understand the way in which education had been used as the tool of the colonizer. Initially it had served to exclude Aboriginal children from schools and an education that would have enabled them to be valued members of communities. Ultimately, it was this lack of education that served to exclude Aboriginal people from the wider society. It is as a result of that personal journey into the educational archives that I came to understand my own responsibility, as an Aboriginal educator, to engage with our communities and the wider Australian society in an examination of that history. Such a process enables people to develop a deeper understanding of the realities of our colonial history and its possible impact upon different people and/or groups (Herbert 2003). I would argue such active engagement constitutes critical practice in developing our capacity, as individuals and groups, to comprehend and ultimately speak back, as our means of overcoming the continuing damage of that history.

Impact of the Untold History Begins to Emerge

In general, following the 1967 referendum, it could be argued that there was no real comprehension of the magnitude of the issues that were beginning to emerge as serious Indigenous health and education detriments. Around the country, however, and especially in First Nation’s communities, critical connections were becoming evident

concerning the possibility of long-term devastating impacts in the aftermath of the “colonial era.” The reality of such an impact became increasingly obvious following the release of reports from some of the massive enquiries that have been undertaken in the decades following that referendum. Two critical enquiries included the:

1. Royal Commission to investigate the causes of deaths of Aboriginal people while held in State and Territory gaols. The Royal Commission, which was implemented in August 1987, was established in response to a growing public concern that deaths in custody of Aboriginal people were too common and poorly explained. Following various interim reports (Johnson 1991), the final report, signed on 15 April 1991, made 339 recommendations, mainly concerned with procedures for persons in custody, liaison with Aboriginal groups, police education, and improved accessibility to information (accessed 5 July, 2016). <http://www.naa.gov.au/collection/fact-sheets/fs112.aspx>
2. Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission National Inquiry into the Separation of Children from their Families was conducted between 1995 and 1997 with the report of the inquiry, *The Bringing Them Home Report* (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission 1997), being tabled in the Commonwealth Parliament in 1997 (accessed 5 July, 2016). https://www.humanrights.gov.au/sites/default/files/content/pdf/social_justice/submissions_un_hr_committee/6_stolen_generations.pdf

The “Stolen Generations” is the name given to Aboriginal children who were forcibly removed or taken under duress from their families by police or welfare officers between the years 1910 and 1970 – estimated to be at least 100,000. The *Bringing Them Home Report* details this investigation (accessed 5 July, 2016). <http://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/2012/05/25/timeline-stolen-generations>

Reading the Evidence of the Emerging Literature

As evidence of what was done to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander families and children has been published, there has been growing awareness in the wider population, not only of the dreadful suffering that was inflicted on people because of their race but also of the awful legacy that allows the oppression to continue in many places – places where people remain isolated though not always by distance. In a study entitled, “Factors that impact upon the attendance, suspension and exclusion of Indigenous students in secondary schools,” Herbert used data gathered in remote, rural and urban settings in New South Wales and Northern Territory schools, to highlight ways in which teachers might become more effective teachers of Indigenous students. Significantly, those teachers conducting the research argued that many of the emerging issues were common across all levels of education, throughout the country. Most critically, however, across all research sites the evidence clearly highlighted the importance of schools engaging more closely with their Aboriginal communities in order to better understand and value the cultures these students, and their families, were bringing into the school community (Herbert et al. 1999).

Education institutions across all sectors have been relatively slow to respond in ways that would better prepare Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to acquire the knowledge and skills they need to recover their lives and empower themselves in ways that will enable them to take control of their own futures. First Nations peoples who have managed to obtain qualifications enabling them to be employed within various levels of educational service delivery are not only few in number but also, too often, experience considerable difficulties in making their voices heard. Elsewhere in the wider community, the impact of almost 200 years of colonial history continues to ensure the virtual invisibility of too many First Nations peoples.

Acknowledging the Truth and Preparing to Heal the Wounds

This is a critical moment for higher education. Based upon the findings of my PhD study, I would argue that it is time that the truth regarding the role of education as a tool of the colonizer (Herbert 2003) was acknowledged and responsibility taken for effecting the change that is much needed in our society. Leaders in the education community do have the capacity, the knowledge, and the power to transform the nation through a process of building the human currency needed not only to heal the wounds but also to build the relationships that will enable us, as a nation, to recognize, accept, and value our differences as the first step in uniting and moving into the future as one nation. Universities must accept the challenge of being the incubators of this national change process.

Positioning the University to Engage in the Healing Process

Through my personal experience as a teacher, counsellor, researcher, and educational manager, I would argue that a critical prerequisite for understanding the contemporary realities of Indigenous higher education in Australia is to have some insight into how it has evolved within the wider framework of what Australian Education really is – an essentially colonial construct. This is an important factor, for the journey of evolution has not only provided the means but also in a sense been the catalyst for where Indigenous higher education is currently located – a legacy of Australia’s colonial past. The question we must ask ourselves is “What is the difference between past and present?” for this is a critical truth when considered with the context of Altamirano-Jimenez’ argument:

If we think of universities as social spaces actively participating in the process of knowledge production (Lefebvre 2000), they have been implicated in the reproduction of hegemonic narratives that have erased and silenced the existence of Indigenous people and epistemologies. Universities are also a representation of society at large. (2014, p. 38)

These are truths we must accept in reflecting upon our own purpose within the academy. It is critical that we address the past by naming and accepting the truth of what was done as the first step in healing the wounds, in making the connections that will enable us all to experience that sense of “belonging” that allows us to get on with

our lives. According to Altamirano-Jimenez, there is such diversity in our knowledges that we need our universities:

to provide a range of politically, intellectually, and practical courses meant to serve the needs of Indigenous people and their communities because”, citing de Sousa Santos, Arriscado-Nunes & Meneses (2008) “social transformation cannot be achieved without cognitive justice. From this perspective, indigenizing the academy means that we work to transform universities into places that are open to the diversity of knowledge systems and that ‘we decolonise knowledge’ itself.” (2014, p. 42)

Through my on-going journey with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students and communities over many decades, I have developed a deep awareness of peoples’ expectations of education including, more recently, higher education. It is from within that shared space of being – imagining, reflecting, understanding, appreciating, and valuing – that I have come to realize that wresting control of education, a previous tool of the colonizer, to make it what we want it to become, is the only way we can ensure it does become a powerful tool of empowerment for ourselves, and, ultimately, all of our people. The underlying question, however, is “Once we have that autonomy, that self-determination, what will we do differently?”

Transforming Universities into Places that Meet Our Learning Needs

Having embarked upon my personal research career by the end of the 1980s and commencing my PhD investigation into Indigenous success in education by the mid-1990s, I was continually confronted with the paucity of the written record. In considering possible causes for this situation, I decided it could have been a reflection of the fact that there was virtually no Indigenous student present within the Australian university until the late 1990s. But, having been a classroom teacher for over 20 years before specializing in Indigenous education in the early 1980s, it had been my personal experience that there was some resistance to the notion that Indigenous peoples had the same rights to a good education as other Australians – an education that would enable them to achieve employment and life outcomes similar to those of other Australians. Yet Indigenous pedagogies and epistemologies were not a consideration. First Nations students were expected to acquire and use Western ways of knowing and being, in order to engage with the world. While the source of such thinking became obvious in undertaking the literature review for my PhD study, it was strongly reinforced during interviews with my informants (Herbert 2003).

Changing History

Following the 1967 referendum, there was a concentrated effort around effecting desperately needed change that would bring some hope for the future into Aboriginal lives. One of the key areas of focus for such change was education and, with the

Australian Government now controlling Indigenous Affairs, the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education Policy Taskforce was established in 1988 and the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education Policy (NATSIEP) was implemented in schools at the beginning of 1990.

Positive Shift in Education Service Delivery for Indigenous Students

The implementation of the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education Policy (NATSIEP) marked the beginning of a major shift in educational service delivery for Indigenous Australian students across all sectors of education. The 21 long-term goals set out in this Policy were designed to (i) increase Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander involvement in educational decision-making; (ii) provide equality of access for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to educational services; (iii) increase equity of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander participation in education; and (iv) to achieve equitable and appropriate educational outcomes for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. Such outcomes would be achieved through enhanced co-operation and collaboration between the Australian Government and its various states and territories. Most importantly, however, a key element of the policy was the requirement that educational providers across the country would submit annual written reports detailing the enrolment, participation, retention, and completion rates of their Indigenous students. Making education providers in all States and Territories finally accountable for what was happening, or not happening, to Indigenous students across all levels of education, gave many Indigenous educators cause for hope that Indigenous education was about to undergo much needed positive change. I personally recall the sense of euphoria many of us experienced with the implementation of this policy, especially in response to the very welcome changes designed to increase engagement between schools and their parent and community groups.

Establishing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Presence Within Schools

Obviously, the achievement of these goals would be dependent upon the capacity of individual schools to build positive relationships with the parents and communities of Indigenous students enrolled within their schools. This was never going to be easy due to the long history of Indigenous exclusion from Australian schools. Given the growing sense of urgency around addressing issues associated with improving Indigenous educational outcomes, many schools turned their attention to identifying existing activities or structures that could provide an initial point of engagement. One example of an event that was especially visible in 1990–1991 was NADOC (National Aborigines Day Observance Committee) which was changing to become NAIDOC due to the growing awareness of the two different and distinct cultural histories of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. This was a timely change because in the process NAIDOC

moved from being a one day celebration to become a week-long commemoration, hence increasing the number of very informative and educational events available to school communities. This act of cultural remembering continues although, while local committees continue to organize local events, a National NAIDOC Committee now makes key decisions concerning events that constitute a national celebration.

More recently the continuing celebration of our cultures is beginning to reflect an increased diversity of activities such as more schools offering students the opportunity to learn their own Aboriginal language at school and an increasing number of young adults, mainly men, offering sessions to enable young children, in their local community, to engage in cultural activities. The ultimate focus within such groups is re-connecting with their culture. Teaching such “cultural knowledge” to young children is intended to re-establish individual and group responsibilities associated with caring for country and culture. According to community feedback, it is also increasing the number of young Indigenous teachers, both male and female, who are becoming highly competent teaching professionals. These teachers are using their teaching skills to deeply engage their students – both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal – in a diversity of cultural activities designed to enable all students to “come into the culture” – their own or one they have created – in order to better understand their environment and the community in which they live today. Such reflective practice on the part of these young teachers is reminiscent of the behaviors Yazzie-Mintz (2007) discusses as a result of her research into teacher conceptions of culturally appropriate curriculum. In her observations of what informs the practice of three Navaho teachers, she seeks to answer the question, “What does a teacher have to know and what actions must be taken in order to create content and culturally relevant learning opportunity for students?” (2007, p. 73).

Making Our Voices Heard

Many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, having made the move into the space commonly known as “the uni,” either as teachers or learners, in the 1990s/2000s, soon discovered that occupying a space does not necessarily equate to being welcome, or for that matter, welcomed! In fact, the space could be likened to Nakata’s “cultural interface” (1998), “the academy . . . (is where) . . . we come to learn ‘about’ “Indigenous knowledge in similar ways to how we came to learn ‘about’ Indigenous cultures and issues via the established disciplines” (Nakata 2007, p. 9). While such a reality will without doubt create a dilemma for some in terms of how to deal with the issue of feeling “unwanted,” it seems to me that there is an alternative viewpoint.

Having researched the issue of Indigenous student empowerment through education over the past two decades, I would argue that, having gained entry, it is time to stake our claims. While we might be labeled “latecomers” as a result of having come but lately to the university, we need to acknowledge that we are also the “trail-blazers.” It is our responsibility to build the pathways that will enable other members of our families and communities to join us. We may need to show the way by mapping the terrain or sharing stories about what happens in this space, so that when

those who follow do arrive they will know how to find their way to what they are seeking. One of the ways in which we can achieve this is by writing about our own experiences so that we might contribute to publications such as this. It is important that we fulfil the physical act of sharing our stories, of ensuring the oral histories of First Nations' peoples are included in that act of spreading the word, of informing others so that the wider public, the global communities, are not only armed with the knowledge of what was done but that the act of acquiring such knowledge might also enable them to be better prepared to prevent future colonization. Within this context, I would argue that in publications such as this the inclusion of First Nations' stories, oral histories of real family's experiences, are just as valid, or at least equally as important as those academic publications that have been re-constructed from written records. This aligns with the argument put forward by Arbon and Rose, in their introduction to the sixth journal published by The World Indigenous Nations Education Consortium (WINHEC) and themed "Indigenous Voices, Indigenous Research." They argue the importance of publications where Indigenous authors get the opportunity "to not only deconstruct the hegemony of Western knowledge but, radically draw on ancient local knowledge of Indigeneity (sic) to in turn articulate powerfully Indigenous voices and research" (2010, p. i).

Lester-Irabinna Rigney, in a paper considering issues impacting Indigenous Australian intellectual sovereignty, states that: "Higher education is fundamental for preparing Indigenous peoples with the necessary skills not only to reclaim, protect and nurture Indigenous cultures but also to prepare the next generation for an ever-changing modern society" (2001, p. 2). While few would disagree with this argument, it would have been useful if Rigney had also provided some practical examples of the skills needed and how they might be obtained. This is due to the fact that, over a decade later, the Australian Government in support of its claim that a "strong higher education system benefits everyone" reveals that, while "[u]nder-represented groups such as those from low socio-economic backgrounds, Indigenous Australians, and students from regional areas have increased their participation in recent years" (Australian Government 2016, p. 3), it appears Indigenous higher education participation remains below parity. Furthermore, the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Higher Education Advisory Council has highlighted "the need to increase Indigenous participation in STEM and business fields, where Indigenous Australians remain significantly under-represented" (2016, p. 11).

Transforming Universities

It is obvious, from what has been discussed to this point, that Australian education systems have not yet succeeded in making the transformation from their colonial beginnings. There is no disputing that there has been considerable progress since the implementation of the NATSIEP in 1990, but the continuing failure to achieve parity for Indigenous Australian students in relation to their access, participation, and successful completion of higher education programs reveals continuing dysfunction in the system. This is not an issue that will be addressed without genuine

commitment on the part of all Australian Governments and Educational providers although there are some promising developments providing a glimmer of hope for improved futures for First Nations people, around the country. Equally, however, for First Nations peoples desiring to overcome the impact of colonialism over the past quarter of a century, the time has come where they must assume control of their own liberation (Freire and Macedo 1998, p. 54) and build their own strong futures. Within this context, it could be argued that initiatives emerging from Indigenous staff, students, or community groups could hold the greatest promise of future empowerment. Providing opportunities for Indigenous Australians to take control of their own futures so they might develop a deep sense of “belonging” would appear critical to ensuring they will not only “come in” to the university but, more importantly, that they will “stay, engage and ultimately graduate.”

Indigenizing the Academy

A critical focus in many contemporary Australian universities is a move to Indigenize the academy as a critical process in enabling First Nations’ peoples to feel they do have a place in the university, hence begin to experience a sense of belonging and of being valued. Implicit within this objective of Indigenization is the goal of raising the visibility and engagement of First peoples in all areas of the university while simultaneously establishing processes and practices that demonstrate a genuine valuing of their knowledges within the academic structures of the university. It could be argued that a vital element in achieving such outcomes is contingent upon finding ways of enabling the Indigenous voice to establish a space from which to speak, a space in which First Nations’ peoples will have the capacity to develop their personal sense of belonging. An emergent element in achieving such a vital outcome is argued as the need to Indigenize university curricula.

Within this context, the work of Mackinlay and Barney (2012) – in particular their curriculum renewal project investigating Indigenous Australian Studies as a means of delivering university education that is empowering to the student – is valuable. In their Australian Learning and Teaching Council funded project entitled “Exploring Problem-Based Learning and Transformative Education in Indigenous Australian Studies,” they examined the teaching and learning processes being used in the teaching of Indigenous Studies across five Australian universities. The researchers decided to use Problem-Based Learning (PBL) approaches in undertaking their study. They soon realized, however, that the persistent stigma attached to the historical practice of framing Indigenous people as a “problem” had effectively rendered the terminology they were using as not “. . . politically or pedagogically appropriate” (2012, p. 5). In the process of redefining what they wanted to achieve they identified the need to change the terminology they were using; hence, PBL became “PEARL” (2012, p. 5). This new term was intended “to encompass the political, embodied, active, and reflective aspects of this learning approach” (2012, p. 12). The way in which a pearl is created and grows was perceived as having alignment with the pedagogical processes in Indigenous Australian Studies. Hence, “PEARL” was

perceived as creating space for “education as an inherently political process linked intimately to the interrogation and deconstruction of colonialism”; thus, it “could be described as both a critical pedagogy and a critical race agenda” (2012, p. 14). The authors argue that this process of using critical race theory to reveal the power of whiteness as a legacy of colonialism demonstrates the reality that PEARL can represent a transformative process. It is this deep engagement in activities that should lie at the heart of any Indigenous Australian studies program (2012, p. 15).

Contextualizing the Indigenous “Presence” Within Contemporary Australian Universities

Darlaston-Jones et al. in reflecting upon their research into the relevance of contemporary psychology curricula for Indigenous students remind us that “The fabric of cultural understanding, values, beliefs and behaviours that characterise a particular society is woven through multiple mechanisms, including the education system” (2014, p. 87). Significantly, however, they indicate that, within our universities:

... the add-on approach of inclusion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander content might increase the knowledge of non-Indigenous psychology students to the history of colonization and the contemporary legacy of harm that ensued, but it does not identify the unearned privilege associated with being part of the dominant group. (2014, p. 87)

Yet it is this sense of privilege that needs to be challenged, for it is the assumptions of right and dominance that flow from such attitudes that have ensured this nation’s First Peoples remain powerless and effectively “silenced” within our educational institutions. This was a critical focus of my own PhD study which “was designed to open up a space in which Indigenous Australian respondents might speak back to non-Indigenous educators, thus becoming a part of the process that is needed to change the discourse about Indigenous Australian student achievement in higher education” (Herbert 2003, p. 89). However, I also acknowledged this was not going to be easy, being mindful of Nakata’s warning against complacency in assuming progress is being made in creating a space from which Indigenous scholars might begin to speak back:

... I cannot dispute that changing ways of thinking have led to the improvement of the conditions of many Indigenous people. I would argue, however, that for an indigenous scholarship to develop, the argument does not rest there. The issue for indigenous scholars is one of how to speak back to the knowledges that have formed around what is perceived to be the Indigenous positions in the Western ‘order of things’ (Foucault 1970). This is a crucial point that I have always found difficult to articulate. (Nakata 1998, p. 2)

Yet, almost 20 years after Nakata voiced his concerns regarding the inability of Indigenous scholars to have their voices heard, Darlaston-Jones et al. argue that “the power of Whiteness” remains the dominant force in Australian society, thus ensuring “structural discrimination continues unabated” (2014, p. 87). Furthermore they assert that, until we destabilize “the iterative nature of these dominant reinforcing

processes” (2014, p. 87), effective and sustainable change will not be possible within our education settings.

Sociocultural Change that Has Influenced the Capacity of Indigenous Peoples to “Engage,” to Make Their Voices Heard, Within the Academy

In identifying the critical need for Indigenous agency in overcoming their own past oppression, it is important that we also acknowledge the recency of the university experience for First Nations peoples in Australia. There was virtually no “presence” until 1990, and it is significant that the NATSIEP Review of 1995 revealed considerable concern on the part of Indigenous respondents regarding the issue of “equity” and, in particular, within the context of higher education, called for “a more contextualized view of equity as ‘equality of regard’” (DEET 1995, p. 17) that recognizes the specific learning needs of individuals and groups.

Darlaston-Jones et al. argue that the complexities of multicultural educational contexts need “to be created in a deliberate and formative manner that provides the opportunity for all players to participate in the reflexive critique necessary to facilitate such reconstitution” (2014, p. 88). Yet they argue that, to date, the literature seems to be suggesting that, despite this focus on Indigenization, many Indigenous students continue to be denied access to curriculum that actually does “critique or question the dominant discourses in terms of power and privilege that are the legacy of non-indigenous Australians” (2014, p. 88). While this viewpoint may be somewhat depressing, I know, from my own work in four universities over the past 20 years, that our people are moving forward in terms of seeking to empower themselves through their engagement in higher education.

Stories of Success

In this brief summary, I will endeavor to outline behaviors that I consider encapsulate successful learning outcomes for Indigenous students. While my descriptions may not reflect what some would consider “educational success,” they are based upon my personal observations and engagement as an educator over many decades. I draw directly upon my personal experiences within the Australian higher education institutions in which I have worked.

In my lecturing role at James Cook University in North Queensland, I developed and delivered an undergraduate subject designed to provide all participants with an opportunity to engage in Indigenous learning experiences being taught by Indigenous people. While the focus of the course was intended to open up communication around Indigenous lifestyles – traditional and contemporary, cultural and spiritual worlds, language or lifeworlds – course content in different locations could vary considerably depending upon the most important influences upon peoples’ lives. Hence, some communities chose to: (i) focus on the impact of history – both pre and

post-colonial – upon the lives of those who lived there; (ii) demonstrate how their lifestyles were deeply entwined with the environment as main food source, calling for a need to care for country; (iii) emphasize the importance of their culture – language, ceremony, responsibilities; or (iv) potentially focus on a specific discipline, such as art, environment, land use, environmental science, or land management.

I would work with the community leaders to negotiate course content and issues around teachers, routines, payment, teaching materials, or quality assurance. All details would be agreed before any field trip was advertised to students. These subjects were generally delivered in field trip mode so coach companies would take care of all logistics such as camping gear, provision of meals, travel to and from the site and, provide any additional transport we might require during the field trip. We preferred to camp in the bush – somewhere in the vicinity of the community but not in it – so there was time for group reflection each evening. This subject was offered every semester and, because it was a cultural experience, it did not sit in particular year levels, rather, students enrolled in an experience in which they personally had an interest. There was one written assessment task that was due for submission within 2 weeks of returning from the trip. I supervised and designed all other assessment tasks. Some tasks were collaborative group tasks where small groups would then report back to the whole group regarding some aspect of their learning and their perceptions around the value of such knowledge. This was intended to open up critical discussion that would encourage students to think critically about what they were learning – to reflect, to challenge each other. Another assessment task involved individuals delivering an oral presentation (no written paper) of the learning they had taken from whatever activity they had been asked to report upon. They delivered this report in front of the whole student group and me as audience. Critical discussion would follow. This was a highly successful subject. Sometimes there might be complaints about the lack of “creature comforts” as a result of camping out but I never received complaints about course content or the manner in which the content was delivered – most students were totally engaged with whatever was happening. Significantly, Indigenous students, regardless of their previous educational levels, and many international students scored highly in the oral evaluations whereas non-Indigenous Australian students handled the written assessment more competently.

As Director and later Vice-Chancellor of Bachelor Institute of Indigenous Education (BIITE), I spent a considerable amount of my time travelling, including to many of the remote communities we serviced in both “the Centre” and “the Top End.” BIITE, a specialist tertiary education institution, has delivered education and training to Aboriginal people from rural and remote locations for over 35 years. In recent years, it has increased enrolments of Indigenous Australians from throughout the country. While valuing the diversity of its student body has been a particular strength of this unique educational environment, its capacity to cater for increasing diversity has been possibly its greatest challenge in recent years. The statistical evidence suggests many of the students enrolling at BIITE have not been adequately prepared for tertiary education and/or BIITE accepts many students who would not gain access to tertiary education elsewhere in the country.

BIITE caters for a multiplicity of learning needs due to the fact that:

- Students coming from rural and very remote locations are often disadvantaged by the long-term impact of previous educational disadvantage and limited life experiences caused by the extreme isolation of their lives.
- Students from urban backgrounds may have had higher levels of previous education and different life experiences due to coming from mainstream urban environments, but come to BIITE to strengthen their own sense of identity as an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander person by participating in an Indigenous educational experience.

The Institute provides a “both-ways” philosophical context, locating its practice in a space that acknowledges Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander epistemologies as its foundation and its framework for delivering a culturally sustainable education within an Indigenous Australian knowledge environment. It is this act of valuing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledges that challenges the status quo of mainstream education. Locating BIITE students in more meaningful learning structures enables them to engage in more empowering learning experiences.

For a more in-depth explanation of this student-centered method of delivery, I would recommend the work of Robyn Ober & Melodie Bat on Both-ways education (Ober and Bat 2008).

Teaching materials, service delivery, staffing, and student support services must respond directly to identified student and community needs within a diversity of remote, regional, and urban locations. Travel is a way of life for both students and staff; it ensures an equitable spread of services while delivering learning opportunities that will enable students to expand their own life and learning experiences across a diversity of geographic locations. The sheer remoteness of many Indigenous communities serviced by BIITE, unreliable connectivity and lack of facilities, mean there can be little reliance on technology in relation to online enrolments and course delivery.

While the high costs associated with delivering this unique educational service throughout the NT are a major issue, the rewards for students include:

- Diversity of language-related programs, which enables students to produce resources written in their own language with accompanying English language translations. Art classes are conducted in conjunction with writing programs that enable the acquisition of skills needed to illustrate texts. Such programs are also designed to provide people with skills needed to set up business enterprises around writing and producing texts and other materials in their home communities.
- Art courses, including Artists in Residence Programs, which provide opportunities for students to engage in activities that enable them to acquire the skills and knowledge they may need to become an artist. Courses focus on developing sensitivity and responsibility around protocols regarding representations and displays in art field – vital knowledge for those seeking to work in this industry.

- Diploma courses which provide people with the skills they need to obtain work, within their community, in fields such as health, education, caring for the environment, etc.
- Media training programs which equip students with skills associated with operating equipment and technology and delivering programs in remote and urban locations.
- A large range of resource materials, including books (written and audio), CDs, and movie DVDs that reflect Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander interests in traditional stories, bush foods and medicines, regional issues and language publications are designed, developed, and produced through collaborations with individuals and communities. It is this focus on the importance of collaborative engagement at the community level that ensures BIITE's capacity to use a both-ways approach to all aspects of design, development, and publication.
- A large range of resource materials that are designed, developed, and produced through collaborations with individuals and communities, including books – written and audio – and CDs and movie DVDs that reflect Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander interests around traditional stories, bush foods and medicines, regional issues, and language publications. Such publications/productions, being so collaborative with specific communities, engage with a process that ensures a both-ways approach to all aspects of design, development, and publication.

Significantly, however, in acknowledging the value of the learning experience Indigenous students might experience within the Bachelor environment it is worth reflecting upon the challenges associated with differing worldviews around the notion of “costs.” Without doubt there could be a considerably richer higher educational experience offered to the Indigenous students “coming into” Bachelor Institute from a diversity of educational and cultural backgrounds – language, culture, and heritage – in order to ensure they, too, are prepared “to reclaim, protect and nurture . . . Indigenous cultures” while also being prepared to engage in an “ever-changing modern society” (Rigney 2001, p. 2). But as long as funding allocations are determined by those unable to appreciate the challenges associated with different worldviews of “costs” the power imbalances within Australian society will continue. The human costs of failing to hear the Indigenous voice, of continuing to deny the real needs in terms of fiscal costs, will ensure our First Nations people continue to be denied an equitable education. Such failure will ensure maintenance of the current power imbalance and without doubt perpetuation of the “status quo” – a persistent symbol of the Invasion which cost the First Australians greatly.

In reflecting upon the time I spent at BIITE, I remember a vibrant, challenging learning environment where students and staff engaged in an on-going, often joyous, collaborative interaction of learning together. It was this “togetherness” that enabled them to address issues, no matter how difficult, and produce a rewarding learning experience and satisfactory outcomes for all concerned.

Currently, I am Foundation Chair of Indigenous Studies and Pro-Vice Chancellor – Indigenous Education at Charles Sturt University, a regional university in New South Wales. A key responsibility of my roles is to engage with the diversity of

communities serviced by CSU. The dual roles necessitate many meetings, so considerable travel, both within and beyond university campuses, is a key factor. My considerable experience in education, including within this sector, has highlighted the importance of getting out and “engaging with” community groups as opposed to simply “attending meetings” where there is a tendency for considerable formality in discussing agenda items. It has been my experience that many community participants are silenced by the requirements of “the process” in meetings conducted within a “formal” mode. Undertaking effective community engagement is a core focus of my roles; hence, I need a process that not only enables me to meet a diversity of groups but also ensures we are able to effectively communicate with each other. It was this need that led to the development of “Collaborative Conversations.”

Collaborative Conversations provide a process that enables me to engage in the deep conversations that enable me to gain insights into what people think higher education is all about and how the service we provide might meet their particular needs. To ensure the process works, I begin with a definition of the meaning of “collaborative” so those present realize that this is not an activity where they are going to sit and passively listen to someone “telling them” what they should do. They are urged to participate in the conversation that focuses on their expectations – what they want to get out of “going to university,” their hopes and fears, their strengths and weaknesses, and their vision for better futures for themselves and their communities. Since developing and trialing the process in 2014, I have used it to engage with secondary school students and community groups and to obtain feedback about effectiveness of CSU services/programs for Indigenous students from various staff, students, and an Elders group.

More recently, I found it to be a useful tool in working with students enrolled in the Wiradjuri Language, Culture and Heritage Graduate Certificate (WLCH GC). This unique course is a direct outcome of the work of the CSU Wiradjuri Language, Culture and Heritage Program Committee that was established some years ago to enable Wiradjuri people to have a voice in the university. Wiradjuri communities provided guidance and advice relative to how specific programs or initiatives would ensure Wiradjuri knowledge was recognized and valued, thus enabling Wiradjuri students to feel they had their own place within the university. While the Committee continues to be jointly chaired by the DVC Academic and Aunty Flo Grant, an important Elder in the local community, the development of WLCH GC was inspired by Uncle Stan Grant Snr (HonDLit). It was a long project given the many obstacles, such as no written materials or texts and no pool of potential students with the pre-requisite basic Wiradjuri language skills to enroll. These hurdles took time to overcome.

The course is structured so that students commence with the Wiradjuri Language subject before progressing through subjects considering issues of culture and heritage and ways of rebuilding Indigenous Nations. Within this framework of understanding, they then undertake a professional study of a Wiradjuri Community Development activity. Such a process could be argued as central to recovering Wiradjuri language, culture, and heritage within the context of rebuilding the Wiradjuri Nation.

The WLCH GC was implemented in 2014 and was an immediate success. It is conducted as an on-line course with students coming in to the university to participate in four residential schools during their course. This enables them to have face-to-face contact with Uncle Stan and their lecturers. In June 2016, I attended a residential and invited students and staff to talk with me about the course. I used the Collaborative Conversations process to guide the discussions. The response to my request and the information that was shared with me through that process was not only enlightening but also, at times, extremely emotional. The following is a brief overview of some insights I gained through that unique engagement.

Listen to Indigenous Voices: Narratives of Success

The Collaborative Conversations delivered such a wealth of information, so many different opinions that all I can do in this paper is provide a brief insight into some student responses. I endeavored to select opinions that were representative of all responses concerning the course. In seeking to identify what might be termed a general consensus, I believe most students would agree with these words of a student:

This course delivers whatever you want it to deliver – it is different for every individual.

The following selection of comments seek to provide an insight into what individuals consider they, personally, are achieving through their unique learning journey.

It's about family – discovering who and where and what I want to be – was critical that I had my son here beside me learning exactly the same thing. We're both here – at “uni” – learning some of the most important stuff of his life. He's having an incredible journey at the moment . . . it's where he needs to be. We're here with family, yeah. It's been an awesome experience. This Higher Education course is really important for me – I can pass it on to my kids – the value of what I've learnt here. That's really important to me as I pushed those values onto them in the first place. It wasn't just because they wanted to do it. I didn't force them, but, they saw what education had done for me in my life.

I'm in this course because I have a deep respect for the Wiradjuri concept of Yindyamarra and I wanted to show my respect for Wiradjuri people who never had the opportunity to live their culture, speak their language.

I have always had a deep sense of longing related to needing knowledge about my culture, my heritage.

I enrolled in this course because I wanted to better myself. But, you know what, I never expected . . . I can't explain what happened to me . . . (Pause) . . . all I can say is this . . . (begins thumping his chest above his heart) . . . It hit me right here – just like that – suddenly I KNEW this was what had been missing in my life – this was what I had been WAITING for! (He is silent for a time . . . then turns back to look me straight in the eye while tapping the front part of his head) . . . now I KNOW what I am going to do with my life. When I have finished this course I'm going to go away and get things sorted out. Then I'm coming back here – back to CSU – and I am going to enrol in whatever course I have decided I want to do and after I graduate, I'm going to go out there and work in that profession. You know why I am going to do that? (I shake my head.) Because up until now I have never thought someone

like me could go to “uni.” I never knew what went on in here – all I knew was I wouldn’t be able to do it! But I’m here now – I had to come in here to do this course and that has changed me. I know this place – this university – now. I know what goes on in here and it doesn’t scare me anymore. I am going to walk out of this place very soon with a Wiradjuri Language, Culture and Heritage Grad. Cert. I’m very proud about that. I like that feeling so I’ll be back next year to do the next course I want to do. I know who I am now so I hold the power – I am in control of me and that makes me feel real good.

All of those participating in these Collaborative Conversations spent some time reflecting upon how it felt to be really engaged in the learning experiences offered through this course with comments such as: *“It was really hard at first but there came a point where . . . suddenly you could do it! You could SAY the words – you could join the right bits together.”* While this might be “awesome” or “unbelievable” for some, there were others who could find no words to describe the feeling – all they knew was they just felt “so happy.” One student encapsulated the experience as: *“It’s suddenly like you feel WHOLE – that’s when you realize there’s been something missing, something deep inside you, you couldn’t speak about it because you didn’t have the words – we didn’t have our own language, our Wiradjuri language.”*

Through their engagement, students were discovering they had varying levels of language skills but that was no major concern – all that mattered was that they were in a place now where they could learn their language.

Some had specific agendas such as needing knowledge of their language to fulfill requirements of their Native Title claims. The majority were enrolled simply because they believed learning their language was an essential first step in recovering their culture and coming to appreciate their own heritage.

Some students spoke of experiencing concern about how they might reconcile their feelings of deep joy within the context of their relationships within the other side of their ancestry. In acknowledging the need to enable non-Wiradjuri family connections to appreciate what they were going through in *“discovering that my Wiradjuri side is still alive”* some were thinking they might teach these families “to speak Wiradjuri and understand the beliefs” as a means of enabling everybody to be part of the space, all in there “together” improving the quality of their lives.

Immersion in the language enables you to keep hearing it in your head until sometime you just start saying words – you keep doing that till you finally get the pronunciation. Then you’ve got to start talking to others – spreading the word. After a while others, who also lost their language, will start repeating what you are saying. That way, we hope to get more people wanting to enrol in this course, especially people who work in education or health. It seems like there’s two parts to this model. It just sort of grows and breeds its own. So you can go to the residents, you learn the pronunciation but it takes a while before you can let it come out. Then one day, you’re sitting in a public forum somewhere and you use language to “acknowledge country.” That’s a deep statement because, in using that language, you’re declaring that this is Aboriginal land in a really deep way. Non-Aboriginal people doing this are demonstrating their respect, not only for that place but also for the owners of that place. They are also acknowledging that they know, deep inside themselves, that they can only ever be ‘visitors’ to that place.

Learning the language is one way of demonstrating that respect and understanding – a really essential way. We should be teaching this language to every student at this university so they can begin to understand their own place on this land. But there are protocols around that and we don't control those. It's a matter of who gives permission for the language to be taught or for different people to learn the language. Those are questions we still need to find answers to.

Conclusion

The use of a personal family history provides a powerful introduction to this chapter, revealing how what was done to individual members within many families became, over time, a highly effective weapon in the intergenerational destruction of the First Nations of this country. In exposing the continuing denial of access to even the most basic education that has taken place over generations, this chapter highlights the reality that it was the longevity of that colonial experience that caused such overwhelming damage. It is this reality that continues to confront all who seek to overcome their colonial legacy. But in acknowledging that progress may have been tragically slow, this chapter also reveals there is hope for the future. Possibly the most significant lesson to emerge across the diversity of learning sites was the reality that, if individuals wish to build effective pathways into better futures for themselves and their families, they must recognize the need to take responsibility for their own journeys. The increasing acceptance, in recent years, of the importance of social and emotional health and well-being as the means of enabling individuals to take control of their own lives and futures, has served to highlight the desperate need for education services that do deliver “tools” for self-empowerment. What is on offer must be meaningful to the learner and must fulfil some individual need so that engagement in the learning contains an inherent reward for the learner. The emerging strength of educating for empowerment becomes obvious in the outcomes emerging from research initiatives such as the highly effective National Empowerment Project led by a team of health and educational researchers including people such as Professor Pat Dudgeon from the University of Western Australia. But this chapter also reflects the value of tertiary education journeys that are grounded within First Nations peoples' own cultures and languages. Significantly, the practice appears to create a structure that learners can relate to, where they can experience that “sense of belonging” that ensures they become critically engaged in the learning process. Delivering education in the individual's own language enables the learner to explore and expand the new knowledge, language, and skills within a framework of familiarity where the “new” can be interpreted and assimilated into the learners' own knowledge structures and understandings. The use of such practice, within educational institutions, ensures First Nations learners engaging in cross-cultural learning environments and/or situations are provided with a learning experience that is not only empowering for the learner but also enables a quality of learning engagement that is equally satisfying for the teacher and fellow-learners. These are critical elements in developing the respectful relationships that result in the “deep engagement” that enables transformational learning. It is this reality that highlights the

importance of establishing a place for Indigenous knowledges – language, culture, heritage – in contemporary universities. The conversations I have shared clearly reveal that higher education can provide the critical tools that do enable our First Nations peoples to recover from the trauma of colonization and discover their capacity to construct new futures for themselves and their families. They will achieve this in the new space where side-by-side Western knowledges and Indigenous knowledges are becoming critical components in inspirational new learning collaborations.

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Maintaining a Cultural Identity While Constructing a Mathematical Disposition as a Pāsifika Learner

25

Roberta Hunter and Jodie Hunter

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Abstract

Many Pāsifika students enter New Zealand schools fluent in their own language and with a rich background of knowledge and experiences. But, within a short period of schooling they join the disproportionately high numbers of Pāsifika students who are failing subjects such as mathematics within our current education system. The reasons are diverse but many can be attributed directly to the structural inequities they encounter which cause a disconnect (and dismissal) of their Indigenous cultural values, understandings, and experiences.

In this chapter, we examine and explore the different practices which have marginalized Pāsifika students in our schools and more specifically in mathematics classrooms. We explain how some of the “taken-as-granted” practices in mathematics classrooms match the cultural capital of the dominant middle-class students but position Pāsifika students in ways which cause them cultural dissonance. What we clearly show is that the teaching and learning of mathematics

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cannot ignore the student's culture despite the beliefs held by many that mathematics is "culture-free." In contrast, we illustrate that the teaching and learning of mathematics is wholly cultural and is closely tied to the cultural identity of the learner. We provide many examples over 15 years that illustrate that when teachers use pedagogy situated within the known world of their Pāsifika students and which premise student choice over their spoken language their sense of belonging within schools is affirmed. We draw on the voices of the Pāsifika students to show how Pāsifika-focused culturally responsive teaching has the potential to address issues of equity and social justice which supports them retaining their cultural identity while constructing a positive mathematical disposition.

Keywords

Culturally responsive teaching · Cultural identity · Mathematical disposition · Equity · Social justice

Introduction

Within New Zealand's polyethnic society, Pāsifika peoples hold an important place. Pāsifika as a term has come to describe Indigenous peoples from other Pacific Island nations who live in Aotearoa New Zealand. In the post-second world war industrial era and into more recent times, their contributions, both economically and politically, have helped shape New Zealand as we know it today. Equally important are the Pāsifika ancestral links with Māori, the Indigenous people of New Zealand. In addition, the rich and colorful elements Pāsifika peoples bring to New Zealand add to the cultural landscape of this country. Currently, there are less than 10% of students of Pāsifika ethnic origin attending New Zealand schools. Wylie (2003) indicates a doubling of these numbers by the year 2051, and Brown and colleagues (2007) signal that Pāsifika students are the fastest growing population in New Zealand schools. However, appropriate institutional and policy-driven responses have been slow to acknowledge, respect, and incorporate core Pāsifika goals and values. One of the major consequences of this, as many researchers (Alton-Lee 2003; Bills and Hunter 2015; Nakhid 2003; Wendt-Samu 2006; Young-Loveridge 2009) have documented, is the disproportionate number of Pāsifika students who perform well below the desired levels in comparison to their Pākehā (Māori term commonly used to refer to European New Zealanders) and Asian counterparts in mathematics and literacy. Our aim in this chapter is to explore how Pāsifika students are able to develop a strong mathematical identity as they simultaneously engage in mathematical activity which values and draws on their Indigenous cultural practices.

Unless the structural inequities and hegemonic practice Pāsifika students encounter in New Zealand schools are addressed, serious social and political consequences are signaled when considering the projected demographics. Vale et al. (2016) highlight how the connection between "educational achievement including aspirations and socio-economic context are predictably consistent" (p. 100). These researchers

draw on the work of Jorgensen and her colleagues (2012, 2014) who argue that contributing factors to underachievement include “student mix, student family background, parental connection(s) to school, teacher quality, student language skill(s), curriculum alienation and so on” (p. 100); all factors we see in our work with Pāsifika students. These students are predominantly found in schools within high poverty areas and where socioeconomic disadvantages are the greatest.

Throughout this chapter, we engage with issues of equity and social justice and illustrate how particular practices used in New Zealand schools have marginalized Pāsifika learners and caused many to be disenfranchised from school mathematics, as a consequence delimiting study and career opportunities. We draw on Nieto’s (2002) framing of culture. Within this framework, the culture of the Pāsifika learner can be seen as one which is comprised of dynamic and ever-evolving traditions, social and political relationships, and a world view constructed, shared, and transformed by a group of people who are joined together by a number of factors which include common values, a common history (for example, originating from and being Indigenous to a Pācific Island nation and being immigrants or children of immigrants to another Pacific Island nation – New Zealand), geographic location, language, social class, and religion. In this chapter at the heart of what we describe is a mathematics program which we argue has the potential to be transformative in addressing social justice issues. Through working within the *Developing Mathematical Inquiry Communities (DMIC)*, teachers are able to engage in Pāsifika-focused culturally responsive teaching to support their students to construct a positive and strong mathematical and cultural identity as mathematical learners and doers in New Zealand classrooms.

In the next section, we will outline the development of *Developing Mathematical Inquiry Communities (DMIC)* program. Throughout the chapter, we will draw on its components to explore and examine the way in which the different parts of *DMIC* support Pāsifika students to learn and do mathematics which provide equitable outcomes.

The Context of Developing Mathematical Inquiry Communities

The innovative *DMIC* program was initially developed more than 15 years ago through collaboration with a group of teachers in a school in a high-poverty urban area in Auckland with predominantly Māori and Pāsifika students. Subsequently, a gradual roll out of schools involved in *DMIC* has resulted in the current involvement of 52 schools (35 schools in West and South Auckland, 8 schools in Porirua, Wellington, 4 schools in Tauranga, 1 in Rotorua and Palmerston North and 4 schools in Christchurch). Altogether, approximately 950 teachers are formally included in the project although throughout New Zealand many other schools have informally joined. The data used in this chapter was drawn from teacher reflections and interviews collected regularly over each school year by independent researchers throughout the past 15 years. The quotes used in this chapter were selected because

they reflect views that have been consistently voiced over the duration of the project by teachers involved in the program.

DMIC was designed to address the persistent underachievement of Māori and Pāsifika students, caused by the many structural inequities they had encountered in previous mathematics programs in New Zealand. This included the recent New Zealand Numeracy Development Project (NZNDP) (Ministry of Education 2004) intervention that, though well intentioned, made minimal difference to mathematics education disparities. Within the NZNDP project, all students progressed but Asian and Pākeha students' achievement was more accelerated, and so the achievement gap widened significantly for Māori and Pāsifika students (Young-Loveridge 2009). While the NZNDP project promoted some good pedagogical practices, it also reflected the taken-for-granted cultural tapestry embedded in New Zealand schooling structures grounded in the dominant middle class Pākeha or "white" culture (Milne 2013). These schooling structures, we will show have allowed deficit theorizing to be maintained towards many Pāsifika learners.

In the next section, we describe the effect of deficit theorizing and how it has contributed to negative teacher and student perceptions of Pāsifika students as mathematical learners.

Causes and Effects of Deficit Theorizing

Consistently over time, the lower educational performance of groups of diverse students, such as Pāsifika peoples within the New Zealand context, has been attributed to the learners themselves or to their impoverished circumstances (Nieto 2002). Deficit theorizing which is applied to those marginalized within the mathematics classroom is immediately evident in teacher reflections when we begin to enact *DMIC* classrooms within schools with Pāsifika students. Frequently, our initial work with teachers is framed by comments from teachers such as "you don't understand, these students come to school with no mathematics." A reflection from a Principal after a year of their school being involved in *DMIC* noted the influence of deficit theorizing on their expectations:

All of those things that we probably thought that our kids couldn't do but we weren't giving them the opportunity to do that.

In this statement the Principal has recognized that learning is enabled or constrained by the opportunities provided to students.

Pāsifika students are similarly influenced by their experiences in New Zealand classrooms. Quotes from them prior to beginning in *DMIC* classrooms illustrate the deficit views they hold of their own culture in relation to mathematics. When asked "how does it feel to be ____ (here we are exploring their cultural identity) in the mathematics classroom" approximately 20% of student responses indicate a negative view. One perception, often presented, is a view that the cultural or ethnic group they identify with do not engage with mathematics:

Sometimes it makes me feel different because Tokelauans don't do maths.

Other students indicate a belief that to be successful in mathematics you must enter what Milne (2013) described as “white-space.” This is a space in an educational setting which represents the dominant middle class Pākeha or “white” cultural group:

It feels like I'm a different person from a Samoan person. . . because whenever I'm learning maths I think I'm a Palagi (White) person. . . because whenever I'm doing maths I can't remember I'm Samoan. I don't like about maths when I get up to the hard part I can't do it I don't feel like a white person anymore I feel like myself again and I'm nervous.

In contrast, after a year in *DMIC* classrooms all students could make connections between both mathematics in their classrooms and mathematics within their Indigenous culture. Moreover, they indicated the relevance of mathematics in their lives. They could also provide a counter to a common perception about who is considered capable in mathematics based on their observations of teacher behavior:

It feels good that your teacher likes (you) cause like sometimes teachers think that like white people and Asian people will get the answer correct but it's good that our teacher believes in all of us. Like she believes in all of us in the same way and yeah it's really good.

Many of the common deficit views held by New Zealand teachers and the students themselves can be attributed to the way in which streaming by ability is a common practice in New Zealand schools. Ability grouping has a long history as a popular pedagogical strategy used in mathematics in New Zealand classrooms and its use was further popularized by the New Zealand Numeracy Development Project (Ministry of Education 2004) as a prescribed part of the Project in the form of strategy-based teaching groups (Ministry of Education 2004) and continues to be used in the current Accelerated Learning in Mathematics (ALiM) program. Given that only 11% of Year 8 Pāsifika students are at or above curriculum standards (Education Assessment Research Unit and New Zealand Council for Educational Research 2015), it can be assumed that most Pāsifika learners find themselves in the lower ability groups. We have suggested in previous articles (Civil and Hunter 2015; Hunter and Anthony 2011) that the widespread use of ability grouping as a practice may be another cause for Pāsifika students' disaffection with mathematics. In the next section, we will elaborate on possible reasons.

Grouping by ability in mathematics classrooms is a contested pedagogical practice. Many supporters of ability grouping argue that it is a means to cater with wide student diversity in classrooms. Although some researchers (e.g., Kulik and Kulik 1992) argue that particularly the gifted and talented students benefit when ability grouped, other researchers (e.g., Braddock and Slavin 1995; Boaler and Wiliam 2001) contend that grouping by ability neither caters for all students nor raises achievement. This was confirmed in a recent PISA study (Scheicher 2014) which indicated that the degree of a school system's vertical stratification was negatively

related to equity of education outcomes, while there was no clear relationship with excellence. The researchers outline limited positive effects on student learning while comparing these with the many negative outcomes (Scheicher 2014). These include development of low self-esteem and disengagement from learning. More importantly, as is the case for our Pāsifika learners, Zevenbergen (2003) outlines how students from the dominant cultural groups often occupy the upper ability groups while students from marginalized groups (for example, low SES, Indigenous, immigrant, and culturally diverse) are most often found in the lower ability groups. Zevenbergen (2003) theorizes that the different ability groupings of students are more a reflection of social constructs than intelligence or ability. What Zevenbergen (2003) suggests and we can confirm happens in New Zealand is that when ability groups are used where different groups of students are positioned is not a random occurrence, rather it is closely linked to student backgrounds and whether their cultural capital (Bourdieu and Passeron 1973) is privileged in the context of the classroom.

Previously (Civil and Hunter 2015; Hunter 2008; Hunter and Anthony 2011) we illustrated the way in which as a group of learners Pāsifika students are often more reticent to talk and are also less likely to ask questions or to challenge. We suggest that this particular cultural behavior is often assumed by teachers to be an indicator of lack of understanding, thus leading erroneously to Pāsifika students being disproportionately represented in the “lower” ability groups in classrooms. Not only does this cultural disconnect lead to poor judgments on behalf of the teacher but also the use of ability-based teaching groups in themselves is contrary to the values and ethos of Pāsifika learners and *whānau* (the extended family or community who live together in the same area). The use of streamed groups encourages undesirable competitiveness and places an importance on individual success. An emphasis or focus on the individual is in direct contrast to the Pāsifika notions of the value of communalism and collectivism. Within a Pāsifika view, the success of individual group members is judged by the success of the collective as a whole. Within this frame, the role of the individual includes being of service to others and within the mathematics context the focus is on ensuring that the knowledge is constructed and shared collectively. Integrating Pāsifika values into the *DMIC* environment is also reflected in how the Pāsifika students view what doing mathematics encompasses. They integrate being successful as a mathematical learner within a positive cultural identity. This is illustrated by a student in a *DMIC* classroom who compared her former experience in a high-ability group in a previous classroom with her current experience in a mixed ability group in a *DMIC* classroom:

At the start of the year I would have said being a successful mathematician meant being in the top group and getting the answers right. Now, I think it is being a good person. Not being the person who is always right but helping others as well. That makes you good at maths.

A number of researchers (e.g., Boaler et al. 2000; Marks 2012; Zevenbergen 2001) describe the qualitatively different experiences learners have from each other in the ability-grouped classrooms, and the way in which teacher expectations of

different groups of mathematical learners widened the gap between them rather than affording all students the same learning and growth opportunities. This can be explained when you consider that there is a tendency for students in higher ability groups to receive rich and challenging learning experiences while the students in the lower groups are most often likely to receive more procedural teaching shaped around lower expectations (Boaler 2014). A common reflection we hear from teachers after their initial introduction to *DMIC* is illustrated in this teacher's statement:

I am really surprised when I hear some of the kids I thought were lowies asking good questions or sharing their thinking, really good thinking...I really thought they knew nothing and so I just used to tell them what to do.

Her beliefs about the perceived ability of the students in the lower groups had formed the basis of her deficit thinking and shaped her expectations for what they could say or do. In contrast towards the end of the year we see shifts in beliefs, and many teachers voice similar thoughts to the teacher here:

Hmm- I never thought my children couldn't do mathematics but I'm enjoying exposing **all** children to bigger number, decimals etc. I have had some surprises when listening to children share strategies, very exciting when you would never have heard it in the past. When the passive, quiet ones speak it is a magical moment.

A consistent theme across the different teachers is a level of surprise and excitement at what happens when **all** children are provided with learning opportunities that are challenging and culturally meaningful to them. However, what the students are getting is access to learning opportunities that similarly develop a positive mathematics identity afforded to other students in New Zealand classrooms.

In the next section we will outline the components central to *DMIC* and to developing students with a strong and positive mathematical identity.

The Components of Developing Mathematical Inquiry Communities

DMIC incorporates the best pedagogical practices of what has been termed variously as inquiry or reform (Wood et al. 2006) or ambitious mathematics teaching (Kazemi et al. 2009) within culturally responsive teaching (Gay 2010). The focus of *DMIC* is on development of in-school and across-schools collaboration in building classroom communities of mathematical inquiry. A key part of the *DMIC* mathematics program are the participation and communication patterns that support students to construct and use proficient and reasoned mathematical practices (Hunter 2008). Central to the *DMIC* work is a Communication and Participation Framework (Hunter 2008); a tool used to scaffold teachers to engage students in mathematical practices within communities of mathematical inquiry. An important component of the

Communication and Participation Framework is the ways in which teachers can use it adaptively, flexibly, and in culturally responsive ways.

The development of proficient mathematical practices is closely aligned to construction of a positive mathematical identity. Although there are inconsistencies in the use of the term identity in mathematics education, some researchers (e.g., English et al. 2008; Gutiérrez 2013; Sfard and Prusak 2005) draw our attention to the way in which mathematical identities are developed through engagement and participation in mathematical activity. For example, identity has been referred to by Sfard and Prusak (2005) as the “missing link” in the “complex dialectic between learning and its sociocultural context” (p. 15). Other researchers draw our attention to the way in which identity is related to issues of power (Gutiérrez 2013) and access (English et al. 2008) and therefore to equity concerns. Considering mathematical identity as developed within mathematical activity in turn highlights the importance of *all* students being provided with opportunities to participate in mathematical practices.

Mathematical practices evolve through socially constructed interactive discourse. They are specific to, and encapsulated within, the practice of mathematics (Ball and Bass 2003). Mathematical practices include the mathematical know-how which extends beyond constructing mathematical knowledge to include specific actions and ways of learning and using mathematics. There are many examples of mathematical practices which proficient problem solvers use and do and these include explaining, representing, and “justifying claims, using symbolic notation efficiently, defining terms precisely, and making generalizations [or] the way in which skilled mathematics users are able to model a situation to make it easier to understand and to solve problems related to it” (RAND 2003, p. xviii). Inherent in the development and use of mathematical practices are specific ways of talking and reasoning, ways of asking questions, and challenging others.

To engage students in mathematical practices can be challenging for a number of reasons. As noted, not all students are comfortable asking questions or explaining their reasoning beyond talking to a friend. The challenges were illustrated through interviews at the beginning of the school year when the students had just begun in *DMIC* classrooms. In the early interviews, a substantial number (46%) of the students gave negative responses when asked about engaging in mathematical practices (for example, explaining and justifying mathematical explanations, representing reasoning, and responding to challenge). Their initial responses were often linked to emotional aspects (e.g., being scared, or feeling nervous, or frightened). The responses were also commonly associated with negative behavior from peers such as being laughed at or ridiculed. For example, one student stated:

What I don't like about math is about how when you make a mistake people make a big joke out of it and then that can be really embarrassing.

Similarly, another student when asked about explaining their ideas said:

I feel kind of nervous because sometimes other people might say no that's wrong and it freaks me out. . . because it feels like I've done everything wrong.

At the end of the year, after the students had been in the *DMIC* classrooms, there was a noticeable shift in the student attitudinal/emotional responses; considerably fewer students (13%) provided a negative response. Interestingly, the negative responses were no longer linked to derogatory responses from peers; rather they were personal characteristics linked to self-descriptions of themselves as shy or quiet:

(I don't like) Getting up and showing my work because I'm nervous around people. . . I'm a quiet kid.

Developing a classroom in which students use a range of mathematical practices within a community of inquiry is challenging for many teachers, whether working with students from the dominant middle class Pākeha or more diverse groups (Hunter 2010). The complexities are many, including who talks when and how, and what mathematics is talked about (Hunter 2008). In this program, teachers are required to reposition themselves as facilitators and members of the learning community (Hunter 2013) and engage students in constructing and presenting mathematical explanations and justification. Providing equitable access for all students to participate in the mathematics discourse of the learning experience substantially increases the demand on teachers to understand the culture of their students. This is illustrated in reflections made by teachers when they have just begun to engage in the *DMIC* program. For example, one teacher wrote the following statement:

Challenged by establishing the idea of our learning waka [canoe]; a culture of learning together to succeed, I was surprised at how little I knew about my students. I have had to really talk to the children like what they do on weekends and special times and ask the Pāsifika teachers about food they eat.

Nevertheless, many teachers are open to change when they explore the possibilities. As an example one teacher stated:

Cultural-cognitive link opens up a raft of issues that stereotype Pāsifika as a disadvantaged segment of society. The new maths strategy will enable real growth to be made, with the greatest benefactor being me!

When teachers take into account Pāsifika languages, cultures, and identities, the mathematics teaching pedagogy in the schooling context changes, and the students are more readily able to engage in mathematical practices. This is consistent with what we have learnt from Paulo Freire (2000) about transformative education. Freire argues that through engaging people who have been marginalized and dehumanized by drawing on what they already know, education is able to transform oppressive structures in equitable ways. Within *DMIC* classrooms, careful consideration is given to increasing student voice and autonomy to question and challenge in

culturally appropriate ways. In a previous article Hunter and Anthony (2011), drawing on findings from a *DMIC* classroom, illustrated that when the teacher attended to classroom social and discourse norms, more students were able to engage and contribute at higher cognitive levels. In particular, what was highlighted was how participation increased in mathematical practices and activities when the teacher considered his or her Pāsifika students' strengths and employed pedagogical strategies constructed around the Pāsifika values, and when they provided space which was "culturally, as well as academically and socially responsive" (MacFarlane 2004, p. 61).

Other aspects of the *DMIC* program include a demand for teachers to have high expectations and use challenging contextualized tasks, which are more likely to lead to rich conceptual understandings. The problems and tasks are set within the known and lived social and cultural reality of the students. Careful consideration is given to how the students view their ways of participating and communicating. The intent is that they are able to maintain their cultural identity while simultaneously building a positive mathematical identity. Social norms which shape classroom work and interactions are built around core Pāsifika values in order to ensure that our Pāsifika students are able to participate fully in mathematical practices.

Pāsifika Values and Their Role in Shaping Classroom Social Norms

Given the increased emphasis over the past two decades placed on the students communicating their mathematical reasoning, equitable participation in the mathematical discourse is of prime importance and Pāsifika values play a central role (Hunter 2007). Although the Pāsifika students in *DMIC* classrooms are composed of a diverse group of Pācific Nations people, together they have a set of cultural commonalities. These are within a set of core Pāsifika values which include such values as reciprocity, respect, service, inclusion, family, relationships, spirituality, leadership, collectivism, love, and belonging (Anae et al. 2001). Pāsifika students in the classrooms may be first generation to New Zealand or they may be second, third, or even fourth generation New Zealand born and may be variously influenced by the majority cultural norms. Nevertheless, the core Pāsifika values of their whānau continue to have a major impact on how they interact and behave within their home and affect how they participate and communicate in the school context.

Core Pāsifika values can cause dissonance for some Pāsifika students because they do not align with those commonly used in New Zealand classrooms. Bok (2010) suggests educational systems tend to privilege the beliefs and values of the dominant middle class. This dissonance was illustrated by Hunter and Anthony (2011) where they found that the Pāsifika students on entry to a *DMIC* classroom indicated that they considered they learnt through listening to the teacher as an appropriate mode of learning. Notions of listening (rather than active participation and inquiry) links to the Pāsifika value of respect where teachers as elders are considered to hold knowledge which is always correct and unquestionable. Similarly, they illustrated the discomfort Pāsifika students initially felt when required to

question and challenge the teacher and other students, because they were concerned that it might be considered disrespectful and could cause a loss of face. Learning mathematics is about learning the codes of the discipline of mathematics including how to engage in a range of mathematical practices including argumentation. Clearly if, as Gutiérrez (2002) argues, we need to consider the importance of participation and achievement (as learning) we need to think about how the Pāsifika values can be placed at the center of teachers' practices to support students to engage in mathematics.

School mathematics is not just about learning mathematics knowledge; it is also about learning to engage in particular behavior and act like a mathematician. As part of challenging the hegemonic European practices commonly found in many New Zealand classrooms, within the *DMIC* program we enact what Atweh and Ala'i (2012) term a "socially response-able approach to mathematics education" (p. 98). Rather than using direct instruction, the teachers use more open and flexible pedagogy which incorporates the core Pāsifika values to shape the social norms of the classroom. The students work in small groups to construct shared problem solutions. Clear expectations are placed on them that they have both an individual responsibility to understand and a collective responsibility that they make sure their peers understand also. As part of the interactions in the classroom, notions of working as a family are emphasized because family, particularly the extended family, encompasses all the Pāsifika values. As one teacher explained:

Family is big, it's everything. The way our classes are set up now everyone has a chance to share ideas, and like a family everyone helps out, and nobody is left out because everybody has a job to do and that's the Pāsifika way and the Māori way. We talk about that a lot as a class, like if you are doing the housework everybody helps or if you are making an umu or hangi (earth oven) everybody has a job to do. It might be dig the hole or peel the spuds but you have a job. . . and like with a vaka (canoe) everybody has got to paddle in the same direction, in time if you are going to move and the kids can relate to that because that's their world.

In turn, the students talk about their place in these classrooms in ways which reveal their sense of relationships, family, and belonging. It is evident that drawing on the common values of the different cultural groups represented in Pāsifika peoples, being responsive to "students' cultural ways of being" (Civil and Hunter 2015, p. 296) and using these to shape the social norms support the students to construct a positive mathematical and cultural identity.

Connecting Mathematical Problems to the World of the Students

Central to growing our Pāsifika students' mathematical understandings as rich conceptual knowledge is the use of group-worthy (Featherstone et al. 2011), mathematically complex and challenging problems or problematic activity. A requirement in the construction of the problems is the need for connections to be

made with the cultural and social contexts of the students' daily lives. This undoubtedly poses challenges for teachers as this teacher explains:

The challenge is making things culturally relevant when I don't have the cultural knowledge myself so I find myself tending to write problems about school life, fruit, sport, gear, etc.

The emphasis in the writing of the problems is on the world the students currently inhabit in their beyond school world where they locate themselves. This allows for the students to recognize and value mathematics in their social and cultural world and gain access to the mathematics in the problem. In New Zealand, the school mathematics problems, activities, and pedagogy have most often better reflected the cultural capital of the dominant middle class Pākeha cultural groups. In this chapter, the term cultural capital used by Bourdieu and Passeron (1973) is defined by McLaren (1994) as being the general cultural background, knowledge, disposition, and skills that are passed on from one generation to another. As we use it, cultural capital represents "ways of talking, acting, and socialising, as well as language practices, values, and types of dress and behaviour" (McLaren 1994, p. 219). The act of teachers writing specific problems around the world of Pāsifika students repositions them as having valid cultural capital in their own mathematics classrooms as is evident in the following student statements:

The maths is about us, about the community. The problems relate to our cultures and celebrations which makes it more understandable.
It makes it easier for us to learn. . .like the ula lolo (lolly necklace) problem because most of us have made it before and we can see it and have a picture in our minds so we can see how it's proportions and ratios like one chocolate to three fruit burst or minties.

Their responses illustrate their recognition that the activities that they engage in at home involve mathematics and that it is valued. Moreover, having the problems set within contexts they can relate to makes the mathematics more accessible. As Freire (2000) argues, to gain equitable outcomes, it is important to situate educational activity in the lived experience of the learners.

Language and Cultural Identity

In New Zealand we have had a long history in education of "English language only" policies, both overt and covert. Although government policy changed more than 30 years ago with the renaissance of Māori in the 1970s, many teachers still hold implicit beliefs that students should speak in English at school and English remains the language of instruction (Meaney 2013). Many Pāsifika students enter New Zealand schools fluent in their own language and with a rich background of knowledge and experiences, but within a short period of schooling they join the disproportionately high numbers of Pāsifika students

who are failing within our current education system. Language-based equity issues are a constraining factor. Within *DMIC* classrooms, teachers are asked to support students to shift between their first home language and English when discussing, explaining, and justifying their mathematical understandings. This acknowledges the difficulties Pāsifika students encounter when learning mathematics including when equivalent words or concepts are not readily available in their first language. The word problems used in *DMIC* classrooms require that the students read and make sense of the problem contexts. The ability to code-switch from one language to another to support student understandings thus provides equitable access. Initially some teachers voice concerns that they do not know what the students are saying when they encourage students to use both languages; however, they come to realize it is an important consideration in the empowerment of the students. For example, two different teachers explained why it was needed:

I am Samoan so I understand what they are saying as well but if they were Cook Island I would just get some of the Cook Islanders to talk in their language and translate for me or represent in a different way so I would get them to draw it and I would understand what they are drawing so it doesn't matter what nationality they are.

It's really powerful if they can use their own language because sometimes it might just be that they don't understand the question or even the ones that speak English there might not be a word in English that represents what they are talking about or they might be more confident speaking Samoan or Tongan and then others can translate. Without that, like in the past those kids didn't have a voice and you would just think they couldn't do it. It really helps transfer the power as well, as I don't always understand and they have to translate for me and their understanding really improves when they do this.

Clearly, the teacher had recognized that speaking in a language the student chooses supported the development of student voice and agency. In student interviews, the students also acknowledged how speaking in their first language provided opportunities for their peers. At the same time, it normalized their use of their first language within the school environment and added to their cultural identity (and mathematical identity):

Sometimes it helps to explain things in Tongan because some of the Tongans in our class are new and their English isn't that good but they can understand the maths in Tongan which is cool because before you didn't really speak Tongan in class.

Language is closely interwoven with culture and identity for Pāsifika students. Clearly evident in the *DMIC* classrooms is the way in which the use of the student's first language supports them as learners to draw on the Pāsifika values in ways which they feel comfortable. Other studies in *DMIC* classrooms (e.g., Bills and Hunter 2015; Civil and Hunter 2015; Hunter and Anthony 2011) show that when teachers use pedagogy situated within the known world of their Pāsifika students, and which premise student choice over the spoken language they use, achievement results are reversed, and positive cultural identities and mathematical dispositions are constructed. Evident in these studies is recognition that mathematics education is

a sociocultural activity embedded in sociopolitical contexts with the teaching and learning of mathematics as “situational, contextual and personal processes” (Taylor and Sobel 2011, p. ix).

High Expectations and Ethics of Care

While teachers in our program commonly state that they think all children can do mathematics, the way they phrase these statements belies the spoken words and indicates that they hold fixed mind sets (Dweck 2008). Fixed mind sets are exemplified when teachers are continuously influenced by theories which relate to grouping and teaching by ability and which support deficit thinking which we will explore later in this chapter. Dweck (2008) argues a need for teachers to hold a growth mind set: one in which ability is not fixed but able to be grown and changed. Within a growth mind set, mathematical ability is grown through persistence, effort and hard work, challenges and struggle are celebrated, and mistakes are considered learning opportunities. Dissonance supports the development of a growth mind set as is evident in the following teacher statement:

This is all hard learning for me. I am implementing more effectively the justification status, intellectual contribution ideas. I believe this is instrumental in not only improving learning across all areas for all students, but also in solving problems I am having with a group of boys. I think they are having mind-set difficulties and won't take risks because their maths knowledge they think is low.

Closely tied to a growth mind set is that of notions of ethics of care. An ethic of care is an important component of the mathematics classroom (Noddings 2005). A lot of importance is placed on how to enact ethics of care in ways which enable rather than disable students. At times, an ethic of care may be misinterpreted by teachers. For example, rather than encouraging students to risk-take and celebrate mistakes, at times teachers think that they should keep the students safe from mathematical practices because they may make them feel uncomfortable. As noted, we reported earlier about the reluctance of some Pāsifika students to talk or ask questions during classroom lessons. Some teachers respond by allowing the behavior, misunderstanding and interpreting it as a Pāsifika trait. However, as a key equitable action, the teachers need to interpret and work with the behavior within an ethic of care. Within this frame they need to draw on the Pāsifika values to scaffold students to engage in the mathematical discourse. Such actions indicate that they care enough to facilitate a student to engage in essential mathematical practices within culturally responsive environments. Drawing on ethics of care can be challenging for teachers and so, initially, they have to explore ways to enact it. But once the teachers realize its importance, it becomes a feature of their practice and a way to increase their expectations of all students. As an example, here is a quote from a teacher who realized the power of using an ethic of care in a culturally responsive way:

I challenged the children to explain their thinking so I could see what they were capable of, and what a difference it made. I saw how well the children responded too and how much they enjoyed the challenging questions they were asked.

Pāsifika students can also step in and “save” their peers as part of them enacting the Pāsifika values. Nevertheless, teachers need to consciously support them to work within an ethic of care and support students in a different way. For example, one teacher described a boy from her classroom as easily missed during small group work because he never spoke and did not participate. She observed that the other students in his group would “save” him by providing an answer for him. She went on to describe her actions during small group-work:

I just said “Oh no, remember we care about Tane enough that we want to hear what he has to say. If he doesn’t know then he knows what he needs to do to ask. You know that he needs to ask a question.”

She then went on to describe how after a long period of waiting, the student asked a question. He then responded and the pride which resulted from his participation was evident for all to see.

Conclusion

Notions of equity are a complex and challenging concept within mathematics education. To some, equity in mathematics education is equated as equal opportunities for all to learn through accessing both a common mathematics curriculum and qualified teachers; others equate equity with equality of mathematical achievement outcomes across student groups (Foote and Lambert 2011). However, Gutiérrez and Dixon-Román (2011) argue the need to look beyond taking what they term interchangeably as either “gap gazing” or an “achievement gap perspective” (p. 23). They call attention to the problems which emerge because this lens supports an assimilationist approach in which the aim is to close the gap between students from the dominant culture (in New Zealand the middle class Pākeha students represented in the hegemonic European practices) and the marginalized students, in contrast to questioning the validity of the measurement tools or even the focus on achievement. This assimilationist approach is represented in the New Zealand Ministry of Education requirements which focus mainly on our reporting of lifts in achievement according to the national standards. Although, lifts in student achievement have been part of the success of *DMIC*, the more important focus has been on other valued outcomes including an increase in student voice and agency, increased pro-social skills, enhanced mathematical dispositions, and the valuing of the mathematics within the home and cultural context. For example, when interviewed a number of students made reference to their increased autonomy:

In this maths we have more power. He [teacher] gives us the problem but the problem is about us Our reality and we have to figure it out, we are responsible for our own learning and others' learning too, we have control.

Other students talked about how being taught mathematics in a *DMIC* classroom normalized them and their culture within the school setting:

When the maths is about us and our culture, it makes me feel normal, and my culture is normal.

Yeah like it is normal to be Samoan or Tongan.

However, these important outcomes are not positioned within the New Zealand education system as being valued outcomes and as a result “gap gazing” prevails.

We argue that the achievement gap discourse diverts attention away from the structural inequities Pāsifika students encounter in many mathematics classrooms and by failing to question these, the prevailing discourse of “gap gazing” puts the problem back with the Pāsifika community. In this way, the disengagement of Pāsifika students from mathematics can be attributed to constructs other than the teacher and is attributed to factors including personal and psychological, home environments and poverty. Other researchers (e.g., Delpit 1988; Flores 2007; Ladson-Billings 2006; Martin 2007; Milne 2013) frame equity issues around various alternative gaps. These include the power gap, the opportunity gap, the education debt, and the white spaces created when the hegemonic European practices dominate the curriculum. These have all been evident in the different sections of this chapter.

Bok (2010) draws our attention to the way in which educational systems are significant in the reproduction of unequal access to, and results from, education systems for such students from high poverty areas. In contrast to those more economically privileged, they do not have the requisite social and cultural capital (Bourdieu and Passeron 1973) that positions them for success in school and beyond. Vale et al. (2016) point out the ways in which schools reflect certain pedagogical practices. They describe how mathematics teaching is particularly “susceptible to routinized practice” (p. 100) in which teacher voice dominates. Unfortunately, this leads to issues of social justice because evidence shows that teachers adjust their teaching approaches and expectations to their perceptions of what they consider students are capable of (Atweh et al. 2014). Issues of social justice were evident throughout the chapter.

In this chapter we have drawn on 15 years of on-going research in New Zealand mathematics classrooms. We have illustrated that the teaching and learning of mathematics cannot be decontextualized based on the pervasive public belief that mathematics is “culture-free”; a view which supports the cultural deficit or “cultural blindness” (Gay 2010, p. 21) paradigm taken by many New Zealand educationalists. Our focus has been placed on the many different components of Pāsifika-focused culturally responsive teaching and the journey teachers in schools

with predominantly Pāsifika students take to enact it. While the journey to develop a mathematics learning environment in which Pāsifika students are able to construct both a strong and positive cultural and mathematical identity is challenging, the words of a teacher say it all:

The Project is using the strengths of our Pāsifika whānau and children to improve their maths and to achieve.

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Efforts and Concerns for Indigenous Language Education in Taiwan

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Abstract

Taiwan has over 16 tribes of Indigenous peoples, consisting of 42 local dialects from 3 major Austronesia language systems. Indigenous peoples in Taiwan have for centuries been assimilated into the surrounding Chinese Han culture. Following the international Indigenous people's rights movements in the 1980s, Indigenous peoples in Taiwan started a cultural and social movement, which resulted in the legislation of the Indigenous Peoples' Basic Law. The Basic Law leveraged room for negotiations to enact concrete efforts for Indigenous cultural revitalization. Language education is one of the most urgent priorities of this revitalization. The central government initiated a nationwide effort to preserve Indigenous languages. Two terms of the Six-Year Indigenous Language Revitalization Project have already been implemented by the government, which has laid the foundation for expanding Indigenous language education, including training Indigenous language teachers and developing an Indigenous Language Proficiency Certification. Many local governments are also involved in providing language learning opportunities for Indigenous children and youth, such as establishing Indigenous immersion kindergartens and incorporating Indigenous language curricula in elementary schools. Resources for online learning have also been designed, providing opportunities for learning Indigenous languages using computer and mobile technology. These top-down projects give rise to an increase of grassroots actions and awareness to preserve Indigenous languages has been intensified. This chapter provides an overview on works relevant to Indigenous language education in Taiwan and the challenges this project faces. Recommendations are given at the end to provide direction for future efforts on Indigenous language revitalization in Taiwan.

Keywords

Indigenous education · Indigenous language · Taiwan · Indigenous language revitalization plan · Austronesian languages

Introduction

Indigenous peoples make up about 2% of the total population of Taiwan, totaling 549,127 people as of May, 2016 (RIS 2016). The Council of Indigenous Peoples currently recognizes 16 Indigenous tribes. They are the Amis, Atayal, Paiwan, Bunun, Tsou, Rukai, Puyuma, Saisiyat, Yami, Thao, Kavalan, Truku, Sakizaya, Sediq, Hla'alua, and Kanakanava (Fig. 1).

Indigenous peoples in Taiwan speak languages belonging to the Austronesian family that encompasses 386 million people spreading from Easter Island in the east to Madagascar in the west, and from New Zealand in the south to Taiwan in the north (Bellwood 1991). Taiwan is believed to be the Austronesian homeland from a linguistic perspective (Blust 1984). About 24 Indigenous languages were found to be spoken in Taiwan up to the twentieth century, including Ketagalan, Taokas,



Fig. 1 Distribution of Indigenous tribes in Taiwan (Figure adapted from Taiwan Indigenous People's Knowledge Economic Development Association (2016))

Papora, Babuza, Favorlang, Hoanya, Siraya, Makattao, Taivoan, Kavalan, Pazeh, Thao, Atayal, Saisiyat, Bunun, Tsou, Saaroa, Kanakanavu, Rukai, Paiwan, Puyuma, Amis, Seediq, and Yami. However, nine of the 24 languages (Keta[n]galan, Taokas, Papora, Babuza, Favorlang, Hoanya, Siraya, Makattao, and Taivoan) are already extinct (Zeitoun et al. 2003). Among the 16 officially recognized tribes, 42 local dialects have been recorded. The linguistic history of Taiwan is complex, demonstrating the diversity of the region.

A language is not only a tool for cultural exchange and communication but is also an important medium for passing on history, wisdom and cultural practices. Language provides evidence of an established society. However, with societal change, migration, and lack of support in the everyday environment, some languages face

threats of extinction. What often eventuates is the emergence of a numerical or politically powerful majority that influences the minority by forcing them to learn the dominant culture and language. Indigenous peoples have encountered Dutch traders, Spanish naval invasions, colonization by the Qing dynasty, and the national language education policy to assimilate them into the dominant society imposed by the Japanese and Han Chinese (Nationalist Party). These outside influences negatively influenced Indigenous people's identities and their aspiration to self-govern. Additionally, Indigenous languages were expected to go extinct under the unified language education policy. As the world started to realize the importance of endangered languages, the Indigenous peoples in Taiwan also became aware of the risks of losing their identity to assimilation with a larger group of people. Fortunately, Indigenous people still have their languages precariously preserved, some being frequently spoken in everyday life and some in the observance of religious practices. The progressive efforts of communities and government working together in recent years have led to the implementation of policies to preserve Indigenous languages. This chapter provides an analysis of the different policies, approaches, and their outcomes. The analysis hopes to make better policy recommendations for the future.

Historical Background

To understand fully the state of Indigenous languages in Taiwan, it is essential to first understand the history. Based on archaeological evidence, Indigenous peoples of Taiwan have inhabited the land for thousands of years. Puyuma heritage artifacts date Indigenous people's existence on the island back to at least 7000 years ago (Digital Museum of Taiwan Indigenous Peoples 2016).

Studies of Indigenous languages of Taiwan can be traced back to the nineteenth century (Lee 2004). Analysis and historic comparisons of Indigenous languages have been documented even before these linguistics studies. For example, in 1822 J. H. Klaproth published "Sur la langue des indigènes de l'île de Formose" (On the indigenous languages of the Island of Formosa) in the *Asia Polyglotta*, which first confirmed the native languages of Taiwan to belong to the Austronesian family. In 1859, H.C. von der Gabelentz's article, "Über die formosanische Sprache und ihre Stellung in demmalaiischen Sprachstamm" (About the Formosan language and its position in the Malaysian language family), discussed the relationship of Taiwanese Indigenous languages to various Austronesian languages.

Dutch colonizers in Taiwan learned Indigenous languages during occupation (Li 2007). They translated and taught the Bible to Indigenous Peoples in their own Indigenous languages. In contrast, the Qing dynasty completely ignored the existence of Indigenous languages and attempted to eliminate them. Because there were different dialects used by the Han Chinese immigrants on the island at that time, the government allowed the Han Chinese to speak in their mother tongues to study Confucian teachings; however, Indigenous peoples were restricted to use their own mother tongues. The Japanese colonial period initially respected the Indigenous languages, but slowly used this as a lure to manipulate a new educational policy that

assimilated Taiwanese culture into Japanese culture. By the end of the Japanese colonial period, there were strong restrictions on Indigenous language usage.

The Chinese Nationalist party, which reclaimed Taiwan in 1949, was the first colonial regime that brings Indigenous education into the modern education system. Since the retrocession of Taiwan by the Nationalist Party, five major language education policies have been proposed (Chao 2014). The first is the Retrocession of Taiwan in 1945–1949, during which Mandarin Chinese was recognized along with Indigenous languages. Starting in 1945, the Chinese Nationalist Party implemented an assimilation policy on Indigenous peoples and began the removal of Japanese influences. At this point, Mandarin Chinese was used in classroom to transition from Japanese, although Indigenous languages were still permitted in schools. The second era was the time from 1949 to 1987, when the government of the Republic of China relocated to Taiwan and enforced strict, Mandarin-only policies while prohibiting all other languages. This period is also marked by the most intense persecution of Indigenous people. In 1949, the government announced the “Mountain Education Policy” which promoted the speaking of Mandarin and prohibited any Indigenous people from speaking or teaching their Indigenous languages. The third policy was enacted after the lifting of Martial Law in 1987 and ran until 1998. This period saw the initiation of a revival of Indigenous languages and education. However, most of the focus were on other local dialects spoken in Taiwan and most teachers still delivered lesson content in Mandarin and no strong emphasis was placed on Indigenous language education. More challenges surfaced as many of the elders fluent in Indigenous languages passed away. The fourth period involves the implementation of the Education Act for Indigenous Peoples in 1998–2005. Policies and legal standards for Indigenous language education started when the Draft for the Indigenous Peoples Basic Law was announced in 1998. The Education Fundamental Act, which passed in 1999, gave provisions for special support for the Education Act for Indigenous Peoples (1998). The final stage began with the passage of the Indigenous People’s Basic Law in 2005. The Ministry of Education and the Council of Indigenous Peoples modified the Education Act for Indigenous Peoples after the Indigenous People’s Basic Law was enacted. This change included Indigenous languages under the purview of Indigenous education. A proficiency requirement for Indigenous languages was added to the Affirmative Action of Indigenous Education in 2007 to encourage students to learn their Indigenous language.

This historical overview shows that even though Taiwan is the home of many Indigenous peoples, much of Indigenous people’s cultural heritage was destroyed by political, social, cultural, and educational threats imposed over four centuries of colonization by the Dutch, Spanish, Qing, and Japanese (Chen 2004).

The destruction of language in the process of social change is an important catalyst to establish protective policies to revitalize Indigenous languages. Indigenous peoples of Taiwan have also come to a greater self-realization after years of unequal treatment that it is time to claim equal rights and to practice and maintain Indigenous culture and lifestyle, including their language. In the drafting of the Indigenous Language Development Act of 2015, it was noted that Indigenous

peoples of Taiwan suffered great losses from the enforcement of the Mandarin speaking policy, and the first step toward cultural revitalization was to preserve the language. From a political perspective, appropriate action and methods should be taken to communicate the importance of Indigenous languages not only in Indigenous communities but also in all communities in Taiwan.

Legislative and Policy Support for Indigenous Language Education

In this section we provide an in-depth review of the legislative and policy efforts in Indigenous language education at different stages that have supported the raising of Indigenous cultural awareness and cultural identity. Three interrelated parts are discussed in this section. First, we delineate the institutional basis of Indigenous language education in both the Constitution and the Indigenous Peoples Basic Law. Institutional underpinning is examined to show the environment of Indigenous language education on the legal level. Second, we discuss the critical roles of the Council of Indigenous Peoples and the Ministry of Education in upholding Indigenous language education. Finally, an up-to-date account of the development of the Indigenous Language Development Act is provided to demonstrate the historical contingency of Indigenous language education in Taiwan.

The rights for Indigenous language education first appeared in national law in 1997. The highest law in Taiwan, the Constitution of the Republic of China, included an additional article to embrace cultural pluralism. Paragraph 11 of the Additional Article 10 promulgated July 21, 1997, states, “the State affirms cultural pluralism and shall actively preserve and foster the development of Indigenous languages and cultures.” This provision initiated the legal foundation to establish more detailed laws to reform Indigenous language education. The Additional Article of the Constitution affirmed the importance of Indigenous languages.

The Council of Indigenous People (formally Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan) is the central institution that governs Indigenous affairs in Taiwan. At its inception in 1996, the Department of Education and Culture ranked Indigenous language research, preservation, and heritage as the top priorities (Palemeq and Muzuer 2015). The Council of Indigenous People referenced various international legal instruments to protect the rights of Indigenous peoples to use, preserve, and develop Indigenous languages. The Indigenous Peoples Basic Law, promulgated in 2005, specifically states the rights for Indigenous languages in Articles 9, 12, and 30. The Basic Act states that development of Indigenous languages shall be stipulated by law. Article 9 lays out the plan for a research agency on Indigenous languages, a language proficiency evaluation system, and preferential measures for Indigenous peoples who have proficiency in Indigenous languages. Article 12 provides foundations for Indigenous language broadcast media and institutions, and Article 30 provides for Indigenous language interpretation. Beyond the general provisions stipulating that the government shall respect

Indigenous languages (Article 30), the Basic Law did not explicitly discuss the right for Indigenous language education.

The Ministry of Education is another primary administrator of Indigenous education matters. The Ministry first compiled primary school curricula for Indigenous language education in 1995. The Education Act for Indigenous Peoples of 1998 incorporates Indigenous languages in sections on school education (Article 10), curricula (Article 21), qualified teachers (Article 24 and 26), and social education (Article 28 and 30). The Education Act for Indigenous Peoples specifically calls “to ensure young Indigenous children have the opportunities to learn their own Indigenous language, history and culture” (Article 10) within the public education system. With regards to curricula, Article 21 states “governments at all levels shall provide Indigenous students at preschool, elementary school and junior high school level with opportunities to learn their respective ethnic languages, histories and cultures.” The Education Act for Indigenous Peoples also adds the requirement of a language proficiency test for qualified teachers (Article 24). Articles in the Act clearly state the methods for Indigenous language preservation. Projects and additional actions have also been generated based on these articles and the Basic Law, reflecting the will of the government to preserve languages with tangible plans and programs.

The Taiwanese government worked on establishing the Indigenous Language Development Act to have a legal base for Indigenous language development after the promulgation of the Indigenous Peoples Basic Law in 2005. Support for Indigenous languages is most strongly evident in Article 9 of the Basic Law, which calls for the creation of a dedicated agency on Indigenous language. Article 9 states,

The government shall establish a special unit responsible for Indigenous language researches and for an Indigenous language proficiency evaluation system in order to actively engage in the promotion of Indigenous language development.

The government shall provide preferential measures for Indigenous peoples or hold special civil service examinations designed for Indigenous peoples where, under the relevant laws and regulations, it may require beneficiaries or candidates to pass the afore-mentioned evaluation or have proficiency in Indigenous language.

The development of Indigenous language shall be stipulated by law. (Indigenous Peoples Basic Law)

In May 2017, the Indigenous Language Development Act passed its third reading and took effect. Indigenous languages are symbols of identity, culture, and validity for Indigenous peoples. Indigenous language education has been implemented in Taiwan for more than a decade, and significant progress has been made in laying the legal foundation for Indigenous language education. Nevertheless, even with the Indigenous Language Development Act, the situation for the endangered languages remains dire and many scholars and educators have expressed concerns over the effectiveness of the current policies on revitalizing Indigenous languages (Chao 2014). The next section of the chapter will explore the current condition of Indigenous education and discuss the challenges encountered during the implementation of Indigenous language education and revitalization projects.

Current Condition of Indigenous Languages in Taiwan

Indigenous language classes are available in formal and informal educational systems. In the formal education system, 20 Indigenous language immersion kindergartens are currently available; one 40-min Indigenous language class per week is required from first grade to sixth grade and is offered as an elective from seventh grade to ninth grade. College level courses are available in several universities, including National Chengchi University, National Donghua University, National Taiwan University, and National Hsinchu University of Education. In informal educational systems, there are language nest classes (available in the evenings and on the weekends), language classes in tribal and community colleges, and intensive summer Indigenous language classes (Huang 2015). Indigenous language classes are crucial in the process of revitalization. The language vitality surveys conducted by the Council of Indigenous Peoples provide additional information on how best to engage with Indigenous speakers.

These two national surveys aimed to understand the current situation of Indigenous language usage. The surveys included an Indigenous language situation questionnaire and an Indigenous language ability questionnaire. The first survey was conducted in 2012 targeting the Kuvalan, Thao, Tsou, Kanakanavu, and Hla'alua tribes in Taiwan. Out of 8,494 Indigenous persons from the five tribes, 2,112 participated in the study. The survey showed that among the five tribes, the percentage of participants who spoke their Indigenous language was the lowest among the Hla'alua tribe (Table 1). The majority of these speakers were over 61 years old. The Tsou tribe had the highest percentage of middle schoolers (seventh grade to ninth grade) who can speak their mother tongue and the highest percentage of speakers who feel their Indigenous language abilities are fluent. Among the other four tribes, only 1.0–5.0% of the participants reported fluency in their Indigenous language.

In the second survey (Table 2) conducted in 2013 by the Council of Indigenous Peoples, the targeted groups included: Amis, Bunun, Puyuma, Saisiyat, Tao, and

Table 1 Indigenous language usage among participants of the first Indigenous language survey (Data adopted from the Council of Indigenous People's Indigenous Language Report (2016a))

Name of tribe	Number of participants	Percentage of Indigenous language speakers (%)	Percentage of participants >61 years old who can speak an Indigenous language (%)	Percentage of middle school students (grades 7–9) who can speak an Indigenous language (%)	Percentage of the speakers who feel their Indigenous language is fluent (%)
Kuvalan	384	47.0	85.5	17.8	2.0
Thao	239	26.2	43.5	11.0	3.0
Tsou	1028	61.4	86.0	34.3	25.7
Kanakanavu	207	32.0	75.0	19.5	5.0
Hla'alua	254	10.6	47.6	4.6	1.0

Table 2 Indigenous language usages among participants of the second Indigenous language survey (Data adopted from the Council of Indigenous People's Indigenous Language Report (2016a))

Name of tribe	Dialect	Number of participants	Percentage of Indigenous language speakers (%)	Percentage of participants >61 years old who can speak an Indigenous language (%)	Percentage of middle school students (grades 7–9) who can speak an Indigenous language (%)	Percentage of the speakers who feel their Indigenous language is fluent (percent varied across age group) (%)
Amis	Northern Amis	819	48.1	84.6	16.7	2–14
Amis	Central Amis	1353	53.0	86.0	22.0	2–14
Amis	Costal Amis	2455	55.8	86.9	33.3	2–17
Amis	Malan Amis	884	61.9	93.6	9.7	2–26
Amis	Hengchun Amis	341	49.6	87.5	19.6	1–18
Bunun	Takituduh	276	46.0	85.0	9.7	1–18
Bunun	Takibakha	364	68.7	100	50.0	0–11
Bunun	Takivatan	243	64.6	84.3	32.5	3–15
Bunun	Takbanuaz	573	58.8	90.5	32.4	1–15
Puyuma	Nanwang	284	35.6	84.8	3.2	1–15
Puyuma	Katratripul	227	21.1	54.2	5.4	0–6
Puyuma	Ulivivek	321	28.7	77.1	1.9	2–19
Puyuma	Kasavakan	179	33.0	81.3	5.9	2–19
Saisiyat		1143	31.9	81.8	13.9	2–19
Tao		1002	74.9	92.2	59.4	1–28
Sakizaya		295	69.8	95.5	46.2	2–4

Sakizaya. Different dialects within each tribe were also surveyed, among which, the Amis and Bunun tribes had five different dialects each, and the Puyuma had four different dialects, while the remaining three languages have only a single dialect, for a total of 17 Indigenous dialects surveyed. The total population from these six tribes is 280,736 Indigenous persons, and 12,177 of them were randomly sampled to participate in the study. A high proportion of subjects surveyed from the Tao, Sakizaya, Bunun, and Amis tribes still speak their traditional dialect. However, most of the speakers were elders aged 61 years or older. The percentage of young people who can speak their traditional dialects was relatively low and a smaller portion of people felt their Indigenous language was fluent.

These data suggested that Indigenous languages are losing their vitality. Differences were found across regions, dialects, and age groups in regards to the use of Indigenous languages. Overall, the loss of Indigenous languages was more severe in nontraditional territories compared to traditional territories. Most Indigenous language speakers were elders, and major loss of Indigenous language was observed among the group aged 30–40. Most of the participants reported speaking Indigenous languages with family, during traditional ceremonies, or in tribal gatherings. Although Indigenous languages are less used among Indigenous peoples, most participants did report positive attitudes toward the revitalization of Indigenous languages, suggesting that the effort to promote and revitalize Indigenous languages has some positive effects.

Students' Attitudes Toward Learning Indigenous Languages

The Council of Indigenous Peoples has been publishing annual reports on Indigenous Education since 1998. In 2014, they assessed Indigenous students' attitudes toward learning Indigenous languages. The survey was conducted with seventh grade Indigenous students in both regular middle schools and Indigenous middle schools. According to Article 3 of the Education Act of Indigenous Peoples, Indigenous middle schools are schools where the student population consists of more than one-third Indigenous students. The survey found the number of students who understand their mother tongue was low based on the students' self-reported listening ability. Only 4.24% reported to be at expert level, meaning they fully understand the spoken language (Table 3). In regards to speaking ability, the majority of the students reported having novice levels (Table 4). A higher percentage of Indigenous middle school students reported understanding the language compared to those students who study at regular middle schools. This suggests that environment is an important factor affecting students' ability to speak in their mother tongue and that the mainstream education curricula may have suppressed students' ability to learn Indigenous languages.

Singing is a type of verbal expression that can help students understand their mother tongues. Traditional songs can especially help with sentence retention, remembering traditional stories, and other historical content. Indigenous peoples in Taiwan historically used songs and rituals to communicate with nature and with each other. Sawtoy (2016) pointed out that songs and dances are central to the traditional Amis culture. During religious rituals, celebrations, work, and leisure time, Amis people sing and dance to express their feelings and emotions. Indigenous elders use chanting to pass down oral history from one generation to another. It has been said by Indigenous peoples that, "songs make up our being" (Sawtoy 2016). Students' Indigenous language ability has also been evaluated by their ability to sing traditional melodies and folk songs. The survey on students' ability to sing Indigenous songs shows that more than half of the students knew at least a few songs. Similar to their language ability, a higher percentage of students from Indigenous Middle

Table 3 Self-reported Indigenous language listening ability among seventh grade Indigenous students (Data adopted from the Council of Indigenous Peoples (2014))

School	Total (N)	Expert (%)	Intermediate (%)	Novice-intermediate (%)	Novice-low (%)	Cannot understand (%)	Did not respond (%)
Indigenous middle schools	1748	6.12	31.92	17.62	37.53	5.78	1.03
Regular middle schools	3985	3.41	19.15	13.90	46.35	16.51	0.68
Total	5733	4.24	23.04	15.04	43.66	13.24	0.78

Table 4 Self-reported Indigenous language speaking ability among seventh grade Indigenous students (Data adopted from the Council of Indigenous Peoples (2014))

School	Total (N)	Expert (%)	Intermediate (%)	Novice-intermediate (%)	Novice-low (%)	Do not speak (%)	No response (%)
Indigenous middle schools	1629	2.95	5.77	55.37	30.69	4.54	0.68
Regular middle schools	3300	1.64	4.03	43.79	42.73	7.15	0.67
Total	4929	2.07	4.61	47.62	38.75	6.29	0.67

Schools indicated familiarity with Indigenous songs (Council of Indigenous Peoples 2014a).

One of the biggest challenges for Indigenous language revitalization is that younger Indigenous people do not communicate daily in their mother tongues anymore. The 2014 survey showed that only 6.83% of students reported using their mother tongue every day. The low rate of Indigenous language communication among young Indigenous students makes revitalization work even more challenging. Student motivation and attitude are important concerns for promoting Indigenous language education. When asked about students' perception of Indigenous languages in society, more than half of the students reported few people speak their Indigenous language as the first language. When students hold this kind of perception, they may feel there are not enough people with whom they can communicate using their Indigenous language. This saps motivation for them to speak or to learn Indigenous languages. However, most students do hold a positive attitude about using Indigenous languages. The survey also indicated that the majority of the students agreed that speaking their Indigenous language is the responsibility of all Indigenous people, and that parents should teach their children Indigenous languages. Students agreed that speaking Indigenous languages is a means for cultural inheritance and were proud of their

Indigenous culture and languages. When asking students the reason preventing them from speaking Indigenous languages, most students reported, “using Indigenous language is not very convenient to communicate with others” (38.64%). Other reasons reported included, “not being able to speak Indigenous languages even though my parents can speak the mother tongue” (26.13%), “people around me do not speak Indigenous language” (21.16%), “personal psychological factors” (15.09%), “Indigenous languages were not taught in school” (8.75%), and “parents do not speak Indigenous languages” (6.50%). The reasons reported by students enrolled in regular school and Indigenous middle schools were comparable.

Despite the fact that Indigenous languages are not widely used in daily conversation, most Indigenous students in seventh grade were willing to learn Indigenous languages. More than 50% of seventh grade Indigenous students in regular middle schools reported high interest in learning Indigenous languages and only 1.95% reported no interest at all.

As most Indigenous parents lose the ability to communicate with their children in Indigenous languages, the role of Indigenous language teachers becomes crucial. The responsibility to pass on Indigenous languages is being placed on schools and Indigenous teachers. Stakeholders often challenge this approach to language revitalization. 79.87% of the Indigenous middle schools and 80.01% of the Indigenous elementary schools reported difficulties in teaching Indigenous languages (Council of Indigenous Peoples 2014). Reasons for the hardship were threefold. First, the school reported that students did not express a high interest in learning Indigenous languages. Second, students came from different tribes, resulting in a small student body for each language, thus making it hard to allocate enough resources for each language. Third, schools reported difficulty in finding Indigenous language teachers. In elementary schools, similar problems were noted. In addition, a lack of supportive environment to learn Indigenous languages at home and in local communities was reported. Funding and Indigenous language curricula, in contrast, were of less of concern.

The above revelations indicate that fewer and fewer Indigenous students are using Indigenous languages in daily life. The force of assimilation of the Han Chinese mainstream dialect is silent yet powerful. Indigenous languages in Taiwan now face endangerment. Fortunately, most Indigenous students showed positive cultural identity and high interest in learning Indigenous languages. Another major difficulty in current Indigenous language education is the small teaching force. More Indigenous language teachers are desperately needed in order to revitalize the language for the next generation (Council of Indigenous Peoples 2014). In the next section of the article, policy efforts on revitalizing Indigenous language will be presented.

Indigenous Language Education Policy and Projects in Taiwan

The discussion on Indigenous language education policy and projects can be divided into national and local levels. Council of Indigenous Peoples and Ministry of Education are the two primary national level governmental agencies charged with administering Indigenous language education.

Major projects from the Council of Indigenous Peoples will be presented first, including the Six-Year Indigenous Cultural Revitalization and Development Project, Six-Year Indigenous Language Revitalization Project, Indigenous Language Proficiency Certification, and training of Indigenous language teachers, followed by discussions on the efforts made by the Ministry of Education. At the end of this section, example projects carried out by local governments will be presented.

Council of Indigenous Peoples

Six-Year Indigenous Cultural Revitalization and Development Project

Indigenous language research, preservation, and heritage were one of the mandated areas for the Council of Indigenous Peoples at its establishment in 1996. Starting in 1999, the Six-Year Indigenous Cultural Revitalization and Development Project encompassed Indigenous language revitalizations (The first 6-Year Indigenous Language Revitalization Project 2008). The main goals of the first Six-Year Indigenous Cultural Revitalization and Development Project (1999–2004) included (1) reconstruction of tribal history, (2) establishment of Indigenous academy to promote cultural education, (3) construction of Indigenous museums, (4) promotion of cultural development among Indigenous teenagers, (5) training and empowerment of Indigenous persons and groups, and (6) Indigenous language revitalization.

After the completion of the first Six-Year project, a second Six-Year Indigenous Cultural Revitalization and Development Project (2008–2013) was proposed, with a total budget of approximately USD\$ 3.3 million (The second 6-Year Indigenous cultural revitalization and development project 2008; The Second 6-Year Indigenous Language Revitalization Project 2014). Its aims were (1) training of Indigenous professionals in history, culture, and art (including Indigenous Youth Cultural Enrichment Program); (2) research on Indigenous history, culture, and art; (3) enrichment of Indigenous museums; (4) creating environments to develop Indigenous music and dance; (5) subsidies for Indigenous communities to host traditional rituals and ceremonies; (6) promotion of all forms of artistic events; and (7) setting up offices for Indigenous cultural revitalization.

Compared to the first Six-Year project, the second placed more emphasis on art and culture. Due to the large scope of Indigenous language revitalization, a separate program was proposed that focused specifically on language revitalization efforts.

Six-Year Indigenous Language Revitalization Project

Indigenous languages education was included in the first Cultural Revitalization and Development Project, but the results were inconclusive. Due to the large scope and efforts required for language revitalization, a new project specifically focused on Indigenous languages was initiated in 2008. The funding for this project came from

the central government, with a total budget of approximately USD\$ 23.6 million. This is the most important project for Indigenous language education, as it is the biggest nationwide project to target Indigenous languages specifically. The project had ten primary goals: (1) strengthen Indigenous language legislation; (2) establish Indigenous language organizations; (3) develop dictionaries for Indigenous languages and Indigenous language curricula; (4) promote research on Indigenous languages and development; (5) cultivate Indigenous language revitalization staff; (6) promote family-, tribal-, and community-based learning of Indigenous languages; (7) utilize multimedia and digital technology for teaching Indigenous languages; (8) implement Indigenous Language Proficiency Certification; (9) collect traditional and modern Indigenous songs; and (10) train specialists to translate policy, law, and regulations into Indigenous languages. The ultimate goals of the project are to preserve Indigenous languages as living languages in hope that, 1 day, Indigenous languages can be incorporated as official languages of Taiwan.

After the implementation of the First Six-Year Indigenous Language Revitalization Project, several problems were identified, including the slow progress on language revitalization, the rise of diverse learning media, the hardship of promoting the Indigenous Writing System, the urgency of saving endangered languages, and the lack of Indigenous language specialists. In addition, the numerous dialects and their complexity made the language revitalization process even more challenging. In the Second Six-Year Indigenous Language Revitalization Project (2014–2019), six main goals were set out to address these challenges. The first goal is to strengthen the connection between Indigenous languages and families where languages are used. There it is vital to create a family learning environment. It is evident that reviving the connection is essential to ensure successful languages revitalization. To build on the experience of the first 6-year program, the second 6-year program will continue to work on making “speaking and learning Indigenous languages” the trend in the Indigenous society.

The second goal is to build a comprehensive learning system from the cradle to the grave. The emphasis is placed in developing a systematic learning process, starting with Indigenous language immersion in preschool to adult education. In addition, digital technology is employed to make learning Indigenous languages more efficiently. Apart from the abovementioned enabling environmental factors to revitalize Indigenous languages, the role of specialists should not be overlooked. Therefore, the third goal of the project is to train Indigenous language revitalization specialist. To ensure specialists being sustainable, a comprehensive training system for Indigenous language revitalization specialists is warranted, including four levels of training (basic, beginner, advanced, and professional). Collaboration is urgently needed with higher education institutions that provide master and PhD programs in Indigenous language studies. Funding for short-term study abroad and for attending international conferences to facilitate experience sharing from other countries is also necessary. Of course, the presence of the specialists alone cannot guarantee the success of revitalization because what is being taught matters. This brings us to the fourth goal: the curricula. The Indigenous language learning curricula has to be diversified. Three sets of curricula had been developed in the first Six-Year Project

(“Words,” “Daily Conversation,” and “Reading and Writing”). Advanced-level curricula (such as “Cultural and Creative Work”) and other diverse curricula will be developed, such as children’s books, translated books, Indigenous literature, and grammar books. An online database on Indigenous language resources and e-learning website will be established under this project. Diversifying the Indigenous language curricula is the first step to fully recognize the language rights of the Indigenous peoples, which brings us to the fifth goal: language rights.

The meaning of language rights may be context-dependent. Language is a right to freedom, which shall be freely used by the people without interference by the State. At the same time, it is a social right that a State shall be obligated to promote. For Indigenous peoples, it is also a form of collective right, linked with the sustainability of its nation. Therefore, the key factor of whether this project can be successful depends on whether the state is honoring its constitutional obligation.

Lastly, the project also takes note in eliminating discrimination based on sex and promotes gender equality. The concept of gender identity and gender sensitivity shall be incorporated when implementing the Indigenous language revitalization at all stages.

Indigenous Language Proficiency Certificate

The Indigenous Language Proficiency Certificate was proposed in 2001. The Certificate provides four levels of proficiency ranking, including basic, intermediate, advance, and professional. No restriction was set on applicants’ nationality, age, ethnicity, or education level. In 2014, the Indigenous language proficiency test required for the Affirmative Action for Indigenous Students was incorporated into the Indigenous Language Proficiency Certificate program. Currently, certifications are available for 16 language groups and 42 dialects and are given in 16 test sites. According to a survey conducted by the Council of Indigenous Peoples (2014a), most of the Certificates were granted for Amis, Paiwan, and Bunun languages. Between 2001 and 2011, a total of 17,165 people had applied for the certificate and 8321 people passed the test. The development of a test bank and practices tests was initiated in 2008.

Training of Indigenous Language Teachers

No formal educational training is required for Indigenous language teachers at this point. The Council of Indigenous Peoples hosted training workshops to prepare fluent speakers who had obtained the Indigenous Language Proficiency Certificate to become teachers. By 2011, more than 4000 people had attended the workshops (Council of Indigenous Peoples 2014). Opportunity for observational learning was provided based on different curricula. A database of qualified Indigenous language specialists was built in 2008. More than 5000 people who had obtained the Indigenous Language Proficiency Certificate or had attended the training workshop were registered in the database (Council of Indigenous Peoples 2014).

Online Learning Materials

The Council of Indigenous Peoples developed online learning materials to meet the growing demand of online learning in the forms of online dictionaries, e-Books, and an e-learning platform.

Indigenous Language Online Dictionary (2016e) began its development in 2007. Sixteen online dictionaries are currently available, one for each of the 16 officially recognized tribes. The dictionary provides search functions from and to Mandarin Chinese. The dictionaries can be downloaded for offline use. Other learning materials on the website include downloadable vocabulary flashcards, vocabulary games and assessments. The website has on average 15,000 viewers per day, and a total of 9.8 million views up to June 2016 (Indigenous Language Online Dictionary 2016e).

Indigenous Language E-Park is the central platform for Indigenous languages learning, it provides downloadable textbooks, multimedia materials (videos and interactive children's books), online games, teaching materials and resources for teachers, and links relevant to Indigenous languages (Council of Indigenous Peoples 2016a). Another online e-learning platform is the Indigenous e-Learning website, which provides downloadable textbooks and teaching materials, video courses, and online courses (Indigenous e-Learning 2014b). Courses in vocabulary, songs, and stories are available for 14 Indigenous languages. There are currently a total of 42 courses available on the website now. An Android App "Indigenous Language Genius" is also available (Council of Indigenous Peoples 2016a). It provides the learning curricula for grade 9–12. However, no statistics are yet available on the utilization frequency of these e-learning materials.

Taiwan Indigenous eBooks, which is available in both website and mobile App format, provides 355 eBooks in 16 different Indigenous languages. More than 7,000 reads had been recorded at the end of June 2016 (Taiwan Indigenous eBooks 2016c).

Indigenous Language Research and Development Center

Funded in 2013, the Indigenous Language Research and Development Center was established on the basis of Article 9 of the Indigenous Peoples Basic Law, which states "the government shall establish (a) special unit responsible for indigenous language researches and (an) indigenous language proficiency evaluation system in order to actively engage in the promotion of indigenous language development." The five mandated goals for the center included: (1) research on loanwords and new words; (2) research on the Indigenous Language Proficiency Certification test and the construction of a test bank; (3) research on Indigenous language teaching methods, including curricula assessment and development; (4) research on grammar and word formulation; and (5) research on Indigenous language revitalization (Indigenous Language Research and Development Center 2016f).

Some examples of the work accomplished by the center include hosting international conferences on Indigenous languages, translation of western literature texts into 16 Indigenous languages (Palemeq 2016) and publishing research findings on

loanwords, new words, and the language revitalization process (Indigenous Language Research and Development Center 2016f). The center is also very active in disseminating information on social media to engage with a broader audience.

Ministry of Education

Prior to the establishment of the Council of Indigenous Peoples, the Ministry of Education had started to develop and compile Indigenous language curricula as part of its Indigenous Education Development and Improvement Projects. In 2006, the Ministry initiated the Indigenous Education Development Five-Year Midterm Case Project (2006–2010) to encompass Indigenous language teaching into the Local Dialect classes required for primary schools. The Ministry also developed learning assessment methods and a training system for Indigenous teachers. In higher education institutions, the Ministry of Education set up programs for Indigenous studies, task forces for Indigenous language teaching, and Indigenous Research and Development Centers.

To establish an Indigenous writing system, the Ministry first commissioned Professor Paul Jen-Kuei Li to develop the Austronesian Language Symbol System (1994). The system was later replaced by the Indigenous Language Writing System to ensure consistency (Council of Indigenous Peoples and Ministry of Education 2005).

Progress concerning indigenous education can be observed from the White Paper for Indigenous Education Policy (2011) published by the Ministry of Education. In the white paper, Indigenous languages education was pointed out as one of the key issues in Indigenous education (Ministry of Education 2011). Instead of having a ministry-wide program, small projects were implemented to promote Indigenous language education across different sectors in the Ministry. The Ministry of Education's annual educational report provides detailed examples of the programs that had been implemented in promoting Indigenous languages. To sum up, two measures can be delineated when it comes to promote indigenous languages: institutional reform and the development of language tools.

First, institutional reform took place within the educational system at both elementary and tertiary level. Indigenous language teaching was implemented at kindergarten level during 2014–2015, and grants were provided for local government to institute educational programs for this type of mother tongue language education. On the other hand, nine universities formed associations to train elementary school teachers and set up local language educational centers in schools. These centers are responsible for the development and promotion of local language programs.

Second, language tools were developed to facilitate an indigenous language-friendly environment. The tools include “Taiwan Indigenous Language and History Encyclopedia,” “Indigenous Language Wikipedia,” Fifth Edition of the Basic Indigenous Language Teaching Materials, “Neologism for Indigenous Language,” and “Indigenous Language Writing System.” Awards and seminars were created to consolidate people's motivation to use these tools. These tools are further

strengthened through programs and activities, including National Indigenous Reading and Speech Contest, Mother Tongue Language Contribution Award, and stipend provided to local organizations promoting Indigenous languages based on the Local Language Education Aid Policy.

Local Governments

Local governments refer to the 13 county governments and 6 municipal city governments in Taiwan. Every year the Council of Indigenous Peoples allocated budgets to collaborate with local governments and civil society organizations to establish “language nests” or “tribal classrooms,” Indigenous language classes, and Indigenous cultural experience camps (Chao 2014). Successful implementation required strong will and collaboration effort from the local governments. Some local government also initiated efforts on Indigenous language educations in addition to the aids from the central governments. For example, Taipei City Government began the “Indigenous language nest” program in 2001, which provided 2 h of class each week for 11 Indigenous languages. In 2010, a total of 35 language nests teaching 10 languages had been established. On average, 378 people attended the language nests each month, but only 10.64% of them were under 18 years of age (Hsieh 2010). Other programs initiated by the Taipei City Government included holding training camps for Indigenous language teachers, editing Indigenous language textbook, hosting Indigenous cultural events, and broadcasting Indigenous language and culture education on the radio (Indigenous Peoples Commission of Taipei City Government 2003). Similar language nest programs were implemented by New Taipei City, Taoyuan City, Kaohsiung City, Hsinchu City, Tainan City, Taidong, Pingtung, Hualien, and Yilan. Other examples for promoting Indigenous language included hosting drama contests, vocabulary contests, and speech contests in Indigenous languages to raise learning incentives.

In 2016, the Pingtung County Government held an International Austronesian Language Education Forum for the first time. More than 250 Indigenous language education practitioners participated in the Forum. The Forum invited three international experts in Maori (New Zealand), Ainu (Japan), and Sami (Norway) languages to share their experiences on the language revitalization. The Forum not only generated tangible recommendations but also prompted local people to action. The impact of this local event was nationwide. The Forum engaged local Indigenous elders with scholars. This type of bottom-up effort showed that the awareness for Indigenous language revitalization is growing in Taiwan.

Future Project

In 2016, the Council of Indigenous People and the Ministry of Education joined efforts to develop an Indigenous Education Five-Year Midterm Development Project (2016–2020). The Project places an emphasis on “self-determination, equality,

respect, diversity, and honor,” with a center focus on “cultivating the next Indigenous generation and equipping them with competitiveness, cultural awareness, and self-determination” and to “regain basic rights, affirm fundamental learning, initiate cultural education, and practice multicultural goals.” Language revitalization and promotion were not stated directly in the project (Council of Indigenous Peoples and Ministry of Education 2015). To achieve a true practice of cultural education, a solid plan of Indigenous language revitalization must be established. The Project, which laid out 12 strategies, 35 execution items, and 148 specific actions, lacked of tangible focus on Indigenous languages. A detailed plan for language reconstruction for Indigenous education is highly recommended by the authors of this chapter. Other observation based on the direction and actions of the 2016–2020 Five-Year Project included:

1. The trend to self-learning has begun even with limited policy endorsement and funding. With time and more policy endorsements, it will become a common norm.
2. Through years of discussion, concrete policies and legal bases have been established for Indigenous education. More funding is also available. Indigenous peoples’ opinions have been more accepted by mainstream society.
3. Though the overall condition of Indigenous peoples is improving, there are still traces of discrimination toward this minority population. It is a long road with many challenges waiting for Indigenous education toward sustainability and maturation.
4. Many of the languages for the smaller tribes are nearly impossible to revitalize. However, digital recording can help keep records of these languages, in hopes that these endangered languages could be preserved for future revitalization efforts.

Challenges on Indigenous Language Education

Despite efforts, Indigenous language development in Taiwan continues to face challenges. In identifying these challenges, it enables us to see where we can further progress. First, one of the biggest challenges has been a lack of coherent policy direction taken by the Ministry of Education and the Council of Indigenous Peoples. These two government agencies have carried out parallel and duplicate efforts on Indigenous language education. The inadequate collaboration results in wasted resources and time. For instance, the Ministry of Education previously spent millions of Taiwanese dollars on developing local dialect curricula for 13 different Indigenous languages, but they were later shelved (Chao 2014). The lack of consensus on the Indigenous Writing Systems in the beginning also staggered the revitalization progress. Horizontal communications between central governmental agencies and vertical communications between central governmental agencies, schools, and local governments were laborious, and very little attention was paid to assessing project outcomes (Hung 2014). This problem has been noted and addressed in the most

current Indigenous Education Five-Year Midterm Development Project, which is a joint project by the Ministry of Education and the Council of Indigenous Peoples. Effective communication between the Ministry of Education and the Council of Indigenous Peoples is central to creating sustainable collaboration.

Second, not having an independent system to train Indigenous language teachers is a severe challenge to sustain indigenous language education. The initial approach by the Ministry of Education was to train Indigenous schoolteachers who already held valid teaching licenses to become Indigenous language teachers. Short-term training workshops on Indigenous languages were available to the teachers. However, most of the Indigenous schoolteachers did not have the ability to speak Indigenous languages fluently; thus, most of the teaching was accomplished by Indigenous language specialists who did not have any formal education training (The Education and Culture Committee of the Control Yuan 2003). Indigenous schoolteachers were not required to attend the language workshops to teach Indigenous languages, and there exists no assessment of their language proficiency. For Indigenous language specialists who do not hold a teaching license, they must obtain Indigenous Language Proficiency Certification in order to teach in public schools. The Indigenous language specialists responsible for the actual teaching expressed that Indigenous language education does not have a clear place in the school system and most schools lack Indigenous cultural sensitivity (Huang 2004). The Ministry of Education has made some progress to incorporate Indigenous language in higher education institutions, such as the institution of local language educational centers in universities (Ministry of Education 2015). A formal education program for Indigenous languages teachers can help them gain more respect in the schools and facilitate the promotion of Indigenous languages in the formal education system. Because there is no independent training system, Indigenous language teachers gain their qualifications by cobbling together fragmented policies. Consequently, teaching indigenous languages is still largely ignored by the formal education system. For this reason, it is necessary that Indigenous peoples need to have our own independent training system.

Third, Indigenous peoples' language revitalization cannot be realized without an increase in designated teaching hours coupled with additional resources. Currently, only one class (40 min) is allocated for Indigenous language per week in public schools (first grade to ninth grade). The effect of a single hour of language learning per week is minimal. Most schools schedule the class during nonofficial class hours (early mornings or weekends). Some schools mix students from different grades or different languages in the same class. The lack of classroom space forces some teachers to teach in the gym or in the hallway. Indigenous language specialists who assist in teaching primary schools usually did not have enough support or respect from school officials. Many of them need to travel from school to school in order to maintain full-time employment status (Hung 2014). These conditions discourage passionate teachers and create new obstacles to guaranteeing Indigenous peoples' rights to a sustainable language education.

Fourth, a proper legislative framework is urgently needed to promote indigenous languages at the preschool level. The critical window for learning language is

between 5 and 7 years old. Indigenous language immersion preschool can lay the foundation for Indigenous language learning (Pawan 2006). There are currently 20 experimental Indigenous language-immersion kindergartens (Council of Indigenous Peoples 2016b). The lack of legislative framework leads to insufficient funds and resources for the preschool level.

Following are tentative recommendations to meet the challenges delineated above. The following aspects are important for the future work of promoting indigenous language education. Firstly, identify those who are still able to speak indigenous languages fluently. These people are key to revitalize indigenous languages and preserve indigenous language-friendly environments. More awareness for language rights in schools and other public sectors needs to be generated. In addition, the revitalization process will benefit from the self-initiating wills from each tribe. Each tribe should be given the resources and power to manage and revitalize its own language and create a safe and convenient environment to practice these languages. Furthermore, family is the foundation to establish good learning environment for Indigenous languages. Increasing the number of children who start learning Indigenous languages from an early age is the most sustainable way to save endangered languages. Secondly, an adequate allocation of resources from the central government to local governments and institutions is necessary. Empowering those people who work closely with their own culture and language will help maximize the effects of revitalization. Retired Indigenous persons would prove an enormous asset to help educate the new generation to speak Indigenous languages. Third, creation of a platform for experience exchanges can allow experts and scholars to work collectively toward language preservation and revitalization that attracts new talent. For example, international conferences on Indigenous language education are an effective means to highlight the importance of practicing Indigenous languages in daily life. The platform can also document the efforts for long-term assessment and evaluation.

Finally but importantly, the journey of language revitalization should be conceptualized in a long-term scale where new ideas and innovations are constantly being incorporated. Many Indigenous languages are slowly being replaced by mainstream languages; new ideas are currently needed for language revitalization, especially for those languages that are on the brink of extinction. Revitalization is possible with the help of the government, academia, and NGOs. Endangered languages require more attention and specially dedicated research teams to persist long term in helping local tribes maintain their linguistic identities by creating a lively learning environment.

Conclusion

Recent international trends and new policies brought new opportunities and acceptances for Indigenous languages in Taiwan. Indigenous languages are vital to Indigenous peoples' identities and community development, but the extent of achieving revitalization is linked to Indigenous peoples' social status. Many Indigenous peoples have not yet realized the importance of language revitalization

because they are under great social and economic pressure. In addition, the lack of Indigenous language specialists is the biggest concern for Indigenous language development in Taiwan. Indigenous people need to utilize these given revitalization resources and work toward a common goal. This chapter aims to serve as a reference for the international Indigenous language education community and also act as a starting point for future language revitalization for Indigenous peoples in Taiwan.

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Sámi Language for All: Transformed Futures Through Mediative Education

27

Erika Katjaana Sarivaara and Pigga Keskitalo

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Abstract

This chapter deals with the mediative role of Sámi education in Sámi language revitalization. Education, in the form of mediative structures, provides the tools necessary to effect language revitalization to counter the legacy of assimilation, which has deleteriously affected Sámi people on most social measures. Mediative education is significant because it creates transformation in Indigenous communities, helping arbitration, peacemaking, resolution, and negotiation practices to flourish. This chapter focuses on mediative contexts and their instances, as well as on the implementation of mediating pedagogy in the field of Sámi education research. The chapter is theoretically constructed on the authors' respective research in Sámi education, assimilation and revitalization; it turns on the premise that language revitalization builds social harmony in a postcolonial situation, and

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that there are certain key tasks that need to be fulfilled to recover endangered languages. The revitalization process of the Sámi languages and moreover strengthening language domains are core aims in Sámi education in Northern Europe. Crucially, attempts to nurture these languages draw on broader practices of education and human rights.

Keywords

Sámi language · Revitalization · Indigenous education · Sámi education · Mediating structures

Introduction

Relying on previous studies as well as new research, our article presents a collaborative model of language recovery, which facilitates an increase in the number of language speakers and also supports language domains. A mediating language revitalization model aims to create peace for Indigenous societies in a postcolonial situation (see Hylland Eriksen 1992; Olthuis et al. 2013). Recent research literature has focused on the present situation of the Sámi languages and aspirations for language revitalization (Lehtola 2015; Linkola 2014; Olthuis et al. 2013; Outakoski 2015; Pasanen 2015; Rasmussen 2013; Sarivaara 2016; Seurujärvi-Kari 2012; Äärelä 2015). This chapter emphasizes key tasks involved in the recovery of endangered languages. Sámi people, like many Indigenous peoples in the world, have experienced and continue to experience inequitable practices, and moreover, these have caused major societal changes and suffering in communities. Unpacking these unfair and oppressive practices has fuelled and sustained our desire to explain situation and context. How we identify the issues starts with the title “Sámi for all.” We consider whether it is feasible to share the Sámi language with others, when the survival of the language is threatened.

We share a common interest in developing Sámi education and revitalizing language, and are mothers, primary school teachers, educators, Indigenous scholars, and language revitalizers. We find all these roles significant and supportive of each other, because sharing experiences within Indigenous communities empowers individuals and eventually promotes communities. Our worldviews are holistic, and our vision is characterized by passion: it is caring, joyful, loving, meaningful, cooperative, and mediating. Our interest extends to Sámi educational issues because of our common role as teacher educators. We became colleagues at the Sámi University of Applied Sciences (former Sámi University College) when Erika assumed the role of assistant professor of education in teacher training. Pigga had already commenced working there in 1999, first as an assistant professor and then as a doctoral scholarship holder in 2005. She completed her PhD in 2010. Erika completed her PhD in 2012 as a doctoral scholarship holder. Together, we desire to work toward the rethinking of linguistics, power, and policy. We concentrate on Sámi education from a critical viewpoint on Indigenous education. As a starting point, critical Sámi research aims to raise significant questions and promote Sámi issues in society

(see also Sarivaara et al. 2014). Sámi are living in four countries under four school systems, school laws, and curricula. The Sámi Indigenous peoples live in the Nordic countries of central and northern Sweden, Norway, northern Finland, and on Russia's Kola Peninsula, and have long held connections to other populations. As education researchers we have wanted to write from a critical orientation about these circumstances, especially since sovereignty is limited.

This chapter is based on separate PhD doctoral and postdoctoral research projects, which are being jointly further developed. We have wanted to write together in order to learn from each other, and to share and discuss our experiences and knowledge with each other and with others. Joint projects and extended cooperation may result in broader views, which we are interested in constructing and testing. Indigenous peoples themselves need to rethink their pedagogical practices, and society also needs to be appraised of Indigenous people's issues and problems. Suoranta and Rynnänen (2014) have contributed the concept of "rebellious research" to the field of critical research. According to them, the aim of rebellious research is to change society so that it is more equal, and in which researchers take risks other than in terms of academic competition. In this respect, the roles of Indigenous scholars are often both activist and researcher. We have made it our aim to be transformative in our own research and to translate its rebelliousness into writing. In this chapter, we concentrate on the Finnish Sámi situation, although we also examine practices across the four countries Sámi live in, in order to compare different contexts. We were both born and live in Finland, although Piggá is now working in Norway in the Sámi University of Applied Sciences and Erika is in Finland at the University of Lapland.

The starting point lies in historical inequity. The current situation of Sámi necessitates looking back at the long path of assimilation, which Sámi to an extent continue to experience. Demolishing such assimilationist processes is necessary to improve the future of the Sámi language. In Finland, assimilation began with the so-called Age of Enlightenment in the 1600s (see Keskitalo et al. 2016; Rasmussen 2013). Assimilation has coincided with cultural colonization (Keskitalo et al. 2016), which has been realized in Finland through church activities since the 1600s, border establishment, Finnish nationhood building, nation schools of the 1800s (Keskitalo et al. 2014), and through increasingly replacing Sámihood with Finnish language and culture (see Paksuniemi 2009). Before the 1980s, there was hardly any support for Indigenous or minority cultures and languages in the national school system of Finland.

According to The Sámi Parliament Act, the Sámi Homeland Area covers the northern Finland municipalities Utsjoki, Inari, Enontekiö, and northern Sodankylä (traditionally, the Sámi Area was much larger). In the Sámi Homeland Area, education is divided into Finnish and Sámi speaking classes according to need. Generally, attendance at Sámi speaking classes has been for those whose mother tongue is Sámi and for those with a parent registered on a Finnish Sámi Parliament electoral roll, which acts as formal proof of Sámihood by giving a person Sámi status. One may also study the Sámi language as a foreign language for approximately 2 h per week, but currently over 75% of Sámi speaking children live outside of the Sámi Home Land area and their recourse to the study of the language is greatly limited. The Finnish Board of Education policy dictates that they can study Sámi

language for only 2 h in a club teaching immigrants and Sámi people. This policy's tokenism seriously threatens the future of Sámi languages. One more proactive answer could have been the establishment of revitalization schools; however, the first was only opened in 2015 in Utsjoki.

There are currently three Sámi languages spoken in Finland. While North Sámi is the strongest language with approximately 25,000 speakers in three countries, in Finland, however, there are only about 1350 North Sámi speakers left, according to the official national statistics. Inari Sámi language has around 500 speakers and is only spoken in the municipality of Inari in Finland. Skolt Sámi language has around 500 speakers. All of the Sámi languages are considered to be seriously threatened (Rasmussen 2013). It is projected that speakers will halve in the near future if radical measures are not taken (Hylland Eriksen 1992).

The area inhabited by the Sámi is called *Sápmi* in Sámi language. There are approximately 100,000 Sámi living in these countries, although data collection processes are found to be inadequate, and there is hence a lack of clear demographic information about Sámi people. What can be asserted quite categorically is that the Sámi – as with many other Indigenous peoples – comprise a minority. They are recognized and protected under international conventions and declarations on the rights of Indigenous peoples and national laws and acts. Sámi livelihoods have historically been connected to the land and water. Sámi originate from hunter-gathering tribes, and traditional livelihoods are fishing, hunting, reindeer herding, and later small-scale farming. According to linguistic studies, Sámi language emerged during the second millennium BC at the latest, which also generated Sámi culture (Aikio 2004, 2006, 2012). The Sámi languages are Finno-Ugric languages; they are therefore related, for example, to the Finnish language. The primordial Finnish and Sámi are assumed to have separated at the end of Stone Age. The history of the Sámi shows various changes, notable ones including: a move from collecting culture to reindeer herding (from 1400–1600); and the disruption of their traditional ways through the arrival of settlers, together with the introduction of epidemics and the church.

The Legacy of Assimilation in *Sápmi*

Centuries of assimilation policies and sociolinguistic reasons have endangered Sámi languages (see Aikio 1988). Currently, Sámi are part of the globalizing world with various cultural flows and blends, and have more or less embraced urbanization (Seurujärvi-Kari 2012) and living in multiple and diverse contexts in postmodern societies. Empowerment, revitalization, education, and research are core components of the transformation and future for Indigenous peoples, each having their own set of challenges. A deliberate focus of the Sámi people, in particular, is now on recovery and language revitalization through Indigenous education, which, taken as a whole, calls for societal activism.

The assimilation processes foisted on Sámi have varied from country to country. Assimilation processes in Finland occurred rather invisibly when compared to, for

example, the situation in Norway, where forced Norwegianism was enshrined in official documents. In Norway, the assimilation policy was formally implemented so that the Sámi had to be “Norwegianized.” This period of enforced Norwegianism continued from approximately the 1850s to the 1980s, crucially aiming to extirpate the Sámi language and the Sámi identity (Minde 2005).

Differences within assimilation processes can make it challenging to recognize and distinguish assimilation strategies and measures. In Finland, the aim of the nationalist policy was to strengthen the position of the Finnish language and the Finnish identity. The government prioritized the ideology of nation building, in particular through a folk school system. The needs of minorities were ignored until the 1960s, when the Indigenous movement began. Sweden, meanwhile, exercised passive segregation measures, namely the *lapp-ska-vara-lapp* policy (The Lapp Should Stay Lapp policy), whereby Sámi children were sent to segregated hut schools (Henrysson 1992). Sámi in Russia have experienced limited schooling since World War II. Additionally, forced relocations stretched the capacity of the Russian Sámi (Afanasyeva 2013). Political relationships between nations over which Sápmi lies add further complexity. Historically, Finland was under Swedish Kingdom since 1100–1200 until 1809. After that, Sweden was in union with Norway. During 1809–1917, Finland was under Russia.

Border issues have indeed played a significant role in the assimilation of Sámi, often with ongoing implications. Taxes levied from Sámi people acted as a basis for shaping national borders of Lapland in Sweden, Norway, and Russia (originally Novgorod). European nationalism since 1850s also affected assimilation, and it strengthened during and after World War II. The Sámi were assumed to be a conquered people, who could only live as human by giving up old traditions and embracing a more sophisticated, settled way of life. It would not be until the first Sámi conference held in 1953 (Seurujärvi-Kari et al. 2011) that a Sámi ethnic awakening would be signaled, but formal “nation-state” boundaries had well and truly disrupted the lifestyles of Sámi in many ways – for example, nomad Sámi reindeer herding was threatened in Finland, leading to the founding of the Reindeer Herders association. Resulting controversial challenges and issues have included debates about who is a Sámi, who is allowed to herd reindeer, land usage, economics and funding, and other organizational matters.

In countries where Sámi people are living now there may be nine or ten different Sámi languages, where historically there were even more. While it is unclear whether these were all separate languages or dialects, the differences between the remaining nine or ten Sámi languages suggest that these are indeed different Sámi languages, some with different dialects. Six of these languages are written, originally developed through church activities. Before 1978 in North Sámi, there were 13 different orthographies. In Finland, the Lapland Education Society set out to create the North Sámi orthography (Jones 2012). Cooperation between the languages is now formalized in Sámi Parliaments in Finland, Sweden, and Norway.

According to our studies and perceptions, assimilation has thus, among other things, to a certain degree weakened the Sámi cultural identity and set in train a process of language shift. The process has resulted in a complex situation that has

also impacted on Sámi education. Revitalization has been ongoing since the 1990s following lengthy periods of assimilation, with variable degrees of success. Quite clearly, the Sámi language and Sámi identity have become popular themes of study, particularly due to their improved situation. Some of the Sámi have established resilient forms of cultural identity as well as cohesive Indigenous communities, especially within areas where there is a strong presence of Sámi language and culture. However, some Sámi have been disadvantaged for example due to their backgrounds and locations, and so assimilation has had much more of a marked impact.

Sámi identity was placed under close scrutiny when assimilated Sámi first moved to revitalize their languages and when interest in their own roots and backgrounds was revived. At the same time, debate has arisen regarding who should determine the mode of revitalization and who should be allowed to participate in it. Thus, any discussion of the process of revitalization, according to our critical observation, needs to consider the vexed question of who counts as a Sámi member of the Sámi community (Keskitalo and Sarivaara 2014; Sarivaara and Keskitalo 2015, 2016). Throughout the world, there are different understandings around Indigenous membership. In Finland, linguistic capability has been a key determiner of Sámi identity (Sarivaara 2012). In contrast, New Zealand Māori identity in its strictest genealogical sense requires a blood link to a Māori ancestor (Kidman 2007, 60).

Erika Sarivaara (2012) presents a picture of today's Sáminess, which is characterized by diversity and fragmentation. Her research raises internal tensions, and particularly the Sámi identity conflict within Sámi society in Finland, and moreover discloses the complex consequences of Sámi history (see also Lukin 2014). Further, Sarivaara explores themes arising from her research interviews, such as cultural continuity and the issue of cultural identity over generations. In addition, interviews reflected experience that might be understood through the concept of ethnostress (see Kuokkanen 1995). This refers to a situation when one feels unable to fulfill the claims of Indigenous identity, and moreover is afraid to express the Sámi identity in public.

What Is Sámi Education?

A Sámi education paradigm has been in train since the nineteen nineties and is connected to the Sámi University of Applied Sciences (see e.g., Aikio 2007, 2010; Balto 1997, 2005, 2008; Hirvonen 2004; Jannok Nutti 2014; Keskitalo 2009, 2010). Many areas in need of development exist in Sámi education, such as educational philosophy development for the Sámi in order to solve the heritage of cultural colonization, learning materials, and qualified teachers, as well as Sámi educational achievement and equality. Sámi education remains unsystematized (see Aikio-Puoskari 2001; Hirvonen 2004; Keskitalo 2009, 2010; Linkola 2014). Even if solutions to educational problems are found, the Sámi education development process itself is still ongoing. For example, in Norway a Sámi curriculum, and a school system called Sámi School, has been in place since 1997. However, according to research literature, the Sámi school is organized pursuant to the mainstream school system (Hirvonen 2004; Keskitalo 2009, 2010). Developmental

work that is premised on Sámi content matter needs to continue. Meanwhile, Indigenous peoples in general wrestle with similar issues (see e.g., Babaci-Wilhite 2015; Grande 2004; King and Schielmann 2004; McConaghy 2000; Lipka et al. 1998; Smith 1999, 2003, 2005; Ventsel and Dudeck 1995).

Traditional modes of Sámi education appear to be vastly different to those of the dominant West, but they may be quite familiar to other Indigenous peoples. Paavo Päivänsalo's (1953) review cited historical literature and sources concerned with "Traditional child-rearing practices of the Sámi." He stresses that traditional Sámi child-rearing aimed to create an individual who was physically durable and possessed the abilities to excel at traditional livelihoods such as reindeer herding, forestry, fishing, and further homemaking. Furthermore, it sought to embed moral obligations toward other people and to following religious practices of traditional Sámi life, and to give them the physical strength and resistance they needed in their lives. Päivänsalo wrote his text just after World War II when modernization had started in earnest among the Sámi people. More recently, Asta Balto (1997) has defined Sámi traditional child-rearing as holistic and a nonauthoritative culture-based practice which makes its own logic. Balto (2005) has pointed out the main goal of traditional child-rearing seems to be preparing an individual for life – to be able to survive different environments, to develop good self-esteem, and a base for life and joy. She stresses that the Sámi child-rearing strategies are often indirect and avoid confrontations between the children and adults involved. This model of raising the child is possible with the support of an extended network of adults around the child who are involved in raising him or her. The network offers the child care and mental security, and helps the child to establish attachments to adults outside the nuclear family. Moreover, naming is significant, with the namesake relationship providing an opportunity to expand the child's social network. Sámi adults use advanced methods to achieve the desired impact regarding their child-rearing efforts, such as storytelling, *nárrideapmi*, diverting strategies, and practices implicit in the Sámi language (Balto 2005).

Sámi education now draws on the wider intention of Indigenous education. Lately, the need for a critical research tradition in Indigenous education research has become apparent. Denzin and Lincoln (2008) emphasizes *hope, love, and shared community*, which are considered as the basic values of pedagogy for mediating Indigenous education research. Scholars in pedagogical fields are interested in all human activities and experiences. This kind of research orientation emphasizes the human voice, so that it is possible to *experience* knowledge to improve practices, and also highlights the need for diverse approaches. Extended collaboration benefits the purposes of inclusion and mediates the sharing of information. Research conducted from this point of view also strengthens learning processes among research networks (Denzin and Lincoln 2008).

Like Indigenous education (see, e.g., May and Aikman 2003), Sámi education specifically focuses on teaching traditional knowledge, models, methods, and content within formal or nonformal educational systems. We argue that Sámi education, through pedagogical research and schooling, can also help to resolve and/or mediate the legacy of assimilation. In particular, it seeks to reverse the ongoing language shift that results in an open wound among the Sámi people. Sámi language ability in a

person's recent family history has been the basis of an official membership in Sámihood. In Finland, Sámihood has been concretized through the membership of Sámi Parliament electoral roll membership. Crucially, the knowledge of Sámi language is part of entry into Indigenous status among the Sámi in Finland (Sarivaara 2012). This has led to decades of more or less embittered debate about who is Sámi and who is not. While powerful assimilation processes have been continuing for centuries, aiming to remove linguistic and cultural knowledge, there is now also a legal requirement for Sámi language knowledge in the family (via the individual, parents, or grandparents). Controversial debate of these issues continues. At the same time, individual Sámi rights are dependent on the membership of the Sámi Parliament electoral roll in Finland which, as we have noted, requires linguistic capacity. Another competing discourse supports a principle of *cultural* capacity. Both scenarios are problematic in a so-called postassimilationist era.

Mediating Sámi Education

Problems of assimilation and agency – including who may count as Sámi – ground any discussion about mediative pedagogy and its structures. Here we focus on contexts, accounts, and implementation of the mediating pedagogy in the field of Sámi education research, while continuing to cast a critical eye over the ineffectiveness of State intervention thus far. Mediation encompasses inclusion and caring, and it asks for participatory and concrete outcomes. From this perspective, mediation is a versatile concept. This section draws on earlier theories about mediating education (e.g., Berger and Neuhaus 1970; Denzin and Lincoln 2008; Nurmi and Kontiainen 1995) and, in accordance with this chapter's title, calls for more active and innovative efforts to revitalize the Sámi language. Sámi language revitalization in Finland has been partly based on formal Sámihood and connection to the Sámi Parliament Electoral Roll; we suggest, however, that these measurements are narrow and ineffective. We want to increase Sámi language usage through radical multicultural ideology that is inclusive and actually expands the number of language speakers. These kinds of measures are in use in New Zealand (see Nicholson 2003) and Inari Sámis (Olthuis et al. 2013).

Mediation can be thought of as both a broad and specifically educational phenomenon. According to the Oxford American Writer's Thesaurus (Auburn et al. 2012), the concept mediate is synonymous with arbitrate, make peace, resolve, and negotiate. Peter Berger (1979, 169) defines the concept of mediating structures as “those institutions which stand between the individual in his (sic) private sphere and the large institutions of the public sphere.” According to Brad Lowell Stone (2012), these ideas can be traced to Edmund Burke (1790), Alexis de Tocqueville (1988), John Stuart Mill (1999), and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (Hyams 1979), as well as to efforts to preserve the corporate rights of social groups. Mediating structures are moreover a tool for multicultural education contexts. The concept of bundling mediating structures was proposed by Berger and Neuhaus (1970), who proposed that family culture and school culture should be merged in order to empower pupils.

Further, Nurmi and Kontiainen (1995, 68) applied the model so that mediating structures could successfully operate in educational intercultural contexts. Therefore, we emphasize that mediating structures aim to remedy cultural conflict that may appear within a multicultural situation.

In other words, mediating structures are intercultural educational tools. Mediating education appoints objectives of the research for transmission by a caring, loving, and inclusive sense, as well as allows for the creation of models in conflict resolution. Generally, the intercultural context may create a base for cultural conflict. For example, in multilingual and intercultural educational practices, cultural conflicts can arise due to asymmetric power relations (Keskitalo 2010). Mediating structures intersects between the past, the present, and the future circumferentially, so that tendencies to essentialize other cultures are lessened.

These therapeutic qualities manifest at various points within theory. Vivian R. Johnson (1994) concretizes mediating structures to mean the counteracting of poverty and discrimination. She mentions families, neighborhood groups, religious groups, and voluntary associations as mediating structures. She points out that, for example, for each child the institution of the family is a mediating structure between him or her and the school. Nonetheless, Bourdieu (1977) suggests that the ability of the family to mediate between the child and the school is a function of the amount of cultural capital or skills, disposition, background, and knowledge the family possesses. Low-income and minority families are less likely to successfully mediate for their children because they have less cultural capital that schools value and reward than do high-income and mainstream families (Johnson 1994). Bourdieu's ideas about cultural capital are also relevant to language revitalization: the amount of cultural capital may affect the ability to revitalize, participate with activities of revitalization, or demand revitalization for one's own children. Johnson's and Bourdieu's ideas, which concentrate on societal problems, can be expanded to be meaningful for mediating structures needed in Indigenous language revitalization. It is quite likely, in the context of Indigenous revitalization that any resulting actions will occur at both personal and group levels and include practical and attitudinal aspects. Additionally, any writing and discussion on the topic needs to be opened up *as* both personal and political, and concrete and abstract acts, thus reflecting the reality that language revitalization is formidably difficult.

A Sámi educational research paradigm should therefore be closely based on a sophisticated awareness of collective Sámi assimilation. Sámi education that is based on an inclusive mediating perspective plays a significant role in order to revitalize Indigenous languages and culture. The revitalization process of the Sámi languages and strengthening activities for language domains are core educational means for the postassimilation phase in Sápmi, Northern Europe. Sámi education questions how education and schooling can dismantle skewed, unequal setups in society. Further, how through educational research, we can mediate the strengthening of inclusive Indigenous integrity. In this sense, and sharing the experiences of other Indigenous peoples (see Denzin et al. 2008), Sámi education is performing then as constructive and capable of dissolving conflicts and ensuring proactive activity.

Mediating structures creates bridges between the past, present, and future, and their variability helps us to avoid cultural mystification and essentialism. Among other things, they bring into concern the reality of multilingual and multicultural contexts. Keskitalo (2010) highlights that through *mediating structures* it is possible to achieve balance in Sámi school, and moreover resolve a school's culture, and possible cultural conflicts. Colonial history and asymmetrical power relations have obstructed the Sámi from forming their own school culture. Mediating structures enables the establishment of a school culture that includes the Sámi view (Keskitalo 2010). The starting point of the research is a sense of pedagogical care and inclusive activities. As a result, mediating Sámi research aims to create suitable models for the resolution of conflicts.

Mediating Sámi education includes many different approaches and theoretical perspectives with an interest in critical knowledge and multiple emancipation. With culturally relevant and potent research activities, we strive to improve Sámi society. The aim is to promote Sámi self-government and to proceed with the aspiration of unraveling colonial structures, adaptations, and stereotypes. Furthermore, similar critical issues have become more urgent in the field of Indigenous research (McLaren and Kincheloe 2007). Contributing to solidarity recognizing human rights, liberty, and self-government are the basic objectives that mediating Sámi education aims for. What is needed to make it a concrete reality? For Indigenous people, communication and dialogue, ethical and human management, emancipatory and empowering pedagogy, cultural welfare, and collective responsibility ascend more and more into importance. Enacting supportive and practical measures helps to change the circumstances. Collaborative interaction and active dialogue between all other people in general is significant to the survival of the Indigenous people. These kinds of human encounters are meant to rebuild Indigenous communities and nations in accordance with their ecologies, so that the Indigenous peoples are able to maintain, remember, share, and consider their roles and thus rename, collaborate, protect, and democratize their everyday life (Smith 1999).

Mediating Structures in Sámi Language Revitalization

Mediating structures for language revitalization necessitates an awareness of socio-political and socioeconomic issues as well as attempts to actively resolve these rather than let them be. Linguistic domains such as schools, family, society, media, friends, and also leisure facilities are significant factors when revitalizing languages (Baker 2011). Schools may achieve effective revitalization results, if other support are pursued. Eventually efficient language revitalization includes the following characteristics:

1. Educating new speakers to the language, crucially involving the home domain and intergenerational transmission (King 2009; Spolsky 1989).
2. Adding new functions by introducing the language into domains where it was previously unused or relatively underused (Ó Laoire 2006).

3. Identifying the language being revived by both established speakers and neo-speakers (Huss et al. 2003).
4. Involvement and activity on behalf of individuals and the speech community as well as awareness that positive attitudes, action, commitment, strong acts of will, and sacrifice may be necessary to save and revitalize the language (Ó Laoire 2006).

The objective of mediating structures is to reinforce cultural identity and indigeneity, however avoiding ethnocentrism. Exclusionary practices may lead to ethnocentric perspectives and, crucially, do not build a society that values pluralism and cultural diversity. Mediating Sámi educational research aspires to solve assimilation so that it enables assimilated Sámi to confirm their inherent cultural identity and indigeneity. More precisely, Indigenous education is about raising Indigenous individuals for Indigenous citizenship and life in Indigenous and mainstream communities. Sámi education seeks to act as a reverse circuit to assimilation and as the reinforcer of Sámi awareness. Mediating Sámi research can promote functional way of approaching these main challenges and provide practical tools for developing Sámi education that supports the revitalization and holistic flourishing of the Sámi people and culture.

Mediation of Sámi education is focusing on practices that can disassemble oblique and unequal relationships in Sámi communities. Secondly, the other significant task is to strengthen the pedagogical research concerning mediating and inclusive Indigenous identities.

A concrete objective that deserves priority is to constructively solve internal conflicts and oppression within Sámi society. For example, defaulting interaction and poor management of internal conflict are part of the process of lateral violence, which can be viewed as an expression of internalized colonialism. Internalized colonialism can be harmful for Indigenous communities as it causes negative attitudes and, further, oppressed people to stand against each other. Richard Frankland states that:

[T]he organised, harmful behaviours that we do to each other collectively as part of an oppressed group: within our families; within our organisations and; within our communities. When we are consistently oppressed we live with great fear and great anger and we often turn on those who are closest to us. (Australian Human Rights Commission 2011, 8)

Mediating structures should create synergic connections within the revitalization process. Basically, it means to increase the synergy between different groups and societal institutions. Such synergy forms as a result of extended collaboration. However, it crucially requires tolerance, solidarity, and the development of cultural identities. We emphasize that language revitalization in mediating education enables individuals to construct and strengthen their cultural identity and language skills within a community characterized by a positive atmosphere and spirit. These circumstances enables individuals to develop and flourish. Furthermore, practical language-related activities should be implemented in communities such as language nests for kindergarten children, primary school revitalization language classes, or adult revitalization teaching. Societal support for such plans and goals creates the

concrete framework but an individual's own attitudes toward the revitalization process plays the most important role.

Conclusion

The goal of Indigenous education is to help Indigenous individuals to grow to be members of their community and society. Today's Sámi pupils are the members of a global, changing society. From a Sámi educational point of view, it is urgent to examine what kind of skills future Sámi society requires, together with the values and problems that respectively support and challenge it. Empowerment, revitalization, and the aspirations possible through education and research are important factors and goals for Indigenous people's futures. For this reason, it is important to be reflective concerning what kind of future Sámi society we are creating, what kind of values are important for us, and what kind of things ask to be reversed or to changed.

It is clear that ethnocentrism does not empower Indigenous peoples, but rather maintains essentialist attitudes and paradigms. In addition, an ethnocentric perspective may trap individuals in the victim role, which in a collective context means that the group remains hindered by past discrimination. The victim role means that the person feels unable to change unsatisfactory circumstances. It may bring negative discourses into communities and, moreover, it involves negative emotions such as scapegoating and seeing a future without hope. Simplistically stressing the Indigenous cultural background to enhance feelings of power and a sense of superiority does not acknowledge Indigenous people but rather merely enacts aspects of essentialism and ethnocentrism, which export racism within and against the Indigenous peoples.

The victim role does tend to be one phase within Indigenous people's awareness raising and revitalization processes. Traumatic experiences of the past should be grieved over and openly discussed within communities so that people are finally able to move on from them. However, the victim role may constitute a problematic base for discourse within Indigenous people's communities. Also, essentialism and ethnocentrism may generate negative attitudes toward Indigenous peoples. In that sense Indigenous critical education as a research field plays a core role in preventing further assimilation.

We have suggested that mediating Sámi education necessarily adopts Sámi identity research and can serve as a means to explain the multiple, fragmented, conflicted, diverse situations. Mediating Sámi research is a tool to examine and explain the multicultural educational context. Mediating education points out the value of an inclusive, caring, and participatory approach. Within this context, mediating Sámi education is multifaceted. The objective of mediating education is to identify oppressive issues, and also to try and solve them (see Suoranta and Rynnänen 2014). In addition, mediating structures corroborate human rights, which aim to include all peoples and involve them in the development of society. Minorities would benefit from constructing strategies that enhance their minority position. Therefore, mediating structures are tools that aim to dismantle asymmetric power structures.

Language revitalization benefits from mediating structures, since it enforces the individual's language learning and hence increases language domains. Mediating structures also aim to tackle – at societal, practical macro and micro, and individual levels – the complicated practical and psychological issues that may help or hinder language revitalization. Research in this area would benefit from practical work with language revitalization; moreover, scholars and educators should work together to help it to progress.

Crucially, there is an emergent need for Sámi language revitalization classes without formally sanctioned ethnic boundaries, such as Sámi language nests for kindergarten age children. This we call a radical multicultural inclusive model that is already in use in Norway and more or less in New Zealand. These models offer a way to increase the linguistic vitality of Indigenous languages. In Finland, it is policy to keep the Sámi language revitalization mostly for official Sámi – the Sámi and their children who have voting rights in the Sámi Parliament Electoral Roll – the situation is politically difficult as there are voices that want to keep the voting group tight and small and predictable. We wanted to point out this demanding situation which may stymie the potential for language revitalization.

Further, there is a constant need for law, acts, measurements, efforts, implementations, politicians, officials, and activists who care about language revitalization and people putting those efforts into reality. We suggest that researchers should actively take part in acts of revitalization in societies. As Banks (2006) suggests, we should teach our children to know, care, and act in order to achieve sustainable well-being in our Indigenous communities, to know our history, culture, customs, and worldview, and to care about Us, but also about the Other, in order to create empathy toward humanity. And finally, to act in order to reclaim and maintain our language and customs. We do not need simple typologies but rather we must critically evaluate pedagogical actions in order to enhance or change them and to assemble the best practices from Indigenous education and general pedagogy, and crucially recognize language sharing as a mediative education act by sharing the language for all – as language is shared humanity.

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Colonialism, Māori Early Childhood, Language, and the Curriculum

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Mere Skerrett

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Abstract

This Chapter unsettles Māori language in education generally, and in the early childhood curriculum particularly, its historical antecedents, and government leaden-footed policies (Waitangi Tribunal, Pre-publication Waitangi Tribunal report 2336: Matua Rautia: the report on the Kōhanga Reo claim. Waitangi Tribunal, Wellington, 2012) in a colony which still is colonizing. It troubles some of the norms of *Te Whāriki: He whāriki mātauranga mō ngā mokopuna o Aotearoa: Early childhood curriculum* (Ministry of Education, Te Whāriki: he whāriki mātauranga mō ngā mokopuna o Aotearoa: early childhood curriculum.

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Learning Media, Wellington, 1996; Ministry of Education, Te Whāriki: he whāriki mātauranga mō ngā mokopuna o Aotearoa: early childhood curriculum. Ministry of Education, Wellington, 2017) (Te Whāriki) and provides further ideological clarification around what has come to be known as kaupapa Māori (praxis, pedagogy, power and curriculum). It provides a challenge to curriculum in the early years, a challenge to the hegemonic norm, countering dominant discourses and contesting universalization, raising questions about the relationality of language to the curriculum. It promotes a re-framing of the curriculum through a Māori (see Glossary) pedagogical frame as a resistance to the displacement/replacement theory brought about through colonization. It argues that *te rangatiratanga o te reo* (the sovereignty of the Māori language to Māori culture) is not just about resistance to injustice and the inversion of colonial rule, but the assertion of Māori sovereignty through Māori language in “our place,” all of it and everywhere. It is a reassertion of the legitimation and authority of te reo Māori and the rights of children to live te reo Māori, to live its history, its future, its identity, its world-views, its values, its symbolism, and its spirit. This chapter remains interested in the politics and policy environment while concentrating on our Māori children – our greatest allies in the Māori language revitalization endeavor.

Keywords

Early Years · Curriculum · Māori language · Kōhanga Reo · Kaupapa Māori · Colonization · Māori sovereignty · Identity politics · Language revitalization · Bilingualism · Te Whāriki

Introduction: Colonial Pursuits

Imperialism, through its colonial outpost in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Smith 2012), was anchored via the Treaty of Waitangi signed in 1840 by representatives of the Queen of England and the incumbent Hapū (smaller tribal groups). This was a colonial instrument aimed at peaceful settlement by the British, rather than the cession of sovereignty as is often claimed, mainly to justify land confiscations and political hegemony, particularly once British numerical dominance was achieved (Mikaere 2011; Mutu 2010; Walker 2004). Mythologizing discourses really began to take hold in the minds of the settler people once political and numerical dominance was accomplished (Ballara 1986; Bevan-Smith 2012). As Ballara (1986) succinctly put it “. . . in the end, in spite of the treaty, it was to be the concept of the wandering savage who had no rights to land that was adopted and recognised by the settler governments once self-government was attained” (p. 36). The imperialist project continues to reinvent itself in Aotearoa in order to strengthen its compartmentalizing structure of silencing Indigenous (with a capital I) tongues, daily. Colonial science terminally incorporates Indigenous spatiality into colonial rule, forcing the sub-alterns into the hinterlands (Shilliam 2016) in pursuit of the insatiable desire to “accumulate.”

Colonial Architecture

In Aotearoa, education pathways were mapped out *for Māori in English*, in a context of contempt. Governor Grey diverted missionary education from what is now considered sound *additive* bilingual pedagogical practice (Walker 2004) to deficit *subtractive* pedagogical practice (Where one language is subtracted creating one dominant language system.) commencing with the 1847 Education Ordinance, where instruction was to be totally in English. Clause 3 supported the giving of public funds to schools, *provided* that instruction was given in the English language (New Zealand Legislative Council Ordinances 1841–1853). Successive pieces of legislation further compartmentalized and hierarchized Māori language (as disposable), land (as survey-able), and people (as subservient to British settler interests), all in the interests of colonial architecture and colonial science (referenced through the English language). While education policy as text mandated English in the curriculum, the corollary, the policy as discourse became one of deficit theorizing for Māori, through an anglicizing curriculum. Māori children continue to experience harm as they endure forced assimilation into a whitestream (Common parlance for a monoculturally “western” British education system.) system and inculcation into the current stratified social order.

The 1938 education edict by the then Labour Prime Minister Peter Fraser (written by Clarence Beeby) asserted that “. . . every person, whatever his level of academic ability, whether he be rich or poor, whether he live in town or country, has a right, as a citizen, to a free education of the kind for which he is best fitted, and to the fullest extent of his powers” (Alcorn 1999, p. 38). It cemented the enforcement with a “free, secular, and compulsory” directive. This came at great cost to Māori children growing up in the “system.” When you analyze it, the much revered and celebrated Beeby dictum was not far from the 1848 mantra of the evangelicals and their godly ordered world reflected in the third verse of the Anglican hymn endorsing the Georgian hierarchical system, *All things Bright and Beautiful*. The line “*The rich man in his castle, The poor man at his gate, God made them high and lowly, And ordered their estate,*” is a particularly poignant piece of propaganda. The British school system then came under the control of the clergy. The philosophical underpinnings of classification and categorization were imported into Aotearoa, ostensibly reinvented in the Beeby dictum through the operative words “for which he is best fitted.” For many Māori “being fitted” meant little more than “being marginalized” in education.

This chapter scrutinizes contexts, political developments, policy documents, and curriculum. It commences with an overview of Māori language in education highlighting the contexts, prevailing ideologies, and undercurrents of policy culminating in a critique of the Māori Language Acts. The context and politics of Kōhanga Reo (language nests) is followed by an analysis of government policies. New Zealand’s curriculum *Te whāriki: He whāriki mātauranga mō ngā mokopuna o Aotearoa: Early childhood curriculum* (Ministry of Education 1996) (*Te Whāriki*) is examined through the lens that prevailing colonial archaeology remains political and productive. According to Duhn (2012), curriculum reflects the socio-historical

conditions and context of the times. It is a highly contestable, cultural construct. “It represents desires, aspirations and ambitions for the child as future contributor to society from the viewpoint of powerful adults” (p. 84). It makes statements about what kind of subject New Zealand, as a nation, wants. *Te Whāriki* is nation building. What kind of child, and nation, is in the imagination of *Te Whāriki*? What kind of child, and home-land, is in the imagination of Māori? The contexts and discussion overview shifts from Māori language seen as a disposable “problem” under the nation-state regime; to language as a “right” and a “resource” in the latter half of the twentieth century. It is argued that the undercurrents of imperialist projects steeped in 200 years of paternalistic colonial mind-sets continue their efforts to silence Māori Indigeneity through policy in text and policy in practice. The juxta-positioning of decolonizing Indigenous frameworks of *rangatiratanga* (sovereignty or self-determination) and *te rangatiratanga o te reo* (the prestige and determination of Indigenous languages) illustrates the power of Indigenous languages to liberate minds through language.

Historical Developments Underpinning Language Policy in Education Settings

In the context of Māori language education, it is argued that *te reo* Māori is the terralingua of Aotearoa New Zealand. Māori interests in the language are not the same as the interests of any other minority group in New Zealand society in its own language (Waitangi Tribunal 2010). Why not? Because the Māori language is Indigenous to Aotearoa. Māori language is the language of this land and belongs to the people who live here. Māori culture is a millennium culture (Walker 2004). Its history should be spoken through the language in which the culture developed. But after over a thousand years of development in Aotearoa, the culture (and language) was swiftly disrupted with British colonization.

The *Waitangi Tribunal* (A commission which has been established to examine Māori claims for restitution for breaches of the 1840 Tiriti o Waitangi.) *Māori Language Report* of 1986 (Waitangi Tribunal 1986) provides a broad overview of Māori language in the 1900s in three 25-year periods. In the first 25-year period, Māori children went to school as monolingual Māori-speaking children and the main educational effort was to teach them English, at the expense of Māori. Māori language “had to be left at the school gates” (p. 8). Many children were punished for speaking the Māori language. In the second 25-year period, largely because of their school experiences, those children brought up their own children to speak English from infancy. They did not want the next generation to suffer the disadvantages (and punishments) they themselves had to endure. While many were, to a greater or lesser extent, bilingual, their first language was English. In the third quarter of the century, the process of language shift accelerated, with the move to English monolingualism in Māori children. So effective was the process that by the early 1960s when Māori people were actively engaged in early childhood education programs, they too stressed the need for their young children to be instructed solely

in English. I started school in 1962. My generation was 99% English speaking Māori children, with a few Māori/English bilinguals (MEBs) and even fewer Māori language monolingual speaking children. Many witnesses in the 1986 Waitangi Tribunal hearing gave evidence of the injustices of the monocultural system, resulting in negative racist attitudes, towards both Māori children and Māori language, and the lack of provision across the whole of the education system.

The Power of Veto of Māori Language in Education Continues

Approximately 30 years later, I was made aware of experiences with a school Principal and senior language staff strikingly similar to that in the 1980s. Enquiries were made into appropriate Māori language provision at enrolment into a secondary school for a young person who had been in Māori immersion up until that time. To cut a long story short, there was none. Leave was then sought to enroll her into a university-level Māori language class, requiring her to attend university lectures twice a week. That request was denied. After ongoing discussions and email correspondence, all attempts to address the matter were thwarted, with often-lame excuses like “we have parents wanting leave to enroll their children in cycling club – what’s the difference?” and so on. The value of te reo Māori and what it meant educationally, psychologically, and spiritually, for that student (and her whānau) in terms of the relationship of language to culture and identity, were not even remotely considered. The issue was taken to the National Office of the Ministry of Education (MOE) in Wellington. The Ministry of Education replied, highlighting the need to consider the learning needs of the student with reference to the Treaty principles and the strong expectation that *all schools* should be working towards offering students te reo Māori and tikanga Māori as part of the curriculum. So it seems school policy was out of touch with government policy (and law) in the way they planned and prioritized curriculum matters. Like so many schools around the country, particularly secondary schools, this school was in conflict with the Treaty. The Beeby in/out-clause had kicked in. The expectation was that Māori children were to fit into a very narrow prescription of a predetermined education pathway that they are “best fitted” for – and that did not include a Māori language pathway.

The pace of change is indeed slow. In the case of the evidence to the Waitangi Tribunal in 1986 and the example given 30 years later, it is crystal clear this kind of veto and erasure remains. Colonial attitudes and subtractive language practices are entrenched in education. The Tribunal noted

... something has gone wrong. . . We suspect that somewhere at some influential level in the Department, there remains an attitude—it may be in planning or in education boards, or at the level of principals or head teachers, we cannot say—a vestige of the attitude expressed by a former Director of Education who wrote in the middle of the first half of this [20th] century: “. . . The natural abandonment of the native tongue involves no loss on the Māori . . .” [See *Māori and Education*, ed, P M Jackson 1931 at p 193]. We have no reason to think that such an opinion is held in the topmost levels of the administration in the Education

Department today, but whether it does exist at other strategic points in the system is a matter of concern. (p. 37)

The Tribunal rejected the backward view in terms of the impact of language loss. The 1986 Waitangi Tribunal not only agreed that state policies had jeopardized the Māori language, but went beyond that to allocate responsibility for widespread Māori educational “failure” as residing within the education “system,” concluding that the system was operating in breach of the Treaty of Waitangi. That fact-finding was historical. For example, since 1955 the Department had been aware that an understanding of Māori language and culture was necessary for both the full personal development of Māori children and to assist Pākehā children “. . .to fully appreciate the history, achievements and character of Māori society” (cited at p. 35). By 1955, there was a strong and growing demand for the Māori language to be taught more extensively in the schools. The Tribunal noted the resolution of the 1955 Committee on Māori Education that supported the teaching of the Māori language and its recommendation that everything possible be done to implement it. Sir Apirana Ngata had been lobbying for that to happen a decade prior to that (Ramsden 1948). Since the Tribunal hearing there have been some legal and political developments, but how far have we come?

Legal and Political Developments: The Old Māori Language Act 1987

In the wake of the Waitangi Tribunal (1986) deliberation on the question of whether te reo Māori is a language of the state, it concluded that the Māori language could be regarded as a “taonga” (treasured possession) and in July the following year the Māori Language Act (1987) was passed into legislation. The Act declared te reo Māori to be a “taonga” (in terms of the Treaty of Waitangi, to be protected and promoted) and an official language of New Zealand.

Te reo Māori is one of New Zealand’s two official languages. Its official status, however, has yet to be recognized and reflected “in practice” in educational settings in spite of its legal and political recognition. In the face of all the evidence, the government Māori education strategy documents *Ka Hikitia* and related policies acknowledge that the “system” should “step up” to meet the needs of the people. But a strange irony, in those policies Māori are positioned as a “priority” group (Ministry of Education 2008, 2012). Although this suggests that change is imminent, nothing changes. It simply reinforces a longstanding myth that Māori, as a “priority” group, are accorded special “privileges,” re-centering the focus of resource allocation for “all children.” In this Pākehā dominance (power and privilege) is maintained, and Māori continue to struggle for linguistic, social, cultural, and spiritual survival. The positioning of Māori in a special place in whitestream education creates a pedagogy of duplicity as Māori children remain objectified as a “problem” to be fixed, yet somehow, inexplicably, “privileged.” This discourse of “privilege” being afforded to Māori often leads to practices of contempt which sustain the colonial underpinnings of racism and linguicism.

The New Māori Language Act 2016

In the lead up to the passage of the new Māori Language Act, the Bill referred to *Te Reo Mauriora* as focusing on one aspect or context for development, iwi (or tribes) with, remarkably, less focus on education. The *Te Reo Mauriora* (Te Puni Kōkiri (Ministry of Māori Development) 2011) review used a UNESCO 2009 framework for determining the state of a language in terms of its vitality, and drawing on relevant statistics the panel considered te reo Māori to fit somewhere between “definitely endangered” (Definitely endangered: children no longer learn the language as a mother tongue in the home.) and “severely endangered (The language is spoken by older generations; while the parent generation may understand it, they do not speak it to the children or among themselves.)” according to intergenerational transmission measures (p. 17). It considered socio-historical linguistic sustainability requires the merging of the current educational focus with a focus on growing the language in homes. Even though a central theme was improving the quality of language used by teachers, the notion of te reo Māori being a core part of the national curriculum was felt to be premature.

On 14 April 2016, *Te Ture mō Te Reo Māori 2016: Māori Language Act (2016)* was passed into legislation with the date of assent being 29 April 2016, subsequently repealing the old Act. Its stated purpose is

- (a) To affirm the status of the Māori language as
 - (i) The Indigenous language of New Zealand
 - (ii) A taonga of iwi and Māori
 - (iii) A language valued by the nation
 - (iv) An official language of New Zealand
- (b) To provide means to support and revitalize the Māori language (p. 29).

The Act provides for the establishment of an entity named *Te Mātāwai* which, together with the Crown, is to develop Māori language strategies to support the promotion and revitalization of te reo Māori. But it raises questions. What does clause (ii) that the Māori language is “a taonga of iwi and Māori” mean given the juxtaposition of the words “iwi and Māori,” when iwi are Māori? Or is the “iwi” referred here referring to all “iwi” – iwi Pākehā and Māori? All of the speeches made in Parliament on April 14, 2016, when the Bill was passed into law referred to the notion that te reo Māori was for all New Zealanders. If that is indeed the case, what does it mean for the nation to “value” a language? Does it have to be spoken to be valued? Can one value a language when it is not spoken? It can easily be said “I value Latin” but is that enough to bring a dead language back to life? If it is a national language, an official language, valued by all, and for all New Zealanders, does that mean all New Zealanders should have access to it to enable them to speak it? How than can that be achieved? What does it mean for education and the language/s of curricula?

Kōhanga Reo

In the wake of the reo Māori lobbying of the 1970s, the Māori language march and a nation-wide kaumātua (elder) hui of the 1980s, and the restructuring of New Zealand in the neoliberal advance of the 1980s and 1990s, Te Kōhanga Reo (TKR) was born. The intention at the beginning of the TKR movement was to stay the decline of te reo Māori and to address issues of sociocultural and identity disruption due to colonization (Skerrett-White 2003). By bridging the sociolinguistic gap between generations, some of the sociocultural disruption associated with language loss would be alleviated, also contributing to a socioculturally rejuvenated iwi Māori (Māori tribal peoples). The first kōhanga reo opened in 1982. Within 3 years the number had risen dramatically, driven by Māori communities with a sense of urgency in acting to protect and promote te reo me ngā tikanga Māori (the Māori language and culture).

Between 1982 and 1993, the number of kōhanga reo rose by around 80 per year and their enrolments by more than 1,400 a year, to reach 809 and 14,514, respectively, in 1993 when kōhanga reo provided for just under a *half* of all mokopuna in early childhood care and education (ECCE) (ECCE and ECE are used interchangeably to represent the same early childhood sector.) (Waitangi Tribunal 2012). However, that year was the zenith for Kōhanga Reo. The movement started to decline largely due to what has been referred to as “glacial” (Walker 2004) and leaden-footed (Waitangi Tribunal 2012) policy responses to Māori language protection and promotion. It did not help that public policy was introduced which deliberately undermined the philosophy, goals, and practices of Te Kōhanga Reo. The subsidy cuts (Parents had to be in either full time work, or training, to access a subsidy for their child to attend Te Kōhanga Reo.) in 1994 made it difficult for parents to remain involved in Kōhanga Reo to help to bridge the intergenerational language gap. Many of us working in Kōhanga Reo at that time marched down the main street of Hamilton in protest because of the impact of the government drive towards marketization in education and the cutbacks.

The subsidy cuts were seen by government as a way of maximizing workforce potential through upskilling parents into training or seeing Kōhanga as a childcare facility to free up young mothers particularly for the labor market. Kōhanga Reo was not seen as a platform for upholding and growing Indigenous knowledge. From that point on development was impeded, Kōhanga Reo is now only providing for under a *quarter* of all Māori mokopuna in early childhood care and education.

Structural Reform and Government Policies: The Meade Report

In 1988, early childhood education (ECE) came fully under the Education Department (now the Ministry of Education). The Working Group Report (known as the Meade Report) (Meade 1988) promised much in terms of equity across the ECE sector (quality provision, more parental choice, adequate funding) but which did not translate into appropriate policy (see *Before Five*, 1988).

The Meade Report noted the place of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori as concerns of Māoridom and as central tenets of quality ECE provision and the terms of reference included Treaty recognition. Skerrett-White (2001), however, argued that an unintended outcome of the Report was that it locked TKR settings into a pattern of decline and stated “The writing was on the wall that TKR would not only be shifted to ‘education’ [portfolio], but that it would be subjected to the same educational reforms of marketization and regulation as other educational providers. . .” (p. 14). In other words, TKR came under the regulatory framework meant for the whitestream sector.

Before Five Policy Statement

The policy statement *Before Five*, issued in December 1988 by government, reneged on earlier promises of equity in the Meade Report. It opted for an independent reviewing regime, from an essentially “developmental” epistemological frame, as well as assuring a compliance regime in a regulatory structure (Waitangi Tribunal 2012) from an English oriented ontological frame. The developmental frame was based on the arbiters of “correct” or “normal” development and colonizing theories of child development. The ontological frame forced the TKR movement into compliance where Pākehā norms and behaviors became the benchmark.

Since the early heady days of Kōhanga Reo expansion, the challenges for bilingual provision have intensified, especially because of the lack of well-educated, proficient speakers and teachers of Māori. The glaringly obvious policy gaps led to predictable outcomes. Of the shift of TKR from Māori Affairs to the Ministry of Education in 1989, it was argued “While many working in the early childhood sector hailed the *Before Five* reforms, many working in TKR felt a sense of foreboding” (cited in Skerrett-White 2001, p. 16). Early on in the establishment of TKR, Te Rangihau, a much-esteemed Māori elder, warned;

We have come a long way in a very short time with Te Koohanga (Some tribal dialects prefer the written double vowel to a macron, as in Koohanga and Kōhanga.) Reo and already I am seeing the signs of professionals in many fields homing in to take advantage of those aspects that can be documented for personal gain or for political purpose. If this trend was to continue and we were to take this to its extreme conclusion, my fear is that we would no longer have a people’s movement, let alone a Maaori people’s movement. (TKR Trust Incorporated 1984, cited in Skerrett-White 2001)

Wider iwi-Māori (tribal groupings) were gravely concerned. Political developments in the intervening years have proven those concerns predictably valid.

Glacial Policy Responses to the waiMāori Stream

The Waitangi Tribunal Reports (2010, 2012) found that te reo Māori is in renewed decline, occurring at both the young and old ends of the spectrum. The Tribunal asserts that Kōhanga Reo were established not because of the Department, but *in*

Table 1 Māori enrolments in ECE. Adapted from Education Counts (2016) Statistics

Year	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014~	2015~
No. of Māori enrolments in centers using te reo Māori for 81–100% of the time	9,152	9,375	9,154	9,001	8,454	8,384
Total number of Māori enrolments in ECE	35,885	37,808	38,644	40,909	45,648	45,128

spite of it and that “. . . the extraordinary success of TKR is clear evidence that the Māori community sees that Māori language and culture are a necessary element for the self-esteem, dignity and mana of Māori people” (p. xi). The outcome is bilingual, bicultural children and a strengthened whānau. It is argued that the reo “movement” has been “. . . weakened more by the governmental failure to give it adequate oxygen and support than by any Māori rejection of their language” (Waitangi Tribunal 2012, p. xi). Further, that if trends continued over the next 15–20 years, the Māori language speaking proportion of the population would decline further. That trend has continued (see Table 1).

The decline is occurring in the context of a growing Māori population. Since 2000 the pattern of decline in the percentage of Māori ECE enrolments at Kōhanga Reo has been an average of 1% per annum from 36.6% in 2000 to the latest statistic collected by the Annual Census of ECE Services of 18.6% in 2015.

The *Wai262* Report argues that the bureaucracy’s efforts to put in place measures to deal with and encourage the Māori language renaissance have been “[d]ecidedly leaden-footed” (p. 58) and that the explosion in the numbers attending kōhanga reo in the early 1980s should have instantly signaled supply and demand issues. Failure to meet the demands of quality immersion/bilingual education has accounted for the eventual decline in student numbers and not the failure of the language movement.

Te Whāriki: An Ideological Conundrum

Te Whāriki, He Whāriki Mātauranga mo ngā Mokopuna o Aotearoa (Ministry of Education 1996) (*Te Whāriki*) the early childhood curriculum for Aotearoa/NZ was developed from 1991 to 1996. Following extensive consultation with diverse groups *Te Whāriki: Draft guidelines for developmentally appropriate programmes in early childhood services* was published in 1993. Several pilot projects were established, but it was not until the end of 1995 that the Ministry of Education finally funded a round of English medium teacher development contracts offering widespread support specifically for its implementation (Nuttall 2005). Even though TKR came under the umbrella of the MOE no such support was accessible to those of us working there. While the whitestream focused on achieving regulatory compliance, and learning about assessment practices (in the context of neoliberal reform) for many of us working in the waiMāori (Wai Māori is a Māori term used for freshwater. I use this

term because for many Māori in the whitestream the pathways are muddied with poor language policy and differing educational outcomes. In the waiMāori stream the additive bilingual outcomes are ideologically clarified for Māori English bilingualism to be the result.) stream committed to Māori language revernacularization, it was more a matter of “who has got a garage and is it warm” – so inequitable was the access to resource. Whereas curriculum matters were being discussed in residential professional development in-service courses funded by government for the whitestream (Nuttall 2005), the paradigmatic shift that took place in the waiMāori stream came about by the groundswell of whānau Māori belief in the idea of, and excitement in hearing, very young children speaking Māori. That phenomenon was foreign to the baby boomer generations. But the groundswell soon flattened.

Te Whāriki was eventually published in 1996 (Ministry of Education 1996). (It has recently been updated – *Te Whāriki, He Whāriki Mātauranga mo ngā Mokopuna o Aotearoa* (Ministry of Education 2017).) The regulatory framework for early childhood services was reviewed in the mid-2000s and new regulations were gazetted or officially notified by the Government in 2008. All early childhood services including the Māori medium sector are required to meet the *Curriculum Standard: general* as part of those regulations. The regulatory framework was consolidated and, unwittingly, the TKR movement was swept away on the wave of regulatory reform.

Under the heading, “*The Educationalisation of Early Childhood*” (Early childhood education was and still is outside the compulsory sector.) Duhn (2012) asserts the education sector reforms coincided with major social reforms in Aotearoa, making it a “text-book case” for the neoliberal project. The moves constituted the political will towards the educationalization (and standardization) of early childhood. *Te Whāriki* explicitly emphasizes that learning is a life-long process that “begins at the very start of life” (Ministry of Education 1996, p. 7). The catch phrase of the day was “from the cradle to the grave.” The curriculum provides links to the primary sector curriculum, *The New Zealand Curriculum Framework*. Although ECE is positioned outside the compulsory sector, the baby and young child is now part of a *grid* that produces the norms, locked in. This movement pushes the preschool aged child who remains at home into the increasingly “not normal”/at risk margin, the space already occupied by Māori. Before long Māori (and Pasifika) children (and families) became the targets for increased participation into whitestream provision, not the fast dwindling waiMāori stream.

Duhn (2012) argues that *Te Whāriki* functions as a technology of neoliberal government. It is publicized as being the first bicultural curriculum statement developed in New Zealand and puts up a strong case for all children in New Zealand to being bicultural, stating:

This is a curriculum for early childhood care and education in New Zealand. In early childhood education settings, all children should be given the opportunity to develop knowledge and an understanding of the cultural heritages of both partners to Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The curriculum reflects this partnership in text and structure. (p. 9)

However, ERO (2013) found that the practices are far from “bicultural.” Many services only referred to the Treaty and Treaty partnerships in their philosophy statements, not in practice. Too few ECCE centers were actually working in partnership with whānau Māori and through a bicultural curriculum which was responsive to Māori community. The report suggested that *Te Whāriki* was not well understood or implemented. ERO proposed that there was insufficient guidance, highlighting the common practice being very few services (only 10%) working in-depth with *Te Whāriki*, with most centers evaluated (80%) only making *some* use of it by having it documented (in their philosophy statement and planning). ERO noted that *practice* was often far removed from *intent* and highlighted some concerns relating to the *broad* nature of *Te Whāriki* framework. It stated that the framework “does not provide the sector with clear standards of practice for high quality curriculum implementation” (p. 2). It is argued here that the relationship between *biculturalism* and *bilingualism* is not ideologically (and therefore pedagogically) clarified as part of the determinants of “quality” and that one cannot be bicultural, if one is monolingual.

Duhn (2012) discusses the conundrum of *Te Whāriki* when she argues that New Zealand culture remains *assumed* rather than explicit and that “. . .the lack of definition of the ‘centre’ re-produces power relations by re-producing the Same/Other binary. By defining New Zealand culture different, to say British culture, solely on the basis of the presence of Māori people and to a lesser extent Pasifika people, New Zealand culture becomes part of the powerful centre that is western culture” (pp. 89–90). Further, the assumption of “sameness” is constructed against the backdrop of all *that is not the same*, and where important symbols and concepts like mātauranga (Māori knowledge) and whanaungatanga (Māori preferred practices of family-ness) are positioned in a colonial linguistic master/servant relationship, open to definition and interpretation according to the unspecified “center.” Such appropriation simply provides a veneer of inclusivity.

Similarly, it is argued that along with the culture (essentially western British) being assumed, there is an assumption that the language of that culture, the “center,” is English and therefore that all children must “speak English.” The way *Te Whāriki* frames this is evident in the following learning outcomes.

Children develop:

- An increasing knowledge and skill, in both syntax and meaning, in *at least one* language
- An *appreciation of te reo* as a living and relevant language
- Confidence that their first language is valued (MOE 1996, p. 76, emphasis added)

English is the dominant language in Aotearoa, and the one compulsory language of the curriculum in all schools (the compulsory sector). Coupled with the idea that *Te Whāriki* in part is about the schoolification of the early childhood sector, the first outcome then is to develop the “national *Whāriki* child” knowledgeable (semantically and syntactically) in and of *English*, but with an *appreciation* of the “*other*” reo – Māori language. While there is a lack of specificity as to the language of

the “center,” that it is *English* becomes obvious when it sits alongside the specificity of the “appreciation” outcome linked to te reo Māori. It simply re-produces the “Same/Other binary” that Duhn discusses and is clearly a case of linguafaction, the systematic language, and cultural destruction associated with the colonization of Aotearoa, facilitating the fragmentation of land/s, dismantling Māori social structures of whānau, hapū, and iwi, and disrupting sociolinguistic practices through assimilation (see Skerrett 2014, 2016). Having an “appreciation” clause does little to promote bilingualism with very young children in any event. That is at the heart of the “dilemma of *Te Whāriki*.” While these are reframed as evidence of learning and development in the current update, they are essentially the same:

- Confidence that their first language is valued and increasing ability in the use of at least one language
- An appreciation of te reo Māori as a living and relevant language (MOE 2017, p. 42)

To complicate the issue, Duhn argues that this is happening at a time when New Zealand is deeply entangled in discourses and movements of globalization with the growing flow of people across national borders as Aotearoa becomes increasingly more cosmopolitan. She says that *Te Whāriki* shies away from addressing the complexities of multiculturalism quoting Lady Tilly Reedy’s keynote speech where she asked, “Why pretend to be multicultural, if bicultural doesn’t work?” (cited in Duhn 2012, p. 90).

It is important to understand that bicultural education *is* multicultural education because it deals with more than one culture. Nancy Hornberger (2009) provides further ideological clarification to the issue when she talks about intercultural and multilingual education. On the issue of multilingualism, at its best it is:

1. Multilingual in that it uses and values *more than one* language in teaching and learning
2. Intercultural in that it recognizes and values understanding and dialogue across diverse lived experiences and cultural worldviews
3. Education that draws out the knowledge/s students bring to the educational setting. (p. 198)

In line with Nancy Hornberger, the Māori language stream of education is multilingual/multicultural as its aims are, at the least, to use *more than one* language in teaching and learning. English-medium settings have historically employed subtractive approaches to Māori language learning and teaching with assimilatory into “New Zealand” (Pākehā/British) culture. Further, *Te Whāriki* shies away from addressing the complexities of biculturalism because of lack of analysis around what it means to be bicultural, and the relationship of language/s to biculturalism. The curriculum framework translates, in practice, into a common implicit (western) curriculum through a common implicit (western) language by design. Therein lies the dilemma of *Te Whāriki*; how do you implement *bicultural* curriculum *mono-lingually*?

That is not the intention of *Te Whāriki*. Lady Tilly Reedy, one of the architects of *Te Whāriki*, said that she felt the burden of responsibility of “. . .thinking in Māori and laying down a philosophical framework in Māori that would survive the challenge of an education system which had had 200 years of implementing a system that was different to Māori and ignorant of Māori” (Reedy 2013, p. 2). She added “Unfortunately in the final analysis when the opportunity came to implement in the multi society we often boast about, the Ministry of Education and governments of the day could not throw off its colonial cloak entirely” (p. 2). Why? It is argued here that the real gem of *Te Whāriki* lies in the untapped knowledge, untouched potential that is in Part B which is written in te reo Māori. Whilst page 10 of *Te Whāriki* states “The English and Māori texts parallel and complement each other” (MOE 1996), they do not. Part B is unique, stemming from a Māori world view. Duhn (2012) argues that the parallel/complementing analysis has more of a closer association with the colonial loom than traditional weaving of a whāriki. She goes on to describe the loom and its association with European industrialization and one of the symbols of capitalism at its most inhumane, stating

Weaving was one of the first industries of the emerging capitalist order. The weaver was literally tied to his or her loom. Survival depended on his/her ability to skilfully guide raw material between the grids of the industrial loom. The transformation from yarn to linen occurred to pre-set patterns. Weavers were required to aim for flawless, uniform weaving. Weavers were exploited to the extreme. (p. 97)

Duhn then goes on to discuss traditional weaving from process and structural perspectives.

Throughout the process of weaving, the product retains some of the pliable qualities of the raw material. The weaver is not tied to a particular location – she can weave anywhere. Furthermore, the absence of a structural device, other than the weaver’s imagination of what she wants to weave, allows for all kinds of shapes to emerge.

What is important in the traditional process is the very first line of the weave, called *Te Aho Matua*, literally the foremost thread. That first interlay sets the firm foundations of the weave, with and through the mediation of the spiritual domain, Indigenous knowledge, skills, values, and desires; all laid out in the casting of *Te Aho Matua*. The foundation then guides the creative endeavor. It provides the blueprint but very differently to the loom that restricts and constrains. Once *Te Aho Matua* is laid down, there can be lines of flight at any moment, with the utilization of any resource; it is all dependent on where the weaver wants to go. However, there is always a connection back to *Te Aho Matua*. That is the creativity embodied in the traditional style of weaving. Care, deliberation, and skill within the scaffold of the cultural context with its own values and knowledge ensure the success of the endeavor. That is why the metaphor of *Te Aho Matua* lays the philosophical foundations of kaupapa Māori education. According to Tuki Nepe:

Te Aho Matua is a philosophical doctrine that incorporates the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values of Maori society that have emanated from a purely Kaupapa Maori metaphysical base. (1991, p. 41)

The parallel gridlock in the weft/warp construct locks te reo Māori into a separate frame. The structure creates blind spots, where children who are caught in the blind spots remain invisibilized. It is a fine example of the linguafaction that happens with many Indigenous languages which are objectified and where there is no space to crossover in an interface.

The messages of *Te Whāriki* are indeed mixed and confused. So too are many of the people working out in the field charged with its implementation. Duhn (2012) goes on to discuss the *Whāriki* framework in terms of the *Whāriki* child woven into the warp and the weft of the frame. She discusses how the centers working within this frame can do one of two things: use the curriculum to challenge existing power relations (within communities and the wider society) or carry on business as usual (maintaining the status quo and existing power relations). It is argued here the latter is the default mechanism where the business as usual has its roots firmly entrenched in the colonial architecture of New Zealand. Within the weft/warp frame, there are then distinct visions of the *Whāriki* children emerging who are monoglots. According to the policy document, *Tau Mai te Reo* Māori language in education provision (MOE 2013) consists of two streams. The streams are Māori medium education and Māori language in English medium education. The streams are distinct and likely to deliver varying language outcomes for learners; many learners transition in and out of these pathways throughout their education journey (p. 19). *Te Whāriki*, building on the relationship of biculturalism to bilingualism, needs to decide what stream it is swimming in. There are implications for teachers and community.

Māori Language as Resistance

This chapter has been both a documentation of injustice and a resistance to the subjugation of Māori knowledge and language in the creation of space for the Māori voices to be “heard,” to be “listened to,” to “be known,” to “be lived.” It challenges racism, linguicism, colonialism, and all the other isms and schisms. It explores relevant policy documents influencing Māori education in general (early years’ bilingual/immersion education specifically) commencing with the colonial backdrop of Treaty signing and the treachery involved in turning it into an instrument of invasion, land confiscation, and duplicity through the colonial courts. It overviewed the impact colonization and Treaty jurisprudence on Māori education and the Kōhanga Reo movement. A succession of settler government legislative acts largely determining land tenure and establishing all of the socio-political structures (councils, hospitals, prisons, churches, asylums, and schools) meant the imposition of a foreign system as far as Māori were concerned. Political developments and public policies ushered in systematically undermined the Treaty as enforced assimilation was on the educational agenda for Māori. Māori rights went unprotected. Māori socio-cultural disruption is the result. Māori language shift occurred at the same rate as land confiscations and relocations. Māori resistance has been constant. Māori are resurgence inevitable.

The 1985/1986 legal decision concerning the recognition and role of the Māori language as a taonga meant a guaranteed right to protection under the Act. But in spite of subsequent legal and political developments, our language and culture is still threatened. The power of veto and harmful practices that have been going on in schools for a very long time are explored through the Waitangi Tribunal hearings of 1986 and my own recent experiences as a Māori parent. They highlight the significance of the number one issue in education for Maori learners and that of keeping them safe from harm, psychologically, pedagogically, culturally, and linguistically. According to the Office of the Children's Commissioner (2016):

For mokopuna Māori, culture is a key element of identity that can influence their sense of belonging either positively or negatively. When children's cultural needs are met, their sense of belonging is enhanced. When they are disconnected from their culture, the opposite is true. Therefore, Māori cultural competence is crucial in a child-centred system. . . This sense of identity and belonging is fundamental to children and young people's psychological wellbeing. (p. 21)

That there are strategic points in the education system where there remain attitudes of it being acceptable to harm Māori children and their whānau through the myriad of microaggressions is clear. The new Māori Language Act 2016 afforded the opportunity to tackle the obvious problem of a monolingual, mono-cultural racist, linguistic education system. Instead, it steered away from the issue of providing for Māori language in the system, the whole system. The discussion of the slow Crown response to initiatives forwarded in the Kōhanga Reo movement demonstrated how it has stymied advancements, making many of the difficulties associated with Kōhanga Reo and the stream of Māori language education politically constructed problems. Kōhanga Reo is constantly resisting the hegemonic politics of neoliberal capture and control as educational policies, and the law remains out of kilter with the needs of the Māori language movement. While it may be a truism that no language can reside exclusively within an education system or school, it is widely acknowledged that the state education system played a major role bringing the Māori language to near language death through the shift from Māori to English. It should therefore play a pivotal role in helping to reverse that language shift, but it does not. It does the reverse. It programs Māori children to disengage with their heritage language.

Kōhanga Reo was established to stay the impact of language loss and socio-cultural dislocation experienced in Māori communities. It has been the leading light in bilingual education in Aotearoa/New Zealand and internationally. It is a whole-of-whānau approach to language regeneration, through the intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori while also returning to the mana (authority, esteem, integrity) of the whānau (the smallest unit of Māori tribal structures) the care and education of the very young. However, it has been shown how the movement has been swept away in the tsunami of strategic policy developed for an English-language sector, leaving a weakened "parent-led" or "whānau (family) -led" (TKR) movement and a reinforced teacher-led (monolingual English) sector creating a "parent-led, teacher-led" divide. The divide created the moribund context for TKR

(with a “nonquality” categorization under the *Pathways to the Future* policy) (MOE 2002) and a burgeoning mainstream ECCE context (categorized as “quality” under the *Pathways* policy). While the intention may have been the professionalization of the teaching profession in the early childhood sector, the nascent Kōhanga Reo movement was particularly vulnerable as there were no “officially sanctioned” teacher education programs. Funding went the way of the professional “teachers.” The Māori “parent-led” stream suffered losses in enrolments and a decline in funding. The follow-on inequities, entrenched at the structural level, became evident with accelerated growth in English-medium; and a forced shift for many Māori parents and their children into the English sector as options became limited. This also contributed to the rapidly declining numbers and resources in the Māori-medium sector. The linguisticist colonial apparatus of the state, powerfully authoritative and menacing, constantly eroded the Māori language goals of the Māori-medium sector. The gross inequities are evident today.

The dominant ideology in educational policy and practice positions Māori children as deficit, passive objects within a system of one-size-fits-all; the “one-size” being fashioned around dominant Pākehā settler children and their language. This gives the dominant group the power base. The dominant language, knowledge, and values foisted upon Māori via a narrow (foreign) curriculum by racist teachers are harmful to Māori children. Skutnabb-Kangas’ (2015) construct of *linguicism* already referred to above is helpful. She argues that while the state (via whitestream teachers) may not “intend to harm children” (p. 5) teachers are harmful because the educational structures within which they operate are harmful. Māori language and knowledge noticeably absent in the dominant whitestream schools. Unfortunately, that is where the majority of Māori children are positioned, largely through lack of provision.

It is argued in this chapter that the relationship between biculturalism and bilingualism is not ideologically (and therefore pedagogically) clarified as part of the determinants of “quality,” in the early childhood sector. There is also the corollary argument that one cannot be bicultural, if one is monolingual. These relationality ideas extend the policy discussion on the cuts to Kōhanga Reo, seen through the “productivity” lens rather than a “platform for upholding and growing Indigenous knowledge.” That is, they are more than just a vestige of colonialist imposition but an example of the ongoing binary positioning of Indigenous languages (and knowledges) as expendable, to be relegated to the periphery, while centering and expanding the colonial language at the center. This is a good example of the insidiousness of colonizer power colonizing. Moreover, the policy frameworks, in highlighting “inclusivity” through “biculturalism,” are working to target Māori children for increased participation into whitestream provision, not the fast-dwindling waiMāori stream. Double language is double power, which possibly gives a clue to an unspoken, though characteristic, fear of “other” (and another colonial strategy). This troubles the theme of *Te Whāriki* as a bi/multicultural framework by continuing Māori as deficit (to be fixed, fit for purpose) and then by promoting a duplicitous facade. On the face (and language) of the framework, it is Indigenous weavers who are doing the weaving, or at least are involved in the project. However, the weaving process and the weavers sit within a binary of often-conflicting

relationships driven by contradictory British and Māori values, languages, philosophies, and epistemologies. This elucidates why “participation” has continued to be both “assimilatory” and “illusionary” for Māori. Equally, it remains “colonizing” and “perplexing” for Pākehā. Therein lies the conundrum that is clearly a fault in the cognitively dissonant design, resulting in a deception. It is worthwhile reiterating that the status quo of education, steeped in 200 years of paternalistic colonial mindsets, remains at the center of policy and practice in New Zealand.

Te Rangatiranga o te Reo (Language as Liberating)

Rangatiranga (often translated as sovereignty or self-determination) is about the ability to control the way the world enters into our minds, bodies, and daily lives and the ability to think critically and respond collectively in order to mediate external influences and the rate of change, which affects our lives and resources. Smith (2012) argues that what is slightly different between notions of struggle “in the margins” is that when attached to a political idea such as *rangatiranga* not just the margins but all space in New Zealand can be regarded as Māori space. Importantly, this takes the struggle out of specifically “Māori contexts” which can be narrowly defined, even somewhat gridlocked as in the case of *Te Whāriki* and “. . .into the spaces once regarded as the domain of the ‘settler’ or Pākehā community, such as large institutions like universities where Māori really are a small minority” (p. 202). Further, that rather than just seeing ourselves as merely “existing” in the margins we see ourselves, as our ancestors did, all over this land. Our ancestral houses are mapped on to the land, from Cape to Bluff, to Wharekauri and beyond. As Smith puts it “Aotearoa, New Zealand is ‘our place’, all of it, and that there is little difference, except in the mind, between, for example a Te Kōhanga Reo where Māori are the majority but the state is there, and a university, where Māori are the minority and the state is there” (p. 202). Further, a *rangatiranga* frame addresses injustice. It contests the positioning of Māori children as subservient objects for subjugation. It challenges the notion of whitestream teachers as “authority and authoritative,” rejecting the construct of linguistic hierarchies, exposing linguafaction and challenging linguisticism. All languages are powerful. All children have the right to move beyond the master/servant relationships of colonization.

Te rangatiranga o te reo (translated here as the sovereignty of language) then is not just about resistance to injustice and the inversion of colonial rule, but the assertion of Māori sovereignty through Māori language in “our place,” all of it and everywhere. It is a reassertion of the legitimation and authority of te reo Māori and the rights of children to live te reo Māori, to live its history, its future, its identity, its world-views, its values, its symbolism, and its spirit. It is a drive to invert the prevailing colonial ideologies of hierarchizing languages. No, the world is not English, or Spanish or French or whatever the colonial language happens to be. Indigenous languages enable the liberation from the gridlock of colonial curriculum and the blind spots of erasure they create. The liberatory power of the Māori language to free the Māori mind from the language and thinking of the colonizer is

what is inherent in *te rangatiratanga o te reo, kia Māori*. Māori language is central to the freedom thinking needed to dismantle colonial architecture, disrupt colonial rule, and disturb colonial expansion. Freedom thinking is needed to break the illogic of coloniality in order to reoccupy spaces beyond the margins, beyond the hinterlands.

Conclusions

Everyone who says that they're a New Zealander the language is for all of us. Both the Māori language and the Pākehā language. (The late Te Oraitī Calcott; Waka Huia 2016)

Our treasured Māori language is our life force; it nourishes our souls and feeds our minds. If we think of language as a taonga and a valued resource, then the growth of Māori/English bilingual children in Aotearoa will greatly enhance the nation's mana and wealth in a system in which both the official spoken and written languages are equally sanctioned, equally valued, equally loved, and equally honored, as was envisioned in the Treaty of Waitangi. If we do not, then we pass up the most vitally significant way of unravelling and understanding the dominant discourses of myth making. We have no other way of inversion – or turning things around. Our language is our last defense. It houses our stories, our world-views, and our knowledge/s; it is our cultural archive and our national treasure and sustains our tūrangawaewae – our place to stand. It is that simple. Māori language shapes the Māori mind, leaving no space for the illogic of colonialism to infiltrate. You cannot speak with a Māori mind if you do not have it. It is time to throw off the colonial cloak completely.

Te reo Māori defines what it means to be a “kiwi,” the sentiment that underpins the quote drawn on at the outset of this chapter by Aperahama Taonui. In 1840 at the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, he put out a resounding warning not to lay a shroud on the Treaty of Waitangi but to cloak the Treaty with our unique, kiwi-feathered, cloak. The warning was prophetic and solemn in its sense of foreboding. Aotearoa has been shrouded for a time, but the *rangatiratanga* framework provides us with clear pathways; *te rangatiratanga o te reo* provides us with the epistemological tools to pursue those pathways to liberation and self-determination.

Glossary

Aotearoa Land of the Long White Cloud/New Zealand

Hapū Smaller tribal groups/Sub-tribe/pregnant

Hui Meeting, gathering

Iwi Tribe, people, bones

Kaupapa Māori education A distinctly Māori, philosophically and linguistically enriched, education system

Kōhanga reo Māori language nest (Early Years Educational Setting)

Marae Formal Māori gathering place

Mātauranga Māori Māori knowledge systems

Pākehā Non-Māori New Zealanders
Papatūānuku Mother earth
Rangatiratanga Sovereignty/Self-determination
Tamariki Children
Taonga Treasure, anything prized
Te The
Te Aho Matua The central thread
Te ao Māori Māori worldviews
Te ao Pākehā Pākehā worldviews
Te Puni Kōkiri Ministry of Māori Development
Te reo The language
Te reo mauriora The flourishing language
Te Taura Whiri Māori Language Commission
Tikanga Custom
Tino Rangatiratanga Right to exercise authority, chiefly autonomy, self-determination
Tūrangawaewae A place to stand
waiMāori Fresh water/Māori stream in education
Waka Canoe
Wānanga Institution of higher learning, discuss in depth
Whakairo Carving
Whānau Family (including extended)
Whare House
Whāriki Flax woven mat

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Elaboration and Intellectualization of Te Reo Māori: The Role of Initial Teacher Education

29

Tony Trinick

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Abstract

There is a growing consensus among language planning scholars that in marginalized indigenous languages contexts, such as Māori, there is a need for deliberate efforts to accelerate the process of language intellectualization in the higher domains of education, and there are questions as to whether this is occurring systematically in Māori-medium initial teacher education (ITE). Intellectualization of a language involves the development of new linguistic resources to support teaching and learning in the medium of that language. The intellectualization of a language associated with education is considered desirable for both sociolinguistic

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and educational reasons. By expanding the domains where the language is spoken into tertiary education, it supports the prestige of the language – an important consideration in reversing indigenous language shift. An intellectualized variety of the language is required at the higher levels of Māori-medium ITE, in order to develop the professional competence of the teachers to teach in Māori-medium schools. Drawing on theories of language planning, this chapter examines the development of Māori-medium ITE, noting it has been similarly impacted on by many of the sociopolitical forces facing the Māori-medium schooling sector. This chapter examines the major pedagogical and language revitalization implications for Māori-medium education, primarily concerned with the intellectualization of the Māori language that needs to be urgently addressed.

Keywords

Language intellectualization · Initial teacher education · Indigenous languages

Introduction

In order for Māori-medium learners to achieve success and Māori-medium schooling to survive and flourish and remain an indispensable component of *te reo Māori* (Māori language) revitalization, a continued supply of teachers with the necessary competencies, skills, and disposition is required (Hohepa et al. 2014). While there is ongoing debate about what this range of skills and dispositions ought to be, this chapter argues teachers require the following skill – the ability to discuss and disseminate conceptual material at high levels of abstraction in *te reo Māori*. Although this is only one dimension of being an effective teacher, it does have significant implications for the teaching and learning of the various subjects for schooling and for *te reo Māori* revitalization itself. Drawing on language planning (LP) theories, this chapter will discuss why the ability to discuss concepts at high levels of abstraction or in language planning terms “to elaborate and intellectualize the language” is important sociolinguistically (language revival) and educationally (teaching and learning).

Language planning as it is considered today in the literature generally consists of three interrelated dimensions, namely status, corpus, and language-in-education planning (Kaplan and Baldauf 2005). Status planning generally involves decisions a society or group must make about language selection and implementation, particularly within the official domains of language use in government and education, such as the English only policy in schooling in Aotearoa/NZ for over 100 years. Status planning has played a significant part in language shift in the Māori community to English and continues to do so today – despite *te reo Māori* being an official language in the modern era.

Corpus planning, on the other hand, focuses on changes by deliberate planning to the actual corpus or shape of a language itself, and involves the development of a standard orthography, creation of terminology and registers (Ferguson 2006). Planned corpus activities have usually been undertaken by language experts, such

as Te Taura Whiri (Māori Language Commission), resulting in the production of new terms, dictionaries, writing styles, and pronunciation guides. Corpus planning is important for minority languages, such as te reo Māori, because the language was excluded from important domains such as schooling and tertiary education for over 100 years, and thus lacked the specialist terminology and register for teaching subjects such as mathematics. Corpus planning is also related to the standardization (codification) and elaboration (functional development) of a language. Ironically, in the New Zealand context, this process has not always been supported by the older Māori speaking community, as the corollary of language standardization is language change – an anathema to the older generation endeavoring among other things to preserve their dialects. However, the elaboration of a language is important and desirable in education because it focuses on the functional development of that language to enable it to operate in new domains such as Māori-medium schooling. This chapter will discuss briefly the elaboration process of te reo Māori in education in the modern era to support Māori-medium education in the period 1980–2016 and will examine whether this development has similarly occurred at the initial teacher education (ITE) level.

Related to language elaboration is the idea of language intellectualization. The intellectualization of a language involves the development of new linguistic resources for discussing and disseminating conceptual material at high levels of abstraction (Liddicoat and Bryant 2002). Language intellectualization is not confined to tertiary education, but can be found at all levels of education and takes place in a variety of other Māori language domains outside of formal schooling such as the debates that frequently occur on the marae (meeting house). It is a dynamic process and is characteristic of most languages, particularly so for indigenous languages such as te reo Māori who have thrown off the yoke of language suppression and are having to develop an expanded range of functions in domains such as education very quickly.

The third dimension of LP, language-in-education planning, substantially involves the state educational sector (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997). According to Cooper (1989), acquisition planning is “directed toward increasing the number of users, speakers, writers, listeners, or readers of a language” (p. 33). Acquisition planning concerns the teaching and learning of languages, whether national languages or minority indigenous languages such as te reo Māori, and is often situated in schooling (Bakmand 2000). Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) contended that the school has become one of the most critical sites for reversing language shift and for language revitalisation in endangered language contexts. Schools can become agents of positive language change, raising language loss or language use issues with students and the language community, thereby influencing the linguistic beliefs and practices of the language community (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000). In order for a language to function as the medium of instruction in schooling, it should also be used in some domains outside the schooling system, including in tertiary education.

This chapter will briefly examine LP in Māori-medium schooling to provide a context to examine LP efforts in Māori-medium ITE, particularly in regard to

language elaboration and intellectualization, drawing on various ITE reports that have been commissioned (i.e., Murphy et al. 2008). This chapter will also examine why the intellectualization of a language at the tertiary level associated with education is important. For example, Liddicoat and Bryant (2002) argue that it has been important to introduce an intellectualized variety of the language at the higher levels of education including teacher education, in order to develop the professional competence of the teachers who will implement an intellectualized variety at the primary and secondary levels of education. There is where teacher education can play a key role.

In many countries, the role of intellectualizing a language is frequently the responsibility of ITE institutions and/or education faculties (Gonzalez 2002). It is questionable whether this is occurring for te reo Māori (Māori language) in education at the ITE level (Murphy et al. 2008). While several ITE institutions have emerged since the 1990s in response to the demands of the Māori-medium schooling sector, in the absence of qualified and experienced Māori-medium lecturers to teach the programs, many components of the programs are taught in English (Murphy et al. 2008). In defense of this pedagogy, one of the common arguments is that the knowledge and skills learned in English by the graduates are transferable to Māori-medium schooling contexts. The second connected issue-facing Māori-medium ITEs is that most student teachers are second language learners of the Māori language (Murphy et al. 2008). Researchers such as Cummins (2000) whose theories have had a significant influence on bilingual education in countries such as New Zealand advocate drawing on the learner's first language resources to support the acquisition of the second – in the case of most students in Māori-medium ITE this is English. This raises the issue of where and when do student teachers learn the specialized language to teach such subjects as mathematics in the medium of Māori. Clearly then there is a major tension between the learning of the specialized Māori language and learning the pedagogical content knowledge of subjects. This chapter argues that there are major pedagogical and language revitalization implications in this tension for Māori-medium education – primarily to do with the development of the academic register, the intellectualization of te reo Māori, and the status of the language itself.

Language planning, including the elaboration and intellectualization of te reo Māori in education at the tertiary level, has not been a priority area of education research nationally. Moreover, there appears to be minimal international and national literature on indigenous language ITE in terms of its role in revitalizing endangered languages in education.

Methodology: Theories of Language Planning

This research is located in an area where research from two interrelated disciplines is useful. Education and sociolinguistics (in particular, LP) have much in common. The processes of learning and communication are closely interrelated and are situated in fluid and evolving sociopolitical contexts. The histories of the two disciplines have

common features. Traditionally, both utilized mostly quantitative, scientific methods, and, in particular, statistically based research techniques to investigate research questions. Over time, critical theories have emerged in reaction to the limitations of the positivist paradigm and have sought to explain both education and LP in light of the cultural, political, historical, and economic influences that shape them. Sociolinguistic and education interests overlap, particularly when the language concerned is an endangered indigenous language. A brief overview follows of the development of LP theory.

Initially, LP was seen as purely a technical exercise carried out by language experts supposedly working objectively to solve language problems (Nekvapil 2006). The problem could be transforming an oral language into a written one by the development of a standard orthography, grammar, and dictionaries (corpus planning). However, much of the focus during the early period of LP research in the 1960s was on the “rationalizing” of languages to select a national language for the purposes of modernization and related nation building (status planning), rather than just corpus planning per se. Ricento (2000) suggested that a widely held view among Westernized sociolinguists at that time was that linguistic diversity – bilingualism and/or multilingualism, presented obstacles for national development, while linguistic homogeneity was associated with modernization and westernization. While LP was a new research discipline in the 1960s, this particular linguistic hegemony was not new to many contexts, including schooling. For example, one of the imperatives that underpinned the 1867 Native Schools Act in New Zealand which decreed that English should be the only language used in the education of children was based on similar linguistic hegemonies of “rationalizing” languages so as to select a national language for the purposes of nation building (Simon 1998).

Criticisms of early approaches to LP include the argument that early LP failed to adequately analyze the impact of national plans and policies on local contexts and the use of language planning by dominant groups to maintain their economic and political advantage (May 2005; Ricento 2000). The latter went unseen because there was little reference initially to the role of ideology in language policy (Tollefson 2002).

By the 1970s, postmodern theories had emerged in reaction to the positivist outlook of early LP work. Work in critical linguistics (Fowler et al. 1979; Halliday 1978, 1985) and sociolinguistics (Hymes 1972) increasingly challenged positivist linguistic paradigms. These developments, referred to as “critical theory” approaches (Ricento and Hornberger 1996, p. 406), sought to explain LP in light of cultural, political, historical, and economic influences, influencing the field of language planning. In contrast to previous LP work, scholars such as Wolfsan and Manes (1985) eventually focused on the social, economic, and political effects of language planning. Additionally, Spolsky (1995), whose work and views have significantly influenced Māori language revitalization efforts, highlighted that LP exists within a complex set of social, political, economic, religious, demographic, educational, and cultural factors. That is, language needs to be looked at in its widest context and not treated as a closed universe that focused just on terminology creation.

The third stage in LP research started about the mid-1980s and continues to the present day. At this stage, research turned to the topic of language ecology, with a focus on multilingualism and the state of endangered languages. Hornberger (2002) considered the language ecology metaphor “as a set of ideological underpinnings for a multilingual language policy” (p. 35). In particular, Hornberger pointed to how languages exist and evolve in an ecosystem along with other languages, and how their speakers “interact with their sociopolitical, economic and cultural environments” (2002, p. 35). This metaphor also applies to how the linguistic situation should be considered in relation to Māori-medium ITE – a component of the wider macro-level language revival efforts.

From the 1990s, academics such as Skutnabb-Kangas (2000), Phillipson (1997), and May (2001, 2005) have provided a language rights (LR) and/or human rights perspective on language ecology. One of the principal concerns of LR is that the establishment of minority/majority language hierarchies is neither a natural process, nor primarily a linguistic one (May 2012). Rather, “it is a historically, socially and politically construed process, and one that is deeply imbued in wider (unequal) power relationships” (May 2012, p. 2). The LR paradigm argues that minority languages such as te reo Māori, and their speakers, should be accorded the same rights and protections that majority languages already enjoy (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000). A number of researchers have focused on linguistic discrimination in education – a practice that many would argue has been a characteristic of the Aotearoa/NZ education system. Paulson and Heidemann (2006) cited several examples in the education of linguistic minorities to this end. The aim of their research was to “contextualize the relations of power and inequality that characterize the landscape of language planning within education, in order to (re) emphasize that language policy is never simply and only about language” (Paulson and Heidemann 2006, p. 305). Barwell (2003) suggested that the language used in schools, as in wider society, is closely bound up with issues of “access, power and dominance” (p. 37). Consequently, minority languages may be devalued, and speakers of such languages potentially disadvantaged. Therefore, an education system that assumes students from minority groups should be taught subjects only through a majority or dominant language is an example of linguistic discrimination (Barwell 2003).

Dimensions of Language Planning

As noted in the introduction, initially researchers in LP differentiated two distinct kinds of language planning activities: those concerned with attempts to modernize the language (corpus planning), and those concerned with modifying the environment in which a language is used (status planning). Although status planning and corpus planning involve different activities, the relationship between these two types of planning processes can be considered complementary (Clyne 1997). Cooper (1989) added a third focus: acquisition planning. Some researchers, for example,

Kaplan and Baldauf (2005), have adopted this latter focus in models of language planning in the form of language-in-education.

While language elaboration is considered a component of corpus planning, its outcomes quite clearly have an impact on the status of te reo Māori and te reo Māori in education. The elaboration of a language focuses on the functional development of that language to enable it to operate in new domains (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997) such as Māori-medium education. According to Haugen (1983), once a language has been codified, there is a need to continue “the implementation of the norm to meet the functions of a modern world” (p. 373). While social te reo Māori has been codified for some time, the language of schooling was excluded for over 100 years. However, elaboration is not merely a matter of increasing the richness of the vocabulary – more is required (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997). Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, 2003) maintained that the government and its agencies must encourage the use of the language in every possible sector, so that internalization of the language occurs across the population at a rate much greater than that just through the education sector.

The idea that state agencies must encourage usage of the elaborated language in a wide range of domains, including television, employment, printed material, and so on, is promoted by recent reports into the state of te reo Māori (see Paepae Motuhake 2011; Waitangi Tribunal 1986, 2010). May (2005) makes a key distinction in his work between legitimation (the formal recognition of a language, i.e., Māori Language Act) and institutionalization (establishing normal use of languages in various language domains). He argued that the latter is the key indicator as to whether a minority language successfully re-enters the public domain or not (May 2005). Questions remain as to whether this is in fact occurring with te reo Māori in education – at least beyond the realm/domain of schooling.

Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) contended that language elaboration is a complex and ongoing process, and all languages have some mechanism for elaboration. Languages change in the general community as new technologies emerge or old technologies are abandoned, and in education, as new pedagogical theories emerge. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) advance the idea that language communities need various mechanisms to modernize their language so that it continues to meet their needs. In the Aotearoa/NZ te reo Māori context, one of the mechanisms to modernize the language is the work of the Māori Language Commission (Te Taura Whiri i te reo Māori) in standardizing the language (see Harlow 1993 for further discussion).

A component of language elaboration is terminology modernization and, according to Kaplan and Baldauf (1997), it is the area that has generated the most discussion in corpus planning (see Trinick and May 2013, including terminology development for Māori-medium schooling). In culturally, socially, technologically, and economically changing conditions around the world, many new words are generated each year. Terminology development is a major preoccupation of language agencies and academics in countries that have language agencies such as Aotearoa/NZ (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997), as well as the work of specialist organizations, such as the Ministry of Education in Aotearoa/NZ who support schooling. This raises the question of who carries out this work at the tertiary level to support Māori-medium ITE.

Language Intellectualization

Related to language elaboration in LP is the idea of language intellectualization. The intellectualization of a language involves the development of new linguistic resources for discussing and disseminating conceptual material at high levels of abstraction (Liddicoat and Bryant 2002). As noted, the intellectualization of a language associated with schooling is considered desirable for a number of reasons. For example, Bull (2002) argues that intellectualization in education is an important element of language maintenance, because education is central to expanding the range of domains in which a language is used and for transmitting forms of language beyond those used in home domains. This also supports the prestige or status of a language (Liddicoat and Bryant 2002) as the prestige of a language is an important consideration in reversing indigenous language shift in languages such as te reo Māori. The greater the prestige, the more likely language shift will occur in support of that language and vice versa.

Liddicoat and Bryant (2002) also argue that it is important to introduce an intellectualized variety of the language at higher levels of education including teacher education, in order to develop the professional competence of the teachers who will implement an intellectualized variety at the primary and secondary levels of education. This is where teacher education can play a key role. Finlayson and Madiba (2002) suggested that the development of academic discourse or registers is a characteristic of most languages that are developing an expanded range of functions in their societies. According to Garvin (1973), intellectualization is an important dimension of language development because it is a way of providing “more accurate and detailed means of expression, especially in the domains of modern life, that is, in the spheres of science and technology, of government and politics, of higher education, of contemporary culture, etc.” (p. 43).

However, Schiffman (1996) expressed skepticism about the intellectualization process by citing examples of the lack of progress in the languages of India, where the indigenous languages were expected to replace English as a means of modern communication. Schiffman (1996) strongly argued that it is not possible to develop registers in a language through a conscious effort. He believed that registers should develop naturally in the language through use and over time, as was the case in English (Schiffman 1996). Despite Schiffman’s skepticism, Finlayson and Madiba (2002) highlighted research conducted in a number of countries in which it is argued that good progress has been made in planned intellectualization. Although language intellectualization may occur naturally, there is a growing consensus among LP scholars that, in developing languages such as te reo Māori, there is a need for conscious and deliberate efforts to accelerate the process and to make it more effective (Finlayson and Madiba 2002; Trinick 2015). This chapter will examine whether or not planned intellectualization is occurring in ITE programs that identify themselves as Māori-medium schooling.

Language Elaboration and Intellectualization: Pedagogical Implications

Without getting into too much discussion on what the following linguistic terms mean, this section discusses the pedagogical implications of the teachers' language skills and proficiency etc., and the effect of their language ability on student learning. This issue will be discussed further in the section on Māori-medium ITE.

Broadly, it is argued that the language proficiency of the teacher in terms of the specialized language of schooling affects the language proficiency of students which in turn affects the learning of the student generally (Skerrett 2011). Skerrett (2011) further argues that a synthesis of research into immersion/bilingual education points to the contention that effective teachers need both the Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS refers to language skills needed in social situations) and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP refers to formal academic learning). CALP includes listening, speaking, reading, and writing about subject area content material. Most of the research into the relationship between BICS and CALP has focused on the learner, particularly students' learning in their second or third language (Cummins 1991, 2000). This paper focuses on the student teacher in primary school teacher education who will be required to teach subjects such as mathematics. Mathematics has been chosen to illustrate the pedagogical issues because mathematics is a high status subject in the Aotearoa/NZ schooling context. Mathematics is abstract by nature and consists of specialized terms, grammar, and representations, that collectively make up the mathematics register. Children learn the register so they can understand and use mathematics (Cocking and Mestre 1988; Mousley and Marks 1991; Pimm 1987). Teachers, on the other hand, are learning the mathematics register so that they can teach children. This is a different function for the learning of the mathematics register. Research has highlighted a range of linguistic features of the mathematics register that are challenging to learners, and thus have considerable pedagogical implications for both the teaching (the teacher) and learning (the student) of mathematics (see Pimm 1987).

As Pimm (1987) argues, to extract meaning from mathematical statements, and to convey that meaning in spoken or written discourse requires teachers (and students) to have a functional grasp of the mathematics register. Meaney et al. (2012) argue this implies students in Māori-medium need to be explicitly taught the register. Research also highlights the key role of teachers in modeling the language that is needed to support students' acquisition of the mathematics language (see Bickmore-Brand and Gawned 1990; Meaney and Irwin 2005). It is argued that perhaps more than any other subject, the construction of knowledge about mathematics depends on the oral language explanations and interactions of the teacher (see Schleppegrell 2007; Veel 1999), especially where the medium of instruction is the student's weaker academic language as is the case for many students in Māori-medium (Rau 2004).

Mathematical language is not shaped so as to promote interpersonal communication, but rather to provide a picture of mathematical knowledge/concepts and to support the application of algorithms. This links to the role of bridging language in mathematics classrooms as the link between conversational language and the formal

language of the mathematics register (Herbel-Eisenmann 2002), and the even greater need for teachers to provide bridging language for second language speakers because of the need to build up conversational language at the same time as the mathematics register (Meaney et al. 2012). The shift from everyday conversational language to communicating mathematically using the specialized register is perhaps the most concrete way of describing the process of intellectualization (Gonzalez 2002) and applies to all subjects in the Māori-medium curricula. Collectively, this research points to several key language considerations for Māori-medium education. This includes the contention that teachers require a functional grasp of the language of the various school subjects, including the register. This raises the issue of where do teachers in the Māori-medium education context learn this language and register and how to intellectualize it? This will be discussed further on in this paper.

Language Elaboration and Intellectualization: Language Revitalization Implications

Language choices are influenced, consciously and unconsciously, by social changes that disrupt the community in numerous ways, and include external pressures or “dislocations” (Fishman 1991). Dislocations can be divided into different categories, including economic, social, and demographic (Fishman 1991). The social status of a language, that is, its prestige value, is closely related to the economic status of the language, and is also a powerful factor in language vitality and, conversely, in promoting linguistic assimilation to the dominant language (Baker 2011). In the Aotearoa/NZ context, when a majority language such as English is seen as giving higher social status and more political power, the shift to English from Māori is exacerbated. In the social arena, intellectualization serves to raise the prestige of indigenous languages such as te reo Māori, since it is competing with the dominant language, English, in terms of its functional use in a range of fields and disciplines. While it is only one way of promoting te reo Māori, LP research shows that indigenous groups such as Māori are more likely to speak Māori and encourage their whānau (family) do so if it is used in many different domains including higher education (Spolsky 2005).

The Use of the Term Intellectualization

The use of the term “intellectualization” may be problematic to some readers, particularly for those not familiar with the linguistic terms describing language development. Any talk of “intellectualization” may be patronizing to some, because it can be argued that Māori have long practiced higher order cognitive activity or thinking. These activities are occurring in many domains including the marae (the open area in front of the meeting house, where formal greetings and discussions take place). The use of the term does not imply te reo Māori is inferior somehow, to supposedly more advanced languages such as English. The problem for te reo Māori

is that it was excluded from schooling and tertiary education for over 100 years. It now can be argued that the intellectualization of te reo Māori at the level of schooling to teach such subjects, such as, mathematics has been established. The quality of teaching is another argument. A corpus of standardized specialized terms has been created, and various iterations of papakupu (dictionary) and curriculum have been developed to support teaching to the upper levels of secondary school. Te reo Māori is the language of instruction, subjects are taught at a high level of abstraction, there is academic literature in te reo Māori and so on. These are all indicators of the intellectualization of language in the schooling domain (Gonzalez 2002). The question is whether this is similarly occurring at the tertiary level of ITE to support the Māori-medium schooling domain?

Te Reo Māori in Education Planning

Te reo Māori in education is situated in the third dimension of LP, that is, language-in-education. However, it is important to acknowledge that the other two major dimensions of LP, status and corpus planning also occurred in education in Aotearoa/NZ, albeit almost exclusively in the modern era, that is, from the 1980s onward. School has become one of the most critical sites for causing or ironically reversing language shift and for language revitalization in endangered language contexts. One of the reasons for this is that education is most often controlled by the state which is the case in Aotearoa/NZ, and thus can be readily used as an agency of state LP. Second, education is also the site where the sociopolitical and ideological values of the language community are transmitted and reflected – the very values that may support language revival. Schools can, therefore, become agents of positive language change, raising language loss or language use issues with students and the language community, thereby influencing the linguistic beliefs and practices of the language community (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000).

Comprehensive critical analyses can be found in a range of research literature on the impact of colonial linguistic hegemony from the late nineteenth century on te reo Māori in education (see Simon 1992) and contemporary Māori education policies, both overt and covert, in regard to Māori education generally (see Penetito 2010; Smith 1996). Thus, the following section focuses primarily on the emergence of Māori-medium schooling in the late 1970s and early 1980s in response to the parlous state of the language.

The Development of Te Reo Māori in Schooling: Post 1980s

The change in the status of te reo Māori, from an initially high-status language of early colonial communication to a low-status language in Aotearoa/NZ, had contributed considerably to language shift to English in the Māori community, to the extent that by the 1970s te reo Māori was considered an endangered language (Spolsky 2005). It was against this background of rapid and significant language

loss that the Māori community initiated bilingual education in Aotearoa/NZ (May and Hill 2005). At the point of the reintroduction ((re)vernacularization) of te reo Māori in the form of bilingual education in the late 1970s and early 1980s, there was no national language plan and no formal language policy for te reo Māori use and implementation in Aotearoa/NZ (Peddie 2003). In 1976, in response to the increasingly parlous state of the language, a range of rural and urban communities were able, through the strength of their own convictions and the use of data from the seminal Benton (1981) study into the health of te reo Māori, to persuade both the Minister of Education and officials of the Education Department that a bilingual school should be set up (Benton 1984). Subsequently, in 1980, additional schools, including the former Māori (native) schools in predominately rural areas, were also given official bilingual status. These schools, with support from their elders and local whānau, were trying to save te reo Māori from extinction in their particular communities (Benton 1984). By 1988, 12 years after this change of status for schools such as Ruatoki where Maori language was still the dominant language of the community, 20 bilingual schools had been established in predominantly Māori communities, including in urban areas. In addition, 67 primary schools and 18 secondary schools operated with some bilingual classes (May 2001).

These early bilingual schools were required to follow the English-medium syllabus for schools. There was no formal Māori-medium curriculum, and limited te reo Māori resource materials to support learning and teaching. Their development reflected a wider trend at that time – much of the school curriculum, resource development, and long- and short-term Māori language-in-education planning was highly localized, responsibility having fallen to principals, staff, and whānau of individual schools (Benton 1984). Consequently, the implementation of a bilingual-school-based curriculum varied widely from community to community (Benton 1984).

Following on from these early bilingual education reforms, *kōhanga reo* (early childhood language nests) were launched in 1982, initially run independently by parents as an important part of the “Māori renaissance,” motivated by widespread Māori recognition of the urgent need to revitalize te reo Māori by that time (King 2001). As many commentators on this renaissance have noted, *kōhanga reo* (early childhood language nest) were probably the most influential development in the language revitalization movement in Aotearoa/NZ (Penetito 2010; Walker 1990, 1996).

Outside of the few bilingual schools noted previously, most of the compulsory state education sector remained ambivalent toward, or actively resisted, Māori community language aspirations (McMurchy-Pilkington and Trinick 2008). Linguistic human rights had not yet emerged as an influential paradigm in resisting language shift and language death, and the Māori Language Act was not yet a reality (May 2003). Graduates from *kōhanga reo* were entering the state school primary-level system into questionable or, in most cases, nonexistent te reo Māori programs and, as a consequence, concerns emerged about their language loss after a short period of time in these schools (Smith 1997). The poor response by state schools to these initial te reo Māori revitalization efforts prompted groups of Māori to establish

primary-level kura kaupapa Māori (primary school teaching all subjects in the medium of Māori) from 1985, outside the state education system (Smith 1997).

Somewhat belatedly, and after considerable lobbying from te reo Māori education groups, the Education Amendment Act was passed in 1989, and it was to have far-reaching implications, albeit at different time scales, for te reo Māori in schooling. The Education Act 1989 did, nonetheless, crucially endorse Māori-medium schools, kura kaupapa Māori, at primary (and secondary) level as a legitimate state-funded schooling alternative within the state education system (May 1999), serving those students who had been in kōhanga reo (early childhood language nest). While state support of kura kaupapa Māori has since proved something of a double-edged sword, requiring kura kaupapa Māori to implement state-mandated curricula and assessment practices developed from essentially Eurocentric interests, the 1989 Education Act at least provided the opportunity for kura kaupapa Māori to gain financial and operational support in the further expansion of Māori-medium education (McMurchy-Pilkington and Trinick 2008).

The demand from Māori for secondary Māori-medium education did not cease with the 1989 Education Act, and the 1990 Education Amendment Act, kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori. As noted by May and Hill (2005), there was a domino effect throughout the education system. There was increasing demand for Māori-medium secondary schooling options, in order to meet the educational needs of fluent Māori-speaking students graduating, in turn, from kura kaupapa Māori (May and Hill 2005).

The first state-funded wharekura (secondary school teaching in the medium of Māori) opened in 1993 with Year 9 and 10 students at Hoani Waititi Marae, in West Auckland (Campbell and Stewart 2009). Wharekura are the secondary school (years 9–13) prototype of Māori-medium immersion, as distinct from kura kaupapa Māori, that focus on the primary level (years 1–8). Since that time, a number of wharekura have emerged, generally attached to kura, with common governance and management (Ministry of Education 2008).

Te Reo Māori Elaboration: Schooling

When te reo Māori was reintroduced into schooling in the 1980s, as the language of instruction for all subjects, considerable development was required and continues to be required as new ideas and initiatives are introduced into Māori-medium education. While substantial lexication occurred for all subjects, no two subjects have followed an identical development path. For example, the elaboration of the language of mathematics and literacy received much more Ministry of Education support because of their perceived high-status, while others less so. See Stewart (2010) and Heaton (2016) for discussions on the elaboration of the language of pūtaiao (science) and hauora (health) respectively.

Following is a brief description of the process of elaboration of the language to teach schooling subjects (see Trinick 2015 for a more comprehensive discussion). While it has taken several 100 years to develop the English-medium subject

registers, the Māori-medium lexicon and register has had to be developed in a short space of time to parallel what is expected in English-medium education. A feature of the initial development of the lexicon was the informal approach taken, involving kaumātua (elders), teachers, and community working together to establish a corpus of appropriate terms, rather than any formal LP approach (Trinick 2015).

The initial strategy for 150 years of creating or adopting new words for subjects was generally through the use of loanwords and borrowing terms. Expanding the language into new domains in this way came to an abrupt halt in the 1980s, with the establishment of the state LP agency, Te Taura Whiri, with an emphasis on linguistic purism and not borrowing terms as the basis for corpus development. This is because, over time, Māori attitudes (including those of members of Te Taura Whiri) to loanwords have varied as different ideologies gained ascendancy and the status of te reo Māori changed. In the 1980s, when Te Taura Whiri was created, te reo Māori was no longer in a position of dominance in the community – as it had been prior to the 1940s. Accordingly, there was much greater reluctance to continue the use of transliteration (to give loanwords a Māori language phonology), given the perceived threat at that time to ongoing te reo Māori use (Trinick 2015).

Due to limitations in resources and expertise, Te Taura Whiri eventually withdrew from the process of developing the specialized lexicon for schooling. In the current absence of a centrally agreed body with authority to define and plan codification and elaboration of te reo Māori for teaching and learning, responsibility has defaulted to the Ministry of Education and, by extension, to their contractors and the development teams responsible for each individual Māori-medium education initiative.

Initial Teacher Education: The Māori Medium Experience

As noted, it is important to introduce an intellectualized variety of the language at the higher levels of education including Māori-medium teacher education, in order to develop the professional competence of the teachers who will implement an intellectualized variety at the primary and secondary levels of Māori-medium education. This section will examine LP efforts in Māori-medium ITE, drawing on various reports with a particular focus on the elaboration and intellectualization of the language.

Initial teacher institutes have existed in one form or another since 1862 in Aotearoa/NZ (Openshaw and Ball 2006) as English-medium only, but this was to eventually change, if somewhat diffident to the challenges of the Māori-medium schooling sector. The impact of research in the 1970s (i.e., Benton 1979) that showed te reo Māori in a precarious state and the subsequent demands by communities and activists to revitalize the language, saw a rapid growth in students learning the language (Walker 1984). It was not until 1974 when there was a response to the issue of te reo Māori teacher supply by providers of ITE in the form of such programs as Te Atakura, which fast-tracked native speakers of the language into a teaching qualification (Shaw 2006). However, these programs focused on meeting the demand for secondary teachers of te reo Māori and did not address the chronic

shortage of Māori-medium teachers caused by the rapid growth of Māori-medium schooling in the 1980s. ITE followed similar patterns of ambivalence to te reo Māori as the state schools showed to the needs of kōhanga reo graduates in the 1980s. By the early 1990s, various ITEs, under pressure from the schooling sector, responded by developing bilingual type programs. While based on good intentions, these programs followed patterns similar to those of Taha Māori (Māori language enrichment) programs in schools, whereby Māori culture was acknowledged and even given some emphasis, but was not aimed at developing te reo Māori proficiency to the level required to teach in Māori-medium schools (Stewart et al. 2016). Eventually programs were developed in response to the crisis in Māori-medium teacher supply in various institutions, whereby in 2008, 12 programs defined themselves as Māori-medium (see Hohepa et al. 2014, for a critical review of the history of the development of Māori-medium ITE).

Language Planning: Māori-Medium Initial Teacher Education

At the point of the reintroduction ((re) vernacularization) of te reo Māori in education in the early 1980s, there was no national language plan and no formal language policy for te reo Māori use and implementation in Aotearoa/NZ (Trinick 2015). In the absence of any official Māori-medium education plan, the development of Māori-medium curricula (Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga 1996, 2008) became de facto LP for the Māori-medium schooling sector. However, there has not been any national LP for Māori medium ITE, either de facto or de jure. The 12 ITE programs that have defined themselves as Māori-medium do have language policies of sorts that generally reflect the level of autonomy they have (Hohepa et al. 2014). For example, the two tertiary ITE programmes that identify as teaching totally in the medium of Māori and not using such techniques as code switching are either a wānanga (a tertiary institution that provides education in a Māori cultural context) or Private Training Establishment (PTE) and thus have much more autonomy than programs located in the larger mainstream Universities (Murphy et al. 2008). This raises the issue of what is the ideal percentage of the program taught in te reo Māori.

There are researchers who maintain that clear, sustained separation of languages in immersion instruction advocated by policy such as that in the two ITE programs is a valid pedagogical approach (Cloud et al. 2000; Tarone and Swain 1995). One of the most compelling reasons for separating the languages of instruction and not allowing language learning approaches such as code switching or front loading in L1 is the concern that encouraging the use of both languages to teach a subject such as mathematics education will favor the more proficient language, typically, the home language or L1. This is especially so in the Aotearoa/NZ context when the home language of the student teacher is most often English, the language of the majority in the community and the language of power in the larger society (Tarone and Swain 1995).

The additional challenge for ITEs preparing teachers to teach in Māori-medium schools is the fact that te reo Māori is the second language of most of the student

teachers (Murphy et al. 2008). Many of these student teachers have had all their learning of mathematics in the medium of English (Trinick 2015). Some scholars argue that there is a place for “judicious” use of the L1 to support L2 learning in bilingual programmes (Cummins 2000; McMillan and Turnbull 2009; Swain and Lapkin 2000). Cummins (2007) questioned the “rigid” separation of languages in bilingual programmes and argued that research evidence provides minimal support for these assumptions. Additionally, researchers argue strongly that bilingualism and biliteracy cannot be achieved through monolingual philosophy or methodology, and that using the students’ total language resources is more effective (Baker 2006; Cummins 2007).

Although there has been research on students who do not have the language of instruction as their first language in the mathematics classroom, there has been much less on the issues faced by student teachers who are not learning in their first language. Moreover, there is no evidence currently, that the monolingual te reo Māori ITE programs are any more effective at producing competent Māori-medium teachers overall than say those ITE programs that allow teaching in both languages.

Language Elaboration and Intellectualization in Māori-Medium ITE

The reports into the state of Māori-medium ITE (Hohepa et al. 2014; Murphy et al. 2008; Skerrett 2011) note that students and lecturers alike struggle with language demands required to teach particular learning areas – pāngarau (mathematics) and pūtaiao (science), through the medium of Māori, especially those areas where new vocabulary is constantly being coined. This points to the contention that students are not encountering these terms in their schooling (Trinick et al. 2014) and ITEs lack the range of curriculum experts whereby it can be assumed that the lecturers would know these terms (Murphy et al. 2008).

Unlike the compulsory schooling sector, which is controlled by the Ministry of Education, and Teachers Council, there was no agency that regulated or has assumed responsibility for corpus and status planning of te reo Māori at higher education levels. For the most part, each institution has created its own corpus of terms to support the teaching of the various disciplines that make up their programs. This situation is reminiscent of the early corpus development of terms for the various subjects for Māori-medium schooling in the late 1990s and early 1980s where schools created terms for their immediate needs. As noted, this terminology work eventually became more systematic for the schooling sector because of the intervention of two state agencies – Te Taura Whiri (Māori Language Commission) and the Ministry of Education. Tertiary education has been able to draw on this work in different ways, albeit still somewhat limited to meet the needs of the tertiary sector.

It now can be argued that the intellectualization of te reo Māori at the level of schooling to teach such subjects, such as, mathematics has been established. The quality of teaching is another argument. A corpus of standardized specialized terms has been created which tertiary institutions can refer to including papakupu

(dictionary). Second, there have been a range of professional development projects for teachers, particularly mathematics and literacy (Christensen 2003; Trinick and Stephenson 2010). Collectively, a range of literature and resources have also been created to support these professional development projects for Māori-medium teachers. However, it cannot be assumed that every ITE has the capacity to draw on this resource created for Māori-medium schooling, because as noted a number of these ITEs lack the range of curriculum experts (Murphy et al. 2008) and while ITEs can draw on the curriculum specific vocabulary, language intellectualization is more than vocabulary development. It is the ability to articulate, discuss, and represent the underlying mathematical concepts in te reo Māori that is important for the teaching and learning of mathematics. If as research suggest, learning the register is important to learn mathematics, then so is the teachers ability to present the register flexibly in response to the different learning situations and to meet the differing learning needs of students (Ball and Bass 2000).

This flexibility is also connected to Herbel-Eisenmann's (2002) discussion of the role of bridging language in mathematics classrooms as the link between conversational language and the formal language of the mathematics register. This is also connected to the issue raised earlier in relation to Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP). While Herbel-Eisenmann (2002) was working in an English-medium situation where the students and the teachers were native speakers, it could be argued that there is an even greater need for teachers to provide bridging language for second language speakers because of the need to build up conversational language at the same time as the mathematics register.

According to Veel (1999), perhaps more than any other discipline, the construction of knowledge about mathematics depends on the oral language explanations and interactions of the teacher. Veel (1999) reports although that teacher's spoken language predominates in maths classes, the teacher's words are needed to interpret the meanings of the visual and symbolic representations and therefore are powerful agent in learning process. Several studies have found that children mirror the teacher's language (Khisty and Chval 2002; Raiker 2002). This means that the language that the teacher uses is an important factor in determining the quality of language the children speak. Murphy et al. (2008) argue that poor teacher language proficiency may lead to poor student language proficiency. Similarly they argue that teachers lack of understanding of the technical language and concepts may impinge on student learning (Murphy et al. 2008).

Conclusion and Future Directions

All this discussion leads to the conclusion that there is considerable pedagogical tension between learning te reo Māori and learning mathematics education in the Māori-medium ITE context. Clearly some ITEs are reverting to teaching mathematics education in the medium of English because it is the first language of most of the students, but this then restricts their ability to learn the specialized registers

eventually needed to teach children. For many student teachers, the time spent in the ITE is critical for developing their Māori language proficiency because it will be the last domain they can develop their proficiency before becoming practicing teachers. However, learning mathematics education in their second language may well impinge on their mathematical education understanding. This is not an easy tension to resolve.

However, in order to function as the language of instruction, that is to intellectualize te reo Māori in ITE, clearly it has to be read, spoken, and written. Murphy et al. (2008) and Hohepa et al. (2015) note the percentage of the programs who self identify as Māori-medium (12 programs) vary in terms of the percentage of content taught in the medium of Māori. It ranged from two programmes that taught all courses in the medium of Māori, to five programs that stated they delivered all courses in the medium of te reo Māori about 80% of the time, to two programs that delivered less than 30% of the program in te reo Māori. Because models for ITE are revised in six to 10 year cycles, and there is a paucity of research in this area, it is thus difficult to determine which pedagogic models best support teaching and learning in Māori-medium. As noted by Skerrett (2011, p. 133), the terms “competency” and “bilingual”/“bilingualism” are difficult to define and are highly controversial in pedagogical terms. While it is unclear what aspects such as the language threshold ought to be, it is clear that graduates from English-medium programs or minimum levels of instruction in te reo Māori that teach in Māori-medium will need to learn the specialized registers on the job.

The entry requirements in regard to te reo proficiency levels ranged from “being able to demonstrate a high level of fluency to very little” (Murphy et al. 2008; Hohepa et al. 2015). Similarly, there were a range of language outcomes and expectations of student graduates in these Māori-medium ITE programs. The issue of entry criteria is very contentious as academic institutions such as universities and wānanga in New Zealand are very sensitive to external accreditation requirements that may impinge on their academic freedom and autonomy (Hohepa et al. 2014; Trinick 2015). These issues are compounded by the probability that standardized language proficiency requirements will cause major problems in obtaining qualified teachers in Māori-medium where there are already teacher shortages and a small pool of Māori speakers wishing to enter the teaching profession (Kane 2005; Hohepa et al. 2015; Murphy et al. 2008; Skerrett 2010, 2011). The Education Council, an institute that accredits Māori-medium ITEs, has acknowledged the issue of te reo Māori entry requirement for students and the issue of language intellectualization by developing a linguistic framework, TātaiReo (see Murphy et al. 2008), but at this point it is optional. Essentially, the framework sets out a range of language competence students in ITEs should reach as they progress through their programs and the sorts of linguistic knowledge they should know, such as how children acquire a language (Murphy et al. 2008). This framework is a good first step in developing some consistency across programs and ensuring graduates have the range of linguistic proficiencies to support learners. Teachers require specific language skills in order to successfully facilitate ākonga (student) learning in Māori-medium settings. As noted, the type of language needed to do well in an education context differs from the language used for everyday communication (Murphy et al. 2008).

In the absence of any language plan or regulation for Māori-medium teacher education, intellectualization of te reo Māori has been difficult to implement and develop consistently. Additionally, the difficulties can be attributed to the fact that with so few programs, the discipline lacks a critical mass of academics with an interest and expertise in the various subject areas and te reo Māori (Hohepa et al. 2015). It is also expected that academics participate in various national and international discourse communities as per the requirements of New Zealand's Performance Based Research Funding (PBRF). In other words, publish in international journals that are much more highly rated than local, and present in international academic forums in English, thus further privileging English (Trinick 2015).

While there are several unresolved tensions and issues in Māori-medium ITE as a collective, it must be acknowledged that there are very good Māori-medium graduates entering the profession and effective Māori-medium ITE programs. The aim of this chapter is not to cast dispersions on all and sundry. However, it is the belief of the author, that with a clear national language plan for Māori-medium ITE, simultaneously acknowledging the mana motuhake (independence), language intellectualization for te reo Māori will be more robust than the current process. Thus, the substantial variability that currently exists between and in programmes in respect of the languages requirements identified in the various reports commissioned into the state of Māori-medium ITE would be reduced (i.e., Murphy et al. 2008; Hohepa et al. 2014). The Murphy et al. (2008) and Hohepa et al. (2014) reports offer a constructive way forward, albeit not sufficient enough to address all the issues – that is Māori-medium ITE educators need to be much more proactive as a collective in sharing their experiences and solutions, and learning about new developments in curriculum and language acquisition. Substantial research is also needed to identify what the required te reo Māori thresholds might be for entry and the teaching of the Māori-medium ITE program to produce affective teachers. Research is also required into the challenges student teachers in ITEs face learning such subjects as mathematics education in their second language.

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Ka unuhi a me ka ho'okē: A Critique of Translation in a Language Revitalization Context

30

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Abstract

In 2002, an agreement was reached with the Honolulu StarBulletin, one of two daily newspapers published in Honolulu at the time (The two have since merged to become the Honolulu StarAdvertiser.), which provided for the weekly publication of a column written in the Hawaiian language. There was only one stipulation: a short “synopsis” written in English would accompany each article. It was also agreed, after lengthy negotiations, that outside of this synopsis, no translation would be provided to the general public. The column, entitled Kauakūalahale, is still running today, although the initial no-translation agreement has recently been renegotiated.

This chapter deals with the theoretical, political, and educational issues that underpin the decision not to provide English translations to the public, despite

This title is borrowed from an early Kauakūalahale article in which a case was made in opposition to the translation of traditional Hawaiian language publications into English (Wong 2003). The Hawaiian phrase reflects that position.

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numerous requests. In particular, and in spite of wider pedestrian beliefs to the contrary, it is argued that translation is counterproductive to the goals of language revitalization and, if provided, would effectively support the continued subordination of Hawaiian to English. The fact that English dominates the linguistic interactions of the inhabitants of Hawai‘i, as well as Hawai‘i’s linguistic landscape (This term refers to the “visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region” (Landry and Bourhis 1997, p 23)), and that the subconscious inclination of second language learners is to understand the world in terms of a habitual linguistic template provided by English (Benjamin Lee Whorf recognized the existence of “habitual everyday concepts wherein speakers take (i.e., appropriate) language patterns as guides to the nature of reality.” See Lucy 1992, p 46.), suggests that the revitalization of Hawaiian is heavily dependent on a continued connection to English. Grammatical structures and the lexical corpus have been deeply infiltrated as well, albeit with minimal resistance, and the ongoing conflation of the two languages with respect to worldview, even if it rises to the level of consciousness, goes largely unaddressed. The authors feel that translation supports the continued domination of English and hampers the efforts to retain the independence and uniqueness of Hawaiian linguistic expression.

Keywords

Language revitalization · Translation · Language subjugation

Community Language Background

For the past three decades, beginning with the establishment of the Pūnana Leo Hawaiian language medium preschools and the Hawaiian Language Immersion Program in the State of Hawai‘i Department of Education (See Warner 2001, also Wilson and Kamanā 2001 for further information on the establishment of these programs.), the number of first language speakers of Hawaiian whose primary caregivers are native speakers of Hawaiian has decreased dramatically. The intergenerational transfer (This term is borrowed from Fishman 2001.) of this form of Hawaiian has been severely retarded as speakers of the more traditional Hawaiian are replaced by an increasing number of “NEO” speakers (NeSmith 2003 recognizes a split between TRAD speakers (i.e., speakers of more traditional forms of Hawaiian) and NEO speakers who are more susceptible to influence from English.) who are either second language learners or have been raised bilingually, with their Hawaiian language experiences provided primarily by other second language learners. This might have occurred through direct language instruction, subject matter instruction conducted in Hawaiian, or the minimal ambient speech to which emerging speakers are exposed in their communicative environments. Second language speakers and children raised by second language speakers currently comprise a prohibitive majority of the Hawaiian language speaking community. Of issue is the fact that their language use experiences rarely involve interaction with the few remaining native

speakers who have been raised by other native speakers of Hawaiian. They are instead, heavily influenced by second language speakers. As such, current circumstances facilitate the speaking of a hybrid language (i.e., NEO-Hawaiian) that maps Hawaiian over more familiar English ways of thinking and speaking.

The authors of this chapter see translation as detrimental to the expressed goals of the Hawaiian language revitalization movement. We argue that translation from Hawaiian to English merely approximates the intended meaning of the author. Yet, the translation is represented more broadly as a legitimate clone of the original, and is accepted as such. In actuality, it is merely some individual's interpretation of the original text. Although this interpretation can provide a window through which nonspeakers of Hawaiian might make sense of the original, it only does so because of a fabricated connection between the two languages. It is the familiarity of English that provides insight into the meaning while the Hawaiian remains somewhat cryptic. Translation effectively blocks the receiver from experiencing an unadulterated Hawaiian expression.

Clearly, languages change over time as new ways of speaking are introduced. Contact with external ideas generally yields linguistic change. In the present context, wherein English serves as the lingua franca of the community, that change has been responsive to preexisting, and somewhat calcified, language use patterns of English. As such, the character of the emergent Hawaiian is eerily reflective of English. This path has led Hawaiian into a state of flux, forcing it to seek guidance from English in the remaking of itself. Instead of doing the research to revitalize traditional ways of speaking and applying the results to our present language use needs, we are satisfied with a level of communication that is successful for the very fact that it is familiar. We ultimately find ourselves speaking English in Hawaiian (This idea is attributed to colleagues of the famous linguist, Roman Jacobsen. They wrote jokingly in his obituary that he was able to speak Russian in six different languages. We have revised this idea in order to characterize speakers of Hawaiian whose first language is English. See *New York Times* (July 22, 1982).). Translation, although it can provide a semblance of access to intended meaning, supports the innate tendency we have to make sense of the world based on how we already see it. We, in effect, perpetrate a fraud upon ourselves when we view translation as adequately representative of its counterpart. Silva argues, "Much of the translation is unsatisfactory, however, because it is impossible to convey all of the cultural coding that English strips away, and equally impossible to avoid the Western cultural coding that English adds (2004, p 12)." We agree with this claim, and we hold it to be true of translation from English to Hawaiian as well.

Negotiating Public Access

As mentioned above, the advent of the Kauakūalahale Hawaiian language column in the Honolulu StarBulletin was preceded by some fairly extensive negotiations with representatives of the paper. Their major concerns dealt with public access to the ideas presented within the articles and the possible exposure of the paper to

litigation, primarily for libel. The access issue centered on the accommodation of a predominantly English-speaking readership. We refer to this as the economic argument. The newspaper, although it provides a valuable public service, is ultimately a private business venture that survives on sales. The paper itself can be sold either online or in hard copy, and advertising space can be sold to other businesses in order to cover costs. As for its exposure to liability, this is obviously a major concern. In response to this concern, however, we raised the following question. In what language would a charge of libel be adjudicated? If it were to be adjudicated in English, the libel would have to be determined based on translation. If it were to be conducted in Hawaiian, it would be necessary to translate the applicable U.S. laws into Hawaiian in order to facilitate relevant application. It would also require the establishment of legal precedents to guide decisions on legality. During the negotiations, we told the newspaper's representatives that a libel suit would actually work in favor of our goals. It would force the courts to establish guidelines for delineating the boundaries of appropriate editorial comment in Hawaiian. Moreover, it would require an adjudication of the legal standing of translated documents. Interestingly, it would also call into question the right of a U.S. court to adjudicate such a case in Hawai'i, which some people consider to be a sovereign state, and not under the jurisdiction of U.S. laws.

Looking again at economic concerns, the newspaper is a medium that has struggled to survive as younger people shift to social media in order to stay abreast of current issues and events. A fine line can be drawn between profit margins and journalistic integrity. That is, journalistic integrity must, at times, contend with journalistic popularity and, as such, compromises must be made. The StarBulletin's initial position was that the Hawaiian language articles be accompanied by English translations wherein the two would appear side by side, thus increasing the potential readership. This issue was clearly driven by an understandable mandate to maximize profits. Given this economic focus, the value of publishing Hawaiian language articles in a public forum was obviously being viewed from a vastly different perspective to our own. The newspaper was in the business of making money by conveying information, a feature not readily achievable solely through Hawaiian. We, on the other hand, were in the business of presenting Hawaiian as a legitimate form of communication, independent of English and focused more on survival than profit.

Interestingly, we had initially approached the Honolulu Advertiser back in 2002 with the idea of a Hawaiian language column. Their response fell on the other side of the spectrum to that of the StarBulletin. The Advertiser treated our offer to provide a weekly Hawaiian language column as tantamount to a request for advertising space. They offered us the "opportunity" to promote the official language of the State on the condition that we pay a mere \$10,000.00 per page. On top of this, they required an English translation for all text written in Hawaiian (thus requiring the use of more space). It was as though the publication of editorials in Hawaiian was no different than the publication of an advertisement designed to market some consumable product. In all fairness, we were in fact attempting to promote the image of Hawaiian in the public psyche. It was, in a sense, a marketable product. The main difference,

however, was the absence of a profit motive. Nonetheless, we were being challenged to view the publication of Hawaiian in their terms. It was simply put up or shut up. Given that the survival of the Advertiser was inextricably tied to the maximization of profit, it is perhaps unfair to criticize their attitude. These were simply two separate viewpoints each blind to the other's vision. The Honolulu Advertiser was, after all, holding true to its name.

As we grew to realize, this was a clear indication of the standing of the Hawaiian language at the time. It was not viewed as having economic value, at least by the Advertiser. After rejecting their offer, we approached the editors of the *StarBulletin* whom we found to be much more sympathetic to our cause. They were willing to treat Hawaiian as a legitimate medium through which to disseminate news and editorial comment, as well as stories of public interest. They were interested in publishing our articles in the Today section, which featured stories primarily local in scope. We suspect that, in their view, the printing of Hawaiian language articles would increase sales. Be that as it may, both parties viewed the publication of Hawaiian as mutually beneficial. Nonetheless, we were not in the least interested in providing English translations.

During that initial negotiation, we had argued that a required translation would adversely affect the Hawaiian-ness of the Hawaiian. It would effectively pull Hawaiian in the direction of English and, as such, run counter to our revitalization goals. An increased connection to English was the last thing we wanted. Instead, it was important to minimize the suffocating influence of English, an influence that has been so pervasive throughout the world that English has been referred to as a “killer language” (Skutnabb-Kangas 2002, p 181). This sentiment is echoed by Ngugi wa Thiong'o who characterized the growth of dominant languages at the expense of weaker languages as “linguistic Darwinism” (Ngugi 2011, p 244). Since the vast majority of Hawaiian language speakers today are first language speakers of English, there is a strong tendency to approach the explication of thought through that lens. In other words, even without the requirement of translation, we would be challenged to divorce ourselves completely from the tendency to make sense of our world through our first language. Our first language habits operate at the subconscious level. Moreover, our subconscious subscription to the ideology of English (Grace 1981) would prevent us from viewing this as problematic. This is a major issue for people involved in language revitalization efforts. Reversing language shift requires the mass acceptance of a counter narrative to the ideology of English.

Suppression of the Minority

The numbers game is not an uncommon practice for locating power in democratic societies. Arguments can be won simply by citing a preponderance of support for the “winning” position, the relative merits of such a position being of little consequence. In this view, we find a classic example in which the tyranny of the majority (This phrase is attributed to John Adams who used it in 1788.) allows for the acceptance of weak arguments as valid. We agree with Fanon's position that “(t)he

desire to attach oneself to tradition or bring abandoned tradition to life again does not only mean going against the current of history but also opposing one's own people (Fanon 1963, p 224)." One reader found it difficult to believe that we would choose not to offer translations for the articles. He characterized our position as "counter-intuitive" (Kauakūalahale articles are accompanied by contact information for the two editors. We respond to all inquiries either in English or Hawaiian depending on the language in which they are received.), the assumption being that a majority of sensible writers would seek to reach the widest possible audience. Surely we were sacrificing an opportunity to reach a wider readership in order to protect an exclusionary position. There were arguments that failure to provide translation would widen an already noticeable rift between Hawaiian language "haves" and "have nots" (Kuwada 2009). But our reasons for not providing translations had little to do with an inexplicable desire to limit readership, or even to privilege an exclusive group of insiders. We were much more concerned with generating an overall increase in the number of people capable of reading Hawaiian. Not unlike the negotiation with the newspaper, this reader was assuming that the primary goal of our effort was to disseminate information and opinion. Our position was one he was not inclined to accept, that is, the article is symbolic of the legitimacy of Hawaiian as a language suitable for mass communication. It was imperative that it be allowed to speak for itself and not depend on English in order to convey meaning. Moreover, counter to arguments that providing translations would yield a net increase in the number of readers capable of accessing Hawaiian, we foresaw a very different outcome. The increase would be realized only in access to the English version of the Hawaiian. Translations would actually preclude readers from ever learning enough Hawaiian to access the ideas directly. The provision of translations would effectively negate one of the primary motivations for learning Hawaiian. As for reaching a broader audience, our hope is to do so in Hawaiian, without an intermediary. Pandering to the majority ultimately supports the ideology of English.

Again, this would work at cross-purposes with our stated goal, the revitalization of Hawaiian. Language shift and language loss are extremely common consequences that minority languages face when confronted with the pervasiveness of dominant languages (See Dorian 1989, whose edited book offers valuable insight into the consequences of language loss.). For those concerned with the ramifications of these consequences, particularly the erosion of heritage, it is difficult to convey the gravity of such loss to those who are not. We decided that one way to explicate our position was to turn the argument around. That is, we would acquiesce to requests for English translations of the Hawaiian if the same were required of English. That is, if all English articles were translated into Hawaiian and the two were printed side by side, our concerns would be mitigated. When this compromise position was suggested, however, the individual remained incredulous. Why would anyone choose to write in a language that is inaccessible to an overwhelming majority of potential readers? Why on earth would we not want to disseminate our ideas to the broadest possible audience? After all, that is the ostensible purpose of any form of mass media (We say "ostensible" here after heavy exposure to CNN and Fox News political commentaries that cater to polarized audiences.). Even when it was pointed out to him that there

is a social imperative to rectify the unjust historical events that lead to the subordination of the Hawaiian language to English, he remained unconvinced. Our position seemed to make little sense to him. According to his logic, everyone speaks English and very few people speak Hawaiian; therefore, failure to provide English translations for articles written in Hawaiian represents a counterintuitive position. His intuition, however, suggests that we follow the same path, i.e., providing translations, which brought us to the present need for translation.

The fact that extensive colonization had enabled English to supplant Hawaiian as the lingua franca of the community was not one this reader was prepared to consider relevant. He was not inclined to focus on an injustice visited upon a group of people whose linguistic connection to reality had been usurped. Rather, he was more interested in the rights of individuals to access a service that is meant for public benefit. Our reasons did not align with his view of equal access, and that is not an uncommon experience for those who espouse minority viewpoints. We happen to believe that it would be more intuitive to address the inequity suffered by a group of people, manifested in the Hawaiian case by the loss of our language of heritage, than to complain about insufficient access of individuals to ideas presented in that language. Some of the responsibility for gaining that access ultimately reverts to the individual. After all, there are numerous opportunities publicly available to those individuals wishing to learn Hawaiian. Of course, this path requires some effort.

Protecting the Official Fish

Although both Hawaiian and English enjoy “official” language status under the laws of the State of Hawai‘i (This became law at the State of Hawai‘i Constitutional Convention of 1978.), the progress of Hawaiian is not completely dependent on legal status. It is still necessary for speakers to elect to use it. In fact, the wording in the law allows for the perpetuation of a hegemonic relationship between the two languages. It states, “Whenever there is found to exist any radical and irreconcilable difference between the English and Hawaiian versions of any of the laws of the State, the English version shall be held binding” (State of Hawai‘i 1978). Ironically, this codicil effectively renders the official language status of Hawaiian vacuous with regard to the law, in that it is officially subordinated to English. It offers only limited status in the legal domain, and, in the broader context, offers no substantive support for revitalization efforts. That can only be achieved by expanding the domains of use available to Hawaiian, along with its communicative efficacy within those domains. It does, however, symbolically represent Hawaiian as something of value, something worth nurturing and protecting. This symbolic negation (or semblance thereof) of the de facto hierarchy is of critical importance in increasing the capital available to Hawaiian (This idea is borrowed from Bourdieu 1991.). And yet, despite the symbolism, not all supporters of Hawaiian share this view. There are some who have criticized the official language status as being about as valuable as having an official fish (For the State of Hawai‘i, that would be the humuhumunukunua‘a, a type of triggerfish.). Dr. Sam L. No‘eau Warner (Personal communication.),

upon being apprised of this concern, responded simply by stating, “At least they can’t kill the official fish.” In line with this view, it should be noted that the law does, in fact, offer Hawaiian some legitimacy with regard to its use as a language of wider currency.

The *de jure* legitimacy of Hawaiian opens up the possibility for Hawaiian to stand on its own, without translation, in public spheres. This right also makes it possible to reform the linguistic landscape by offering a choice in terms of linguistic expression even in private domains. It does not present a threat to the existence of English, only to the level of its dominance. With regard to perception, of course, monolingual speakers of English would be effectively excluded from access to some of the ambient language in the community. However, with regard to production, it is inconceivable (at present) that they would ever be compelled to use Hawaiian in place of English. It merely allows for people to opt for one or the other. This is perhaps the nexus of the dispute. There is more at stake here than the protection of an official fish. The legitimization of Hawaiian could conceivably cut into the linguistic market share currently controlled by English. In order to maintain their range of communicative viability, monolingual speakers of English would have to learn Hawaiian. Also, a proliferation of Hawaiian language use would likely lead to an increase in economic opportunities available to Hawaiian language speakers, a reversal of fortune of sorts, placing English monolinguals at a disadvantage. They would then have to learn Hawaiian in order to “get ahead in life.”

The above argument is reflective of the one formerly invoked at the advent of the Pūnana Leo Hawaiian language immersion preschools. The idea of Hawaiian language immersion education met with some skepticism even among Hawaiians. It was believed that there was an opportunity cost associated with sending children to such schools. By doing so, parents were effectively neglecting their children’s English language development. Some even went so far to characterize it as “retarding” the children. At that time, the ideology of English was firmly entrenched in the psyche of the Hawaiian community, and the idea that it was necessary for children to speak English in order to get ahead in life was pervasively accepted. We are provided a glimpse of this attitude in a short story written by Sarah Nākoa in her collection of short stories called “Lei momi o ‘Ewa.” In one autobiographical piece, Mrs. Nākoa describes her grandmother’s words as she (Sarah) is sent off to her first day of primary school (in compliance with the laws at the time), advising her to focus on learning English, “E pa‘a pono i ka ‘ōlelo a ka Haole. Mai kālele i kā kākou ‘ōlelo. ‘A‘ohe he pono i laila. Aia ke ola o ka noho ‘ana ma kēia mua aku i ka ‘ike pono i ka ‘ōlelo a ka po‘e Haole” (Nākoa 1979).

Her grandmother was buying into the majority view of the community at the time. Like many others, she believed that English would provide her granddaughter with the linguistic tools to make her successful in life. This constituted the gist of an economic argument used to make a case against Hawaiian language immersion education, the same argument used to question the value of majoring in Hawaiian at the tertiary level. It also supports the argument of the reader mentioned above who found our position to be “counterintuitive.” Although there has been some movement away from this ideology of linguistic inequality, it remains psychologically real

for many people, especially those who are unfamiliar with the field of language study (Wong 2011a). This ideology remains so deeply ingrained in the psyche of the community that only a small number of people can claim conversational fluency in Hawaiian today.

In our view, equitable treatment of the two languages would do little to decrease the prominence English enjoys worldwide. It would, however, do much to elevate the status of Hawaiian in the opinion of the public and increase its chances for survival among that segment of the population for which it is the language of heritage. An elevation in actual value would eventually be realized with the inevitable expansion of its practical domains of use. Hawaiian would no longer rely on the limited power of its official language status in order to garner respect. Of course, motivation for choosing Hawaiian as a medium of communication must, at least initially, transcend the promise of economic gain. The real value of speaking Hawaiian is located in both its capacity to mark identity and its unique worldview. The dissemination of thought through various avenues of mass media is a critical component in the restoration of our language of heritage.

To Translate or Not to Translate: Lexical Issues

The question of accuracy was raised in the preceding arguments. Our position aligns with that of Hymes who suggested that no matter how well the translation is performed, it cannot perfectly represent the meaning of the source language as realized by a native speaker of that language (Hymes 1981). This is compounded by the fact that languages change over time and so do meanings (Fishman 2001). We have maintained that, although translation can suggest a semblance of equivalence between meanings, it can never accurately represent meaning cross-linguistically or cross-temporally. Too many degrees of separation are possible. Differences in dialect, context, and perspective could contribute to significant variation among multiple interpretations of a single piece. One translator's interpretation might be substantially different from that of the next, simply based on the difference in the type of translation employed. Hymes has spoken of the incongruous relationship between "literal" and "literary" translations, noting that literary translations are often superior (Hymes 1981, p 42), i.e., more accurate in their representations of meaning. This clearly suggests that translation is an inexact endeavor. Divergence also occurs, perhaps even more prominently, between the translation and its original. Each language has its own peculiar features that defy efforts to create equivalencies designed to offer monolinguals accurate access to a second language.

Vocabulary items in one language never really match up perfectly with their reflexes in another. That is, there is never a true one to one correspondence. Even words that are created specifically to account for a foreign concept (borrowings) can exhibit differences from their intended counterparts (In an effort to modify the lexicon, numerous words have been coined in order to account for novel concepts. These have been compiled in a supplementary dictionary called *Māmaka Kaiāo* (Kōmike Hua'ōlelo 2003), and are also available online.). The English word

“church,” for example, does not match a single Hawaiian counterpart. It refers to two different concepts represented by two distinct meanings. One indicates a physical structure and is referred to as a *hale pule* or “house of prayer” in Hawaiian. The other indicates a type of organization referred to as a ‘*ekalesia*, a borrowed word with Greek roots. There are numerous examples of one word in English having multiple reflexes in Hawaiian. There are also numerous examples of Hawaiian words with multiple reflexes in English. For example, the word “pule” is glossed as follows:

pule. 1. nvt. Prayer, magic spell, incantation, blessing, grace, church service, church; to pray, worship, say grace, ask a blessing, cast a spell. (Probable derivatives are *pulepule*, *pupule*, and ‘*ōpulepule*.) . . . 2. n. Week. . . . 3. Same as ‘*ōpule 1*. (Pukui and Elbert 1986, p 353)

Here we can see other semantic connections generated by this word. The connection to casting a spell is one that English speakers do not normally associate with praying. There are other disconnections as well. The third meaning points to the word ‘*ōpule* as being synonymous with ‘*ōpulepule*, which is glossed below:

‘*ōpulepule*. 1. vs. Moronic, somewhat crazy, psychotic. (Pukui and Elbert 1986, p 353)

Pule thus transcends the concept of prayer, taking us in a different direction altogether, one that some might find sacrilegious or even heathen. As we can see, the range of Hawaiian meanings for *pule* does not exactly map over the range of meanings for *pray* in English. Moreover, the word *church* generally refers to a Christian organization or Christian house of worship and does not encompass other deities or forms of religious ritual.

Given the relatively small phoneme inventory of Hawaiian, a number of words borrowed from English match existing Hawaiian forms with traditional meanings. They are transliterated into Hawaiian by adjusting their pronunciation to comply with the phonotactics of Hawaiian. For example, Hawaiian does not allow consonant clusters. English words with consonant clusters must undergo adjustment when they are borrowed into Hawaiian. For example, in order to transliterate the word *truck*, it is necessary to break up the consonant cluster in the onset of the syllable. It is also necessary to add a vowel at the end in order to avoid having a closed syllable, i.e., one ending in a consonant. Consonantal substitutions are also made as necessary. This yields the borrowed word *kalaka*.

These transliterations, although they can account for their English source meanings, fail to match up exactly with other synonyms in Hawaiian. The word “*pia*,” for example, has a number of traditional Hawaiian meanings that are unconnected to English. But it is also the transliteration of *beer* and, as one might imagine, is frequently used in that capacity. In fact, this meaning is more commonly recognized than any of its other traditional meanings, e.g., arrowroot, starch (as made from arrowroot), pale yellow in color, a variety of taro, a variety of sweet potato, a stone used to fashion adzes, and a stork. We see this focus on English as an unfortunate consequence of borrowing and an unfortunate consequence of language shift. Although it is a necessary evil in the modernization of Hawaiian, it also draws

Hawaiian closer to English. And as columnists focused on maximizing separation between the two languages, we see minimizing the use of borrowed concepts, wherever possible, as a useful strategy. We find the dependence on translation and transliteration as strategies for borrowing to be reflective of English dominance. They illustrate our dependence on English and our inclination to see the world through that lens. The fact that there is a dearth of examples in which English has borrowed Hawaiian concepts into its lexicon makes the imbalance painfully salient. Instead of these strategies, we find circumlocution (The American Heritage Dictionary offers glosses that cast circumlocution in a slightly negative light (1992). The result is considered unnecessarily wordy, evasive, and roundabout. Wong has argued that indirect speech represents the norm in communicative exchanges (Wong 2011b).) to be a favorable option. Its adverse effects in terms of English influence are far less pronounced. It constitutes a retelling of the information in a way that privileges Hawaiian ways of speaking while protecting against undue influence from English.

Looking at terminology in the Hawaiian family system, we find another salient example of the overpowering effect English has had on our language. Certain specific terms either transliterated from English or constructed from Hawaiian roots to accommodate the English worldview, have dominated the speech community. Here the influence cuts deeper than the mere borrowing of words. It materially affects the Hawaiian family system and the responsibilities that are vested in each position on the genealogical matrix. We examine three such words here, i.e., *palala*, *tita*, and *hoahānau*.

Palala and *tita* are transliterated from the English words brother and sister. Although they accommodate the expression of family relationships to which English speakers are accustomed, they fail to represent the Hawaiian view of these relationships. The following words represent a more traditional way of indicating those relationships in Hawaiian:

kaikua'ana – elder brothers of male/elder sisters of female
kaikaina – younger brothers of male/younger sisters of female
kaikuahine – sister of male
kaikunāne – brother of female

As we can see, the familial references are segregated by gender in two obvious ways. Firstly, within the same gender, birth order determines the appropriate term, and the same term is used for both genders in order to mark that relationship. In English, a modifying term is necessary for drawing a distinction in birth order. The words *older* and *younger* are used to make birth order distinctions. Secondly, separate terms are used in order to mark cross-gendered relationships depending on focus. In English, a single term is used to mark both intra- and inter-gender relationships. That is, males and females can both have brothers and sisters.

The above examples illustrate important worldview distinctions between the two languages that cannot be sustained through linguistic borrowing. The borrowed term conjures up a view of the world that fails to match that of its borrowed source. The

range of meanings available to the source word transcends the range available to its translated counterpart. For example, *palala* accounts only for the English meanings that brother evokes in the family system. There are other meanings of brother that are not evoked by *palala*. For example, if we use the word brother to describe a fellow member of some organization such as a church, *palala* would not be appropriate. These relationships would require the word *hoahānau*. It is a compound made up of two words, *hoa* (friend) and *hānau* (birth) (The fact that these two words have been compounded and spelled as a single word suggests a desire to express this new concept. Schütz suggests that this indicates an attraction to the prestige value offered by English (Schütz 1994).). This same word is also commonly used to refer to the relationship between cousins, even though the four words listed above were used traditionally to describe relationships amongst cousins (Handy and Pukui 1998).

This compound word is clearly not a transliteration of the English word *cousin* and, despite its Hawaiian roots, might very well be a neologism that entered the vocabulary after the arrival of English speaking explorers. In support of this claim, we point to the fact that it fails to account for the gender and birth order factors that exemplify Hawaiian worldview in this area. Again, one of the consequences of translation is the stripping away of some important aspects of familial relationships that mark Hawaiian as a unique linguistic system. The use of *hoahānau* is far more prevalent than the use of *kaikua'ana*, *kaikaina*, *kaikunāne*, and *kaikuahine*, and foreshadows the leveling of these uniquely Hawaiian distinctions, and perhaps eventually, their complete eradication.

To Translate or Not to Translate: Beyond Lexicon

Grammatical structures can also differ between languages and lead to disparities in focus, agency (See Wong (2011b) for an extended discussion of agency and the cross-linguistic differences between Hawaiian and English.), or even referential meaning. On top of that, context, tone, genre, perspective, gender, and a number of other factors can contribute to the disparity in meanings between the interpretation and its source. This is not surprising. Even in the same language, the hearer cannot claim to have accessed the exact meaning intended by the speaker. Cross-linguistically, there is much greater opportunity for misinterpretation, especially between second language learners and native speakers of the language in question. Second language learners are liable to construct their statements, and understand the statements of others, based on heavily ingrained thought patterns from their first language. According to Sapir, “We see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation” (as cited in Carroll 1995, p 134) (Carroll presents selected works of Whorf, in which this quote from Sapir initiates a chapter.). Those choices are guided by habit and are quite difficult to avoid (Lucy 1992) (Lucy also credits Whorf for recognizing that language behaviors are habitually conditioned.), even when their existence rises to the level of conscious thought. Lucy also recognized the existence of substantial variation across languages that “even when there is apparent

similarity, there may be differences in semantic implication that can make exact translation equivalence difficult” (Lucy 1992, p 194).

A salient example of the difference between English and Hawaiian is found in the way one concept is compared to another. One might utilize the preposition “from” in order to indicate that one concept differs from the other, or the preposition “between” in order to indicate the nexus of the disconnect. Thus, “the taro is different from the breadfruit” or “the difference between the taro and the breadfruit” both rely on this disconnect, ultimately depending on the existence of the other as a point of reference. Hawaiian handles this idea quite differently. Instead of depending on a relationship that negatively links one item to the other (i.e., the taro is not like the breadfruit), Hawaiian treats the two items as though they are completely independent of each other. The phrase “ua ‘oko‘a ke kalo a ‘oko‘a ka ‘ulu” literally indicates the independence of the two items. There is nothing “between” them and one is not in any way derived “from” the other. English speakers learning Hawaiian are likely to construct their speech based on that which is familiar, in which case they end up calquing the English way of expressing this disconnect (i.e., ua ‘oko‘a ke kalo mai ka ‘ulu or “the taro is different from the breadfruit”). In recognition of this pervasive tendency among immersion school children, as well as numerous adult speakers of Hawaiian, Warner wrote a children’s book designed to counter this type of English influence. The book, entitled *‘Oko‘a ka palaoa, ‘oko‘a ke koholā*, illustrates numerous physiological features not shared by the two creatures while offering immersion students a more traditionally Hawaiian way of conceptualizing the independence of each (Warner 2009) (This particular analysis was raised by our colleague, Dr. Margaret Maaka. Her background in cognitive development enabled her to recognize the independence of two items as an inadvertent lesson about Hawaiian ways of speaking and knowing.).

There are numerous other examples of English worldview dominating the construction of thought in Hawaiian. One fairly common example can be found in the pervasive use of interrogative words as integral pieces in the production of statements. This represents a form of what Odlin called transfer, a type of interference by one language on another in the mind of the speaker, that materially alters the basic function of such statements, assigning to them properties of the speaker’s native language (Odlin 1989). An example of this can be found in the use of the Hawaiian word “pehea,” an interrogative term that can be glossed as “how” in English. The fact that this word can be used in English both as an interrogative marker as well as the object of a verb of cognition suggests to the second language learner of Hawaiian that the same holds true in Hawaiian. In other words, in English it is possible to use “how” in order to say both of the following:

How does Kale pound taro? Pehea e ku‘i ai‘o Kale i ke kalo?

I know how Kale pounds taro. *Ua‘ike au pehea e ku‘i ai‘o Kale i ke kalo.

*Although this type of construction is quite common amongst today’s speakers of Hawaiian, it is not a usage found in more traditional samples of Hawaiian

language use. Its prevalence today is clearly linked to a tendency for native speakers of English to assume that a Hawaiian word can be utilized with equal range as its counterpart in English. We submit that this phenomenon is supported by an unfounded belief in the legitimacy of translation.

There are numerous other examples that can illustrate the shortcomings of translation, including the metaphorical meanings that apply to certain ways of speaking. In particular, Hawaiian prominently features what are referred to as 'ōlelo no'ēau, or proverbial expressions that offer insight into Hawaiian worldview and provide guidance for behavior that conforms to that worldview. In Pukui's collection of 'ōlelo no'ēau (Pukui 1983), we can see two levels of translation that are designed to privilege the English speaker interested in Hawaiian worldview. At one level, a fairly literal translation is provided. In many cases, however, this translation provides only lexical equivalencies adjusted to align with English grammatical patterns, but are of little value in pursuing the intended meaning (or meanings). Most offer a second, more figurative translation designed to allow closer access to intended meaning. The maintenance of 'ōlelo no'ēau is recognized as a critical piece in the reconstruction of the Hawaiian language (Solis 2009). One feature of the 'ōlelo no'ēau is that, similarly to double entendres, it provides an indirect path for proposing a particular position, thus allowing for a choice of interpretations. In other words, a statement can be made without causing an affront to the interlocutor, who is thus allowed to save face. This type of diplomacy supports the maintenance of solidarity between speakers and harmony within the community (Wong 2011b).

Another Compromise on Translation

At the end of 2015, we entered into a renegotiation with the StarAdvertiser over translation. We had sent in an article that was critical of a top University of Hawai'i administrator. The article was critical of this administrator's actions, compensation, and some issues of conflict regarding very lucrative contractual agreements with the private sector that unduly influenced the direction of research in that administrator's particular college. The editors were asking for a full translation of the article as a requirement for its publication. After operating for over 12 years relatively translation free, this new requirement caught us off guard. We argued that this was not part of the original agreement and that translation would compromise our revitalization goals. For a plethora of reasons, including the arguments laid out above, translation does not provide an accurate representation of the original piece. The editors were adamant, however, explaining that the original agreement was ill advised and that it would be irresponsible for them to publish ideas to which they had no access.

After raising many of the same arguments we had depended on the first time around, we found ourselves increasingly sympathetic to the editors' dilemma. No matter how we spun it, it was their responsibility to oversee the professionalism of their product. Both their concerns and ours had merit. Our arguments were taken into consideration and a new compromise position was reached. We would not be

required to provide a narrow translation of the column but, instead, would rewrite the main ideas in English. And, this rewrite would not be made available to the public. Its use would be reserved strictly for internal purposes. In the end, we were effectively maintaining our no-translation policy, and the only cost to us was realized in the additional work.

Conclusion

The connection between Hawaiian words or phrases and their translations in English can be widely disparate and a number of factors can be designated as contributors to that disparity. Ways of speaking can differ dramatically from language to language leaving translations ill equipped to represent accurately the intended meanings of their original counterparts. Although it is true that translation offers an educated guess at intended meanings, it cannot be counted on as equivalent. The receiver of linguistic input merely utilizes any and all available communicative resources to approximate its meaning, thus assuming a right to access that meaning. However, the purposes for using language cannot, as many have claimed, be purely communicative. It cannot be assumed to require a complete and unadulterated transmission of ideas from a producer to a receiver. In some cases, language can be used for the purpose of confounding meaning, or even denying its access to certain parties. In our context, Hawaiian is being used to indicate its legitimacy within an English dominated context. Translation of the Hawaiian into English not only allows for misinterpretation, it allows for the continued domination of an English worldview, thus undermining our primary purpose for maintaining the column. Moreover, it suggests that Hawaiian is only valuable when it can be accessible to monolingual speakers of English. Although translation could yield an overall increase in the number of individuals capable of accessing meaning, it does not guarantee the accuracy of that meaning. If left unquestioned, translation is allowed to promote itself as an accurate representation of intended meaning. We find this to be counterproductive to language revitalization efforts.

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A Term's Irruption and a Possibility for Response: A Māori Glance at "Epistemology"

31

Carl Mika

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Abstract

Language for Māori (Indigenous people/s of Aotearoa New Zealand) is complicated because it seems to emerge from, and indeed merge with, both the human and nonhuman worlds, from an idea and yet from the materiality of things, and from colonized and traditional realms. Analyzing a term has to take place within the full nature of language and also its objects and, in turn, those objects' worlds. In this chapter, I consider the term "epistemology," which tends to grab my attention as an emissary of certainty, calling me to address it. The term is equally as far-reaching as language as a whole, and rather than referring to it as if it is a human-derived phenomenon, I look to its autonomy for guidance. This approach, I argue, sits better with a Māori philosophy of language than that which underpins more dominant discourse analysis. The evaluation of a term must also be carried out as if it is a personal matter, and asks for the Māori writer to look to his or her own experiences and background and to have special regard for both tribal and

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individual idiosyncrasies. These aspects are necessarily unique to individuals within their colonized and tribal contexts, and they draw the Māori writer or student to the term and signal how one should analyze it. The approach I have adopted is my own and is educational to the extent that it shows one way of engaging with the world of a term. I am therefore more interested in the power of language to educate the indigenous self while we use it (or it uses us), than I am in teaching and learning in more orthodox Western senses. I conclude by likening this inability to get to the static properties of language to my tribal origins and events.

Keywords

Māori · Epistemology · Reo · Language · Mātauranga · Papatūānuku · Philosophy

Introduction

Many of us as Māori writers suspect that language is a different phenomenon for us than it is for the West, and the depth and expanse of that difference is immense. Language for Māori is complicated because it seems to emerge from, and indeed merge with, both the human and nonhuman worlds, from an idea and yet from the materiality of things, and from colonized and traditional realms (Mika 2016b). That language is so complex should come as no surprise to us, given that our worldviews are equally as convoluted and, at times, paradoxical. Where Western philosophical approaches wish to iron out those twists and turns that characterize Māori thought (see for instance: Ahenakew et al. 2014; Cooper 2008), making it logical and rational, instead Māori thought about language and its world insists that we stay within a convoluted landscape of the “at-once”: language is *at once* dense and free-floating, settling upon as well as already immediately within the world to which it refers. It is hence at once world and a describer of the world. It is this dual nature of language which makes it hard to describe. After all, how can any of us step outside of the world and then describe language, given we are using language ourselves to try and represent it? Or given that language is connected to the world that we are part of? It would seem that stepping outside of the world to then be able to analyze language, while using language to review language and the world we have just transcended, is impossible.

In this chapter, I seek to meld the personal with the educational. I consider a Māori philosophy of language through my reaction to a term that irrupts into my thinking – “epistemology” – and discuss that term as an aspect of language. My aim is hence to speak about language through its most granular item – a term – while conveying my dislike for that particular term. When referring to “language” I may just as well be referring to the relationship of all objects with the world, because language, when discussed, seems to slip back into the realm of all things. If we relinquish the Western idea’s grandeur that language is simply an envelope that transmits ideas, then we soon come up against this difficulty. In that Western

tradition, the division between secular and supernatural has led to the depiction of language as a shell. “Epistemology,” viewed in that sense, is simply an arbitrary sign for a concept. But it is the more worlded aspects of language that ask for my attention through the constant interruption and sway of that term, epistemology. To deal with the theme somewhat negatively: there are some elements of the discussion I want to exclude (Please see glossary towards end of chapter for definitions of Māori terms.). I do not wish to refer to the beauty of a particular language such as te reo Māori in my discussion, even though the beauty (or otherwise) of a language can be a philosophical issue. The *sound* of language as it originates from humans, or whether it is euphonic or not, is therefore not my concern, but I do note that silence is equally important, philosophically speaking. I also do not seek to refer to the use of a particularly spiritual octave of language in ceremonies, but instead my thinking emerges from the possibility that language, thought of in a particular way, is also a metaphysical concern in everyday usage. My problematizing of language additionally deviates from the issue of identity and knowledge of te reo Māori: there are indeed certain features of the Māori terms that distinguish it from English equivalents, although whether these are entirely absent from English or simply whether they are overtaken by the strictness of thought that modernity encourages (Ahenakew et al. 2014) is uncertain. I *do* want to include that a term, whether in the colonial language of English or in the traditional register of Māori, can open onto a world's density that is either oppressive or liberating, but even here I note that this requires the attention of the thinker, who is him- or herself already constructed by what the world has revealed to him or her. Also, the term “epistemology” contains two main components – “epistemi” and “-ology.” For the sake of keeping within the limits of a book chapter, I deal only with the first but briefly acknowledge here that “logos” – which “ology” derives from – has its own sophisticated genealogy in Western philosophy that, in its current form as “logic” (Gonzalez 2009), actually sits well with the problems I raise about “epistemi.”

The chapter is hopefully educational at the same time, because I attempt to provide an example of how a term can be critiqued through a Māori regard toward language as I have outlined it above. It is not particularly worried with the meta-discipline of education as such, and I do note at this point that education is not simply about teaching and learning, as it is also congruent with the epistemically uncertain yet constant guidance from the world, or “tohu” as Royal (2005) calls it. A further educational act takes place in the retelling of that experience and in its potential use for others. This communicative act is not the one that seeks a symmetrical response from its recipients (Biesta 2010). As a set of “sentences that push” (Mika 2013), it encourages the reader to propose their own reaction to a term and determine their own subsequent way in relation to it. Further, and more conventionally for education as a process of edification, an analysis of a term is indeed related to education as a discipline to the extent that it is often reverted to at tertiary level (especially in graduate work), and this chapter might therefore be educationally pragmatic because it offers one way of dealing with a term from a Māori philosophical perspective. It seems that there are some fundamental shortcomings within a poststructuralist approach to, for instance, a term, and I urge that a Māori analysis of a term stems

from a personal reaction – another facet of Royal’s “tohu.” While this personal aspect of analysis is not always fully passed over in mainstream discourse critique, it takes on a particularly important hue for the Māori writer, and it must be expanded on for different reasons – not the least of which is that language has always claimed us and called to us to address it.

A key method I propose in the analysis is to look to the most basic tenet of a word – its etymology – and evaluate that against a Māori philosophy that the individual Māori writer may also have speculated on. The etymology of a term, I suggest, carries its “sense” or its very first ontological regard for the world. Further, the Māori writer can think deeply about where to place his or her material in the text. I do not discuss this organization in the body of the chapter but make the following observations: that material can be divided roughly into the writer’s speculative thinking on the one hand, and already established knowledge or text on the other; that, in order to emphasize the writer’s personal reactions to a term and their own thinking on it, it is sometimes politically and philosophically expedient to divide their speculative thinking from that other well-known body of work; and that there is really no set method that can be established to dictate what should be included where. I have called this form of aside “subtext” in relevant parts of the chapter. Subtext informs my decisions to write, may indeed dictate from afar what I write, and occasionally may dictate quite closely what I write. Of course, this right to speculate on discrete and extensive matters of existence is the right of all Māori, and it is up to us to demarcate that thinking from already frequently occurring knowledge.

Although I have some keenly felt problems with the term “epistemology,” I end by noting that this attitude is not so clear-cut. If language is a worlded phenomenon, as I argue, and I am constituted by it and its objects, then my relationship with it must be more indeterminate than I thought. Ultimately, any conclusion that a Māori critic of terms will arrive at will be based on the nature of the philosophy of language and world that they have identified. My summary is less a conclusion than an acknowledgement that it is not up to me to dispense with the term “epistemology”: it has too thoroughly captivated me for that.

A Māori Term Analysis and the Language of Things

The Self within the Object and its Name

We have to contest dominant beliefs of language if we are to analyze terms because, like other activities – such as research, for which it is now widely accepted that a critique of dominant propositions must occur – a philosophy of language must also operate from a starting point that is agreeable to Māori. One of the problems with poststructuralist approaches to the analysis of terms is that proponents often resist the notion of essence (Newman 2001; see also Gordon 2012); the ontological prior or “wairua” (entrenched but changing spirit) of language is then undermined. The underpinning of poststructuralist ideas has been to approach language and knowledge as if they are socially constructed, not really *immediately* colonizing or

uplifting, instead intertwined with the playing out of power within the human world. While there have been good reasons for that denial – these reasons stem largely from valid hang-ups that the West must deal with because their dominant thinking rests on identifying unchanging properties of things – we cannot immediately reject the notion of essence to a thing. To do so would be to reject the infusion of the world within an object and its name. Essence is linked to the spiritual realm (Royal 2012), is different to the West's version (see for instance: Mika 2015a) and language from a Māori philosophy is both completely dense and densified. It is immediately dense, because it always already has to it the world, and it becomes ever more worlded as the things that comprise the world reorganize themselves constantly even in a term. The ways of describing this dual world in language are scarce in English, but the overall concept exists throughout Māori metaphysics and therefore, one would assume, within all stages that follow. In that sense, language is our master because it encourages us to step away from it but, of course, as I have suggested, we never can.

The “what is language?” question is nearly as clichéd as its well-worn counterpart “what is a table?” Both questions in fact have as much relevance for Māori as they do for any other group, particularly in the face of a colonizing approach that tends to make both language and its object straightforward. Both have implications for how one views the world through language. But in some vital senses, asking the “what is” question in either case is futile, for while the true nature of a thing (“the table”) can be approximated through language, and although language itself is a phenomenon that in some cases can be veered toward, language as an issue for both inquiries remains ultimately elusive. Language certainly interjects historically and spatially on its users, and it is therefore related to the human world, but, like the world it conjoins, it retains its own obscurity. It is thus one point at which being and the human self actively meet (Chauvet 2001), and for Māori the stakes are higher because the object that contains to it the whole world decides language as much as the human self. Moreover, language in its wider sense may be the complete text of the world; this text could obscurely be referred to as “Papatūānuku.” It would then be the complete array of possibilities that the world displays to itself; key here is the word “display,” for things in the world reveal themselves in a sort of language. This “worlded” (Mika 2016b) register of language then structures our own ability to talk about those things. As the human dimension to the world, we are one element that has its own way of revelation to the rest of the world, which then responds. This view of language is disturbing because it means that we – the apparent originators of language – are in its thrall.

At the basis of language is a term which, despite its molecular size, is equally as powerful as the full gamut of language. Therefore, there are some basic premises that I must adhere to when considering the full influence of a term from a Māori philosophical standpoint. First, I am being speculative, not knowledgeable. I cannot state with much certainty what the sense of a term is, for instance, nor can I make grand claims to its essence, or to the way in which the world infuses it. It would be possible to analyze a set of utterances or sentences with these issues of language in mind; however, my approach in this chapter is to consider a single term as a worlded,

textural phenomenon that calls for a *tentative* assessment of its impact on its (Māori) users. Here, I should reiterate that the approach asks for us to think of ourselves *within* or as part of the term (our wellbeing is constructed by the term, which has a potency that draws upon particular historical and metaphysical assumptions). Moreover, there is certainly a place for the social constructivism of critical discourse analysis, but we should remember that the ability of a term to order things in the world for our perception means that the term is dealing with our *ideas*, which are in fact our *whanaunga*. The social for Māori is hence not confined to the world of humans and manmade political institutions. The social (in the Western vein) idea of a word is also part of the term to the extent that a term contains *at once* all other times. We can, therefore, interpret the social as always-already containing to it all other apparently social epochs that the West would argue only elapse over time (Mika and Tiakiwai 2016). There are others who have argued the fact of our existence within language or text (see for instance: Heidegger 2001; Derrida 1998), but I emphasize that a Māori view of language asks us to think about how language animatedly engages with us on its own terms.

Subtext: Precision and Reductionism

Involved though this view of language may seem, the dominant suggestion that it is a parse set of rules, the microscopic study of which can yield meaning, is insufficient for a Māori worldview, and needs to actively be taken to task. The reductionism that characterizes the Western view of the world, at least from an indigenous viewpoint, has popularly been attributed to Descartes (Capra 1982). Seeking the pure meaning of a sentence and considering its usefulness from that point on does suggest a Cartesian influence, but the Western philosophical enterprise of reducing the nature of language in such a way has a sophisticated history. Philosophers of empiricism such as Locke reduced language so that it simply conveyed an idea of an object (Dawson 2007). The Verificationists, having emerged from the logical positivists in the 1930s, imbued language with meaningfulness if it could impact on experience. The sentence being uttered must make a difference to future experience (Lycan 2000; Mika 2007). Despite these few, extremely popular views, it is true that Western philosophy has frequently challenged its own dominant explanations for language, mainly through the vehicle of Continental philosophy, with such thinkers as Merleau Ponty, Hölderlin, Martin Heidegger, and Foucault arguing in their own ways that most approaches to language in the West have been deficient. With its phenomenological articulation of the being of language and its struggle to explicate an existence beyond the metaphysics of man, Continental philosophy could be seen as the champion of other views of language.

For Western humanity, however, language's significance would be that it gives expression to a correct idea of a thing. The dominant approach to language in the West has indeed been to find a ground of absolute truth for an utterance, and this attempt at finding the truth through an analysis of an object's correspondence with an idea may strike a Māori readership as implausible because it so evidently disdains the realms of hiddenness and unverifiability that reside within both object and idea. Further, the leading view of language as a precise signifier of an object tightens a

Māori view of the world, and so it becomes necessary to address how we discuss language itself while we draw on its power and, indeed, while it and its objects form us. Reflecting instead on how opaque it is, is no easy task because it immediately throws the interlocutor him- or herself into a state of uncertainty (Mika 2015b). To begin with, saying that “language *is* opaque” deals a stinging blow to the asserter, as he or she must then regress to another step to then deal with the certainty of *that* utterance. There then follow subsequent, infinite regresses that call for disclaimers. The steps into the unknown of language and its worlded objects proceed for me in this way:

Language is unknowable

I have made this statement of certainty; therefore, I have used language, an apparently unknowable phenomenon, as if I know it

There must therefore be some sort of deep, unseen field within which I work that subverts what I am trying to say about language: after all, I have made a statement of certainty about language, despite noting its unknowability

But then, in identifying that field, I am again using language as a pointer towards it, with clarity in mind – I am saying that it “is,” I have stated that “there must *be* some sort of deep, unseen field”

What “is” the nature of this “is”?

But then, how can I get at the nature of the “is” when I am referring to it with the “is”? Especially when, at the backdrop of my thinking, the “is” does not exist as a linguistic particle in Māori thought. (Mika 2016b)

Well then, I will do away with the “is.” But if I instead formulate the question as “how does language arise?”, I am still singling language out for my concern, distancing it from its relations in this and other worlds, and therefore even preferring the same notion of time that the West (and the “is”) encourages, because I am attempting to explain a sequential process through the academic mode of writing (language does *this* and then *this* and then *this* – this is the “how” of language).

And so on.

However, what is it about language that does this – that pushes us while forever claiming us? It is perhaps this question above all that demonstrates this contradiction of language, for I am asking a question *about* the properties of language while naturally residing *within* language (resorting to it). Indeed, the “what is” question belongs to Aristotle; it is the first step in a move away from language because it makes language a priority as it sets about describing the nature of a thing. If, for instance, I ask “what is Māori knowledge?”, then I am obsessed with detaching from language in order to look down on it (Mika 2016b), to seek terms that will adequately outline Māori knowledge. It is really language and terms that I am concerned with expressing in the “what is,” not so much Māori knowledge. The problem with the “what is,” is that it assumes that we were never part of language apart from in some conceptual sense. In that Western reading of language, language has never really owned us but we have owned language.

Incidentally, as Māori writers we are all confronted by these unseen characteristics of language. But the Māori philosopher of language is especially responsible for inquiring into this interminable process, because it is meant to be the role of Māori

philosophy to consider the flux of ideas. He or she, however, is caught up in the lure of language and becomes aware of its relationship to its worldedness because language cannot be “gotten around.” It is the very text upon which he or she operates. Language sums up the world and is simultaneously the revelation of things in the world, and these things are immediately worlded (Mika 2016b) and imbued with an original text which we cannot distil to a single principle. We soon realize that there is a more profound set of assumptions that cohere terms that are ontologically prior to the linguistic sign. Our immersion within language, or the fact that we are – somewhat dramatically speaking – at its mercy or at least bound by it, also attests to our need to speculate on language on our terms. While help for this can come from poststructuralism, for instance, it soon becomes obvious that this mode of critique is inadequate for its neglect of essence. Language for Māori, as I have suggested, is inherently imbued with the fullness of the world. New materialism offers some similarities to a Māori philosophy of language but places less emphasis on the already-constituted nature of one thing by all others as the very text that materially forms the self; language thus does not have “too much power” (Barad 2007, p. 132) if we view it less as an invention of humanity – as poststructuralism does – and more as the full landscape within which one is immersed.

My Dislike of “Epistemology”

With this textuality of a term in mind, our process begins from the outset, when one starts to become aware of a feeling toward a term. Is there some particular word that irks a writer or student? It can be either a Māori or English term, or any other. Our attention to a term is not neutral; it accord with or chafes against us for a reason. Is it overused? Does it seem to stand in for a very complex set of phenomena that need to be explored but that are too readily rushed over in the course of academic writing? Is there a certain person who utters it too readily? Does it feel plausible or is it too gushy? These questions bring into relief the peculiarity of a writer and thinker, and one person cannot cite the exact same reasons as another for choosing the same term because it is likely resonant with an individual’s whakapapa (genealogical relationship), and their experience inside language, among other things. We may or may not be able to articulate the precise motive for alighting on a term as there may be several forces at work for an object and its term as they select us. But we can acknowledge that an object has drawn us to itself. At this stage we encounter one of the first possibilities for our existence within the term, because it has already claimed us in a way that we cannot readily deal with.

The term “epistemology” shares close quarters with its more accessible counterpart “knowledge,” with the two often being used interchangeably. “Epistemology” attracts me to it for two main identifiable reasons: first, it is used so frequently that it feels overused in much literature (as does its equivalent, knowledge); and, second, it asserts a particular view of an object and its relationship to all others. The first problem constitutes a human-related issue, the second points to the ontology of the term itself, quite apart from its potential overuse. It vexes me, and unlike much

academic approach to analyzing a term or discourse, I am compelled to acknowledge that fact as a Māori writer, because to do so reflects a greater honesty than moving straight to a view of the term as separate from the self. This latter problem, where I would deceive myself as an *objective* thinker, is considered by Sartre (1984) to be “bad faith,” because I have simply ignored “the real” (Flynn 2013). We can see a certain attempt to evade emotion in the work of such authors as Elizabeth Rata (2006) who may have been better off signaling that she had a subjective problem with kaupapa Māori (formalized Māori approach) (see: Pihama 2010), and that this pique was actually the basic compulsion for her to begin her assault on it. This quick jump to the objective also occurs with many of us as Māori writers, with harsh consequences: for the Māori writer, to elude the issue of language’s irritation is to pretend that the world is indeed compartmentalized, with emotion on the outer when it comes to the self’s relationship with an object or idea and its term. Most likely, no term is so neutral, and it becomes even less so when it is used frequently. A term has the ability to snap us to immediate attention, and on reflection it seems that the term “epistemology” has, for some time, swiveled itself into view for me, demanding a response.

My problem with the term “epistemology” may well derive from its frequency in academic texts, but sharing equally with it is “knowledge,” which is overwhelmingly calculative in a period of modernity (Heidegger 1977). I noted this instrumentalism when reading a report to the Waitangi Tribunal, which is a forum to hear Māori claims of grievance against the Crown, that was dealing with a claim around cultural and intellectual property. In this report (Williams 2001), “mātauranga Māori” was discussed according to its positive knowledge of a practice, object, or idea, but never did I get any glimpse into its sustained possibilities for thought on the dark matter of those same phenomena. That is, mātauranga Māori, as it was dominantly conceived there, appeared to make proclamations of certainty about things (and that tendency matches the overall nature of “evidence” which does seek certainty about an object). Stewart (2007) notes what I believe is a variation on that idea when she states “another important point is that mātauranga is holistic, without the compartmentalization of Western conceptions of knowledge” (p. 139). The frequently used phrase “how do we know what we know?” therefore sits well with that version, whereas I am more a proponent of “how is it that we don’t know?” My preference for the latter quite possibly comes from a love of, and fixation with, language and its relationship with ideas. For as long as I can remember, I have consciously latched on to words as the building blocks of thought, but I became acutely aware of how much more potent an object is than our ability to attach a word to it. This constant speculation on the thought and a word only increased their elusiveness, and I do recall concluding many years ago that it was simply meant to be so. Thought, language, and object were left to exist beyond my knowledge. I also remember being impatient with the way in which a word was proposed as a one-dimensional entity in mainstream schooling, as if it had no particular “aura” or after-effect. The repetition of a term in one’s mind, its playfulness, and the malapropism that can come from one term’s imposition into our utterance – these fundamentally unknowable textures of language were almost entirely ignored.

Although this narrative merely represents my own experience, it is material, like everyone else's experience, and a Māori interpreter of a term probably needs to pay closer attention to it than his/her Western counterpart. In Western academic practice, one tends to launch into an analysis of the term without acknowledging that initial "prickle" of a term and its origins. The academic trained in Western thought launches at it from a Kantian viewpoint as if its totality, while certainly "there," cannot be known and thus is not worth any further attention. However, the term is a relation of ours, as is an idea, and it somehow tugs persistently at our focus, and needs to be addressed on that basis. For me, the process and conclusion I arrived at were highly informative – not simply in a conceptual sense, but materially also because they displayed for me my own vulnerability towards an object and any term to relate with it. Thus, seeking to *know* is particularly vexing for me, especially when we seek to know at the expense of thinking for its own sake. "Epistemology" is, of course, the study of that drive to know, and so it is hardly surprising that it should become a concern. It is also like many other terms in academia that appear to have lost their verve. I do not take issue with whether the use of the term is correct (after all, there are various interpretations of it) – merely that it is resorted to in order to explain a complex Māori ground of experience that it cannot do justice to. Like "knowledge," epistemology is *the* way of describing the fundamentally separate entity. At this stage, though, I am explaining that just through my orientation toward the term, which I have surmised has come about within a context of uncertainty. I now turn to the etymology of the term, to explore how it might either support or derogate from my initial misgiving about it.

Subtext: The Lure of Language for the Māori Subject

Various other Māori writers have identified that language is essentially a nonhuman event and that it draws the human world to it. Mildon (2011) cites Delamere, who suggests that nature and language are thoroughly interrelated:

In the grander scheme of things, traditional Te Reo are the voices of nature; the jolt of an earthquake, the song of a bird, the rustling of leaves, the rumbling of thunder before a storm, the piercing bolt of lightning in the night sky, the rushing waves of a tsunami, the cry of a whale, the fresh smell of rain on the earth. (p. 10)

These forms of language are perhaps less about their audibility than their tacit influence on the self and on the rest of the world. They relate to the intrinsic relatedness of the world's phenomena as much as they do to a sensed phenomenon, even if at times they are perceptible. Māori writers who do venture into the first principles of thought allow that language has (for want of a better word) *spiritual* qualities, but they attribute these characteristics to language in different ways. Language may be linked with "wairua" or spirit (Browne 2005), for instance, in order to explain its "sense" that precedes simple meaning of terms. This primordiality of language can be drawn on to guide teaching and learning, and it thus becomes important in the everyday domain. Browne avers that language is a personally invigorating phenomenon that, with its correspondence with "wairua,"

emotionally charges the individual learner. The Māori language, when uttered by humans, is sometimes said to be an expression of the relationship that the world has with us (Jeffries and Kennedy 2008). An assertion of another can then have profound consequences on both the natural world and other humans, as the utterance can present other worlds, even in such banal and colonial settings as courtrooms, classrooms, and clinics. Royal reflects that it was Maori Marsden's "emphatic expression of [his] statements that, at first, influenced the process of my entry into Māoritanga" (cited in Mika 2013, p. 214 fn. 85). It can be assumed that language had a quality beyond being simply directional in Royal's instance; indeed, Marsden's statements themselves open up realms for further thinking in a material sense. Language may therefore be related to a signifier as it is commonly posited, but beneath the apparent symbol of its words lies a reality that may well be likened to an infinitude which will occasionally see fit to point its human object in one direction or another.

Referring to the Original Sense of "Epistemology"

Terms are thus not innocent, and they have a deep influence on all other things in the world. The term carries out a material function on the world at large (it is not merely a conceptual stand-in for a grand idea, but corresponds with a fundamentally unknowable, textual non foundational foundation). The responsibility of the Māori term analyst here is to discern the term as if it opens onto a material sphere. That is, a term contains a world at its inception and then opens up onto realms that are either colonizing or rejuvenating for Māori. I am arguing for an evaluation of its nature at its outset, through its etymology, and suggest that the origins of a term display its orientation to the world. This "appeal to essence, and, indeed, related conceptual tools such as eidos, totality, type, or quotient, needn't collapse into the foreclosed ascription of *essentialism*" (Gordon 2012, p. 3). The "sense" that we obtain about a term's essence is somewhat different from its dictionary meaning, although the latter can also help us in our speculative approach. We relatedly keep in mind throughout this largely abstract exercise that a term contains a life-force, and that it orders things in the world in ways that are either convivial with, or antithetical to, our philosophies.

How should we know "epistemology" apart from the fact that it is a linguistic unit? What does it do to the world, including its users? Although I am still thinking of epistemology as a term, I am more intent on regarding it as a performative entity that can organize things in the world in various ways. I suspect that this play of language-as-world occurs in various forums, and I first articulated it for myself when I was representing clients as a lawyer, appearing at the Waitangi Tribunal. In these contexts, the Crown permits hearings to take place in the Māori language, yet the Māori claimants often remain distressed at something that often cannot be identified. I surmised that, although the language used in the hearings was sometimes *te reo Māori*, the Tribunal still silently insisted on a particular ontology for it (Mika 2007). It would be something that would need to be human-derived, because the Māori witness would have to answer questions that required a direct answer; it would have

to refer to one object at a time; in referring to that object, it would have to illuminate that object fully to be admissible; and the human speaker would have to step outside of language and become its master. All this took place while the Māori language was being used. Stewart (2016) notes in relation to this problem that there is a “loss of meaning when these words are extracted from their original philosophical context” (p. 96). In fact, the Māori register did little to solve the problem that the deep colonization of language and its object posed, apart from allowing those who were familiar with the language to speak more comfortably. This experience was yet another that I feel compelled to recount, because it highlighted that language (in the sense that dominant Western philosophy intends it) is not really the problem, but instead it is language and its weddedness to the world that is at the heart of the matter.

Within and without these settings, things become the object of precision through language (see Andreotti et al. 2011). The aim is to get at the “is” of a thing. In a Māori philosophy of language and metaphysics, it may be more useful to substitute the “what is” with the more speculative “perhaps an object engages in such a way, either through or as a part of language.” Firstly, the term “material” – which “what is” tries to ascertain – does not really suffice, as it seems to suggest that physical space is being taken up. If I state that a term contains to it all the world (and I do understand language from a Māori philosophical viewpoint in this sense), then I mean that the term is material but in a different way to how the West understands it as a discrete object containing to it its own distinctive properties that allow it to retain its own space. Instead, I mean that all things exist in their full nature as they collapse with each other within language. Senghor (2010) notes that “for the African, matter in the sense the Europeans understand it, is only a system of signs which translates the single reality of the universe: being, which is spirit, which is life force” (p. 479). We could think of this notion of matter as constituting a “textured” or “worlded” nature of language, although it is important to remember that these terms are meant in the sense just described, not in more free-flowing ways that insist that it is the human self alone who textures or “worlds” language. We can see here that there is a form of resistance in expressing a Māori worldview on language, for we have to account for what it probably is *not* as much as what it likely is. Expressing the textured nature of language is itself a counter-colonial enterprise, not solely a traditional one. Words such as *not* or *instead* are hence hugely useful as they allow us to immediately deviate from whatever we have just been forced to encounter while we make a proactive statement about a Māori philosophy of language.

So what exactly is it about the West’s view of an object – and thereafter the infiltration of that assumption into the substance of our own philosophy – that privileges precision, asserts an understanding that an object is only important insofar as it is “sensed,” moved between one human to another? Here we move directly to the term “epistemology,” because it is one that silently upholds a view of solidity and objectivity. This complex issue, as I have suggested, moves toward a general worlded ontology. In this metaphysics, “episteme” understands the self’s relationship to things in the following way:

In ancient times the basic view was set forth that cognition [*episteme, sciential*] can be achieved only when our statements [*logos*] “stand” upon a firm foundation [*epistemi*]. (Grassi 1980, p. 68)

From a Māori perspective, an object becomes stuck in space and time, there for the strong subject to draw on it at will. A ground is suggested that is separate from other things in the world; one prevails upon this foundation to propose about another thing, rather than within the relationship of that thing to the self. Incidentally, the attempts of Western linguistics to separate the phenomenon of “land” from “Placenta” (which are one and the same in the Māori term “whenua”), through separate concepts of each and thereafter distinct meanings through language, could well originate from this self-evident ground upon which the Māori self is made to position him- or herself. “Land” as “ground” then threatens to become the ascendant idea in “whenua”; it is solid and tangible, and since contact it has become something *onto which* one is encouraged to place an economic value.

Indeed, the idea of “ground” is not so straightforward for Māori, because Papatūānuku, who governs ground, is prior to, but inclusive of, the ability to conceptualize. She is moreover material primordially (Mika 2016a), resulting in thought and materiality being one. Standing *upon* the ground is akin to saying that one claims Papatūānuku of one’s own making, rather than being claimed by her. In the dominant Western view, one also makes her a product of one’s ideas, rather than acknowledging being constituted by her or reflecting on the possibility that language is the fullness of the world. However, Papatūānuku constitutes all things and presents a mode of expressing that saturation of things throughout the world. I draw at this point on the word “textural” to highlight the *text* of Earth that constitutes us. For Derrida (1998), the notion of “text” is somewhat similar in that it captures the totality of what can be uttered; with “Papatūānuku,” who is a primordial entity that also gives rise to perception of objects and ideas, modes of expression are fully delivered to us as co-constitutive entities in the world, *not* as masters of either language or things in the world. Entities are hence not sufficiently described through post-structural descriptions of language, as things contain to them an essence that is conveyed through Papatūānuku and that we must, I suggest, acknowledge at all steps of our discussions about language. With the text that Papatūānuku designates, language is historically disruptive; that is, events continue to live through it and materially *constitute* utterances of all sorts. Everything therefore takes place within the sovereignty of Papatūānuku as an act of text, including not only discussions about colonization but also colonized utterances. Colonized utterances are everywhere, even as part of apparently traditionally pure discourses; vine-like, they entangle the latter and are not absent simply because they are not acknowledged. Conversely, a colonizing utterance is only able to be given voice because of its other. A racist expression, then, is forever constituted by the absent; its utterers are possibly always irked by the lurking “nativeness” of what they are attempting to deal with through the racist remark. A Māori constitutive grounding of text lies in the idea that Papatūānuku is simultaneous primordial Being but formed by all other things. A Māori notion of text is therefore more entity-derived and thing-driven than Derrida’s

version, even though, as Derrida would have it, we are also constrained by the fact that one thing always signifies another.

Subtext: Philosophical Infiltration for Māori

The belief that one could find a solid conceptual foundation has its origins in Parmenides, who averred that reality could be founded as constant. Language itself would suffer the same fate, and the stage was set for its radicalization under Plato who exalted *ousia* or permanent essence (Sweeney 2015). Plato imputed extraordinary importance to the Form, which all concepts of objects are derived from, and this rationalism would be decisive for both language and its object. Unlike Māori, who would place language within an object and its complete relationship with the world, Plato encouraged a view of language that would prefer what lies beyond the object, and language would then be unanchored from the world as Māori perceive it. An object would then have to be based on a solid conceptual foundation and its term would similarly be certain only when relating to that Form. Things in the world would be primarily static. After Plato, Aristotle placed essence within the object, not supernatural to it (Tarnas 1991). The way had then been paved for a general reductionist approach to the significance of an object. These propositions by hugely influential philosophers contextualize “epistemology”; they add to the solidity of the ground that epistemology reveals through its etymology. An object becomes meaningful only insofar as one can utter with certainty about it, or come to grips with it through a solid stance upon a foundational conceptual ground.

Māori have been consistently influenced by the notion that language can obtain a final conceptual ground upon which one can stand, and Māori academics are not immune. Many of us, myself included, can acknowledge that language is an unknowable “phenomenon,” yet we declare this in a self-assured way. Language is then made a vehicle of certainty despite its reference to its own uncertainty. Western concepts of presence and categorization have already asked for me to declare something at least about language as a self-evident truth! We have forced it back on itself, to look on itself as a displaced entity, have urged it to contradict itself in a way that does not sit well with a Māori view of paradox. This perversion of the self, object, and its language has an historical context, some of which can be adumbrated here. Certainty through language has imposed itself as a colonizing horizon of Māori thought, and it has threatened Māori worldviews since contact with Pākehā. In New Zealand, there is a history in policy and education of making an object something separate from everything else, including the person talking about it. Thus, from early contact onward, language was posed as a representational tool, not one that reflects what Whitt et al. call a presentational worldview (Whitt et al. 2001). It is relatively well known, for instance, that the Māori language was described in education policy as inferior (Stewart 2014), and less academic or important than the English language (see for instance: Waitangi Tribunal 1986): as early as 1867, Carleton asserted that the Māori language was one that “was imperfect as a medium of thought” (p. 863). Alongside devaluing the *Māori* language, the vitality of language itself as a presenter of objects was threatened through the subsequent implementation of this sentiment, and it was becoming a tool of the human speaker, simply there to convey an exact

idea. Later on, *te reo Māori* was introduced as an auxiliary language, being able to step the Māori student up to a higher level of precise and correct expression in the form of the English language (Mika 2013). At these early stages, Māori students and their families would have been subtly introduced to a warped notion of what language itself is. The inspector of Māori schools believed in 1931 that Māori students were incapable of expressing themselves ‘properly’ in English (Barrington 1966), thus promoting an idea of an object’s and its term’s clarity.

None of this, of course, is to say that language for Māori needed to be thought of as a vehicle either of precision or its opposite, simply that its exactness may not have been the primary focus. The issue may well have been more complex than that of precision, because although “traditional Maori education placed great emphasis on linguistic proficiency” (Benton 1989, p. 7), seeking exactness through language could itself have been reliant on a number of factors – the relationship of the self to the idea or object being discussed, how “shadowed” the idea or object was, and even the genealogical link of the speaker to the entire place and time that the object was located in at that particular time. But even then, language could have simply worked so thoroughly in synchronicity with the voidness (“*kore*”) of an idea or object that it preferred to work within an imprecise mode (Mika 2016b), not merely as a tool for pointing definitively to an idea or an object. Language itself therefore became an idea based on a ground of truth.

Consequences of “Epistemology” for the Māori User

Certainty through “epistemology” is influential for its ability to train our minds. We are talking about its ontological maneuver as much as the linguistic sign. Indeed, it does things with our view of language itself (and thus we have doubled up on language as a concern through one of its emissaries, a term which happens to be “epistemology”). It urges us to control language as if the latter can move across objects seamlessly, describing them and allowing us to draw on those objects at will in an economical way. We are now constantly and silently challenged to think of things in the world so that they can be transmitted through language in the form of a concept. Epistemology is one word that threatens a Māori conception of both language and its objects, and in order to clarify what is the issue here, we must think about this gigantic yet unseen mode of colonization from a cultural context. Although “epistemology” appears straightforward and not needing to be thought about now – apart from within the context of knowledge revival and transmission – its impact as a material entity is consequential. “Epistemology,” is behind the overuse of Māori terms in policy, for instance, because it proposes that translation is simply a linguistic concern, not a metaphysical one. The Māori terms are subjected to “high visibility”; they are made to conform to a sense of the world that prefers the single appearance of a thing, rather than a thing as an emissary of all others. They are disciplined, trained, and understood in advance as plain, simple, and human-derived. One current prolific example is the term “*whānau*,” which seems to flourish everywhere in government policy. The Māori reader may be left perplexed at the fact that

almost everything apart from the nonhuman world now is a “whānau” or family as far as any government is concerned. Policy does not acknowledge that within the human family there exist its nonhuman counterparts, including ancestors, mountains, rocks, plants, and even unseen phenomena. Indeed, there are “whānau” that appear to have nothing to do with humans, although they also link to the human world in some form or other. “Whānau” in these contexts indicates nothing more than its English equivalent “family”; if it did, it would transcend the policy document. But any such transcending is strictly forbidden. Instead, a government is seen to be performing equitably by including the precise operation of the terms even though the terms now open onto a colonizing world.

Subtext: Rupture

To reiterate: language, object, and term derive from the inescapability of Papatūānuku. Papatūānuku, incidentally, cannot be addressed through dominant forms of Western philosophy, which tends to act like science in trying to smooth out paradoxes and inconsistencies. While Papatūānuku gives rise to all things, she is simultaneously constituted by them all, and dominant Western philosophy cannot gain an entrance point to an understanding of her because its major architects and usual suspects, including in particular Aristotle, Hume, and, to a certain extent, Kant, are incapable of accepting that very first possibility. Moreover, we are therefore bound by her textuality. Secondly and relatedly: if all things are constituted by Papatūānuku, then within any one, simple utterance there exist all other things, although they may not be perceptible. Certain things reveal themselves at times to us, and we then express them, but Papatūānuku and all her elements are responsible for that expression and continue to live through it. If language is textural then it is dense with things that are instantaneous with, and are irruptive from, Papatūānuku. By “irruptive” I mean that they might seem to burst through the All of the text and appear to be fragmentary, but they are actually still governed by the interplay of everything else. When I think of language as the most misunderstood and yet most fundamental of all forms of expression, its obscurity – involving our lack of finality on what forms language, what language sets about forming, and indeed how language forms us even as we thereafter utter it – becomes its most decisive feature. A philosophy of language that is caught up with the upheaval of a material and conceptual ground calls for me to approach terms as if they are animate entities, as fundamentally unknowable as they are real, shedding their dictionary meaning and instead instructing me to reflect on their enigmatic nature.

For all Māori writers and students, the correspondence between their origins and the presentation of their ideas will be unique, and may not be based on the solid ground that the West silently and relentlessly insinuates is within our reach, although they may have a completely different way of articulating it than I do. “Rupture,” “irrupt,” and “erupt” for me are all useful English terms gesturing toward a restless, co-existing earthy, and conceptual ground. The history of my own iwi, Tuhourangi, would urge me to resist a final conclusion, and dissuade me from even pretending to sum up on the issue of language and its relationship with objects and with the troublesome nature of “epistemology.” By my strong affiliations to the peculiar

coinstantaneous history of Tuhourangi, I am instead taught uncertainty, through the abyssal nature of my “ground” there. In 1886, the mountain that we reference, Tarawera, erupted, killing many and affecting everyone from that area. The uncertainty of that event, creating a fissure as it undoubtedly did within the minds of the tribal members as much as in the earth itself, sets in place a template for proposing that a thing in the world is in fact *beyond* epistemology at every turn. Concluding is to privilege *epistemi*, and it tries to cordon off a certain section of the material world as well, bringing it into absolute clarity by dispensing with it as a summary. But the seemingly traumatic eruption sets in motion the distinct possibility that I can simply underscore a proposition with the same schism that affected my tribal territory. With that in mind, even “epistemology” must contain something about it that appeals to me, because it so vehemently motions to me, summoning me to attend to it, and I have responded. I cannot therefore completely abandon it out of sight; it is too complicatedly enmeshed in my own regard for that to happen. Leaving my concern breached by the mystery that language brings to it therefore reinforces the currency of where I come from.

Glossary

Iwi Tribe

Kaupapa Māori Formalized Māori approach

Kore Voidness

Māoritanga The essence of being Māori

Mātauranga Knowledge

Ousia Essence

Pākehā European New Zealander

Papatūānuku Earth Mother; infinite substance; originating text of life; that which languages

Te reo Māori The Māori language

Tohu Sign

Wairua Spirit

Whakapapa Genealogical relationship

Whānau Family

Whanaunga Relations

Whenua Land/Placenta

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Part IV

Societal Issues

Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy and Megan Bang



Societal Issues Facing Indigenous Education: Introduction

32

Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy and Megan Bang

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Abstract

Wider societal issues can impact significantly on the education of Indigenous Peoples, although sometimes the connections are not obvious to everyone. This section presents the reader with a wide range of current, and ongoing, challenges across a variety of Indigenous contexts. The chapters include exploring the school-prison-community trajectory of Indigenous Peoples in the USA and Aotearoa New Zealand, human rights violations in South America, environmental education in the USA and the Pacific, and the engagement and support of Indigenous students and their families. Along with further chapters in other Indigenous contexts, they all relate to the reimagining of the role of Indigenous knowledges in education and identity formation processes.

We have forwarded in this introduction a framework (referred to as the five E's) around which to conceptualize the narrative that informs this section (Brayboy et al., RISE: a study of indigenous boys and men. Paper prepared for RISE: boys and men of color, Philadelphia, 2017). The five E's are empowerment, enactment,

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engagement, envision, and enhancement. Empowerment is how Indigenous communities come to unlock and utilize their own inherent power to change their communities and lives. Enactment is the intentional practice that communities use to teach their children to be part of the group. Engagement centers on relationships between people and place, rooted in mutual respect and sustenance. Envision is guided by creating a purpose-driven framework which, we argue, relates to community self-determination. And lastly, enhancement is a recognition that there is room for both institutional and tribal support to address the envisioning process. These important concepts, we argue, do not place us as “victims” regarding the impact of wider societal structures but provide a sense of agency (both individual and community) and hope about how to recapture, reestablish, and re-instantiate our nations of peoples. We believe that the chapters in this section highlight both the perils and the possibilities of the futures of Indigenous Peoples.

Keywords

Societal issues · Nation building · Cultural reflexivity · Community empowerment

Introduction

The consideration of wider societal issues as it relates to questions of Indigeneity and Indigenous education is important. We want to frame our thoughts in this section around the five E’s developed elsewhere (Brayboy et al. 2017). The five E’s are empower, enact, engage, envision, and enhance. These E’s, as we hope to demonstrate in this introduction, and we believe are illustrated throughout this section, are crucial to Indigenous education and the schooling of Indigenous students. If Indigenous children and the communities and individuals that serve, nurture, and steward them understand larger questions of sovereignty, both as an individual issue and as a community one, they are more inclined to educate – and school – their children in ways that will strengthen communities and build long-term capacity.

We (Bryan and Megan) have, over the years, debated the notion of empowerment, because like Deloria (1970) we believe that power can neither be given nor received. Instead we take up the term to think about the process by which individuals and communities come to unlock and utilize their inherent powers. This might be the engagement of sovereignty (comprising self-determination – both individually and communally), or it might be a program that focuses on language movements. This is what some have called a nation building (Brayboy et al. 2012) approach; it is crucial for communities to engage in strengthening and building their own capacity to engage in creating futures of their own making.

There is an important element to empowerment in communities that is intertwined with Indigenous Peoples understanding of our knowledge systems. Comprised in this is how communities come to, and engage in, the process of knowing. Western

philosophers might refer to this as epistemologies; empowerment is rooted in how communities come to know. But knowing is not enough; communities and their members must do things. The doing is reflective of the knowing; it is also reflective of the realities of the communities and its members. Some philosophers have referred to the process of doing and explaining the realities as ontology. The realities of Peoples are different; and, yet, they are profoundly impacted by what people know. Those knowledges, and their concomitant actions, are rooted in particular values. These values might revolve around connections to land, or to other people, or living things. The spiritual components of these values must be considered as one considers how we think about both knowing and doing; these do not occur in a vacuum. This axiological thread is crucial to consideration of the inherent power in people and peoples. Finally, the engagement of power is both taught and learned. Being clear on the process of teaching and learning (what philosophers might call pedagogy) is crucial to succession planning; communities are primarily interested in their survival and creating thriving lives for their children and grandchildren; they are also engaged in honoring their ancestors. Pedagogical practices inform how we think about knowledge, its enactment, and the values surrounding both knowing and doing.

These systems, rooted in relationships, are formed in the intersections of ideas. As Elizabeth Sumida Huaman (► [Chap. 39, “Yachayninchis \(Our Knowledge\): Environment, Cultural Practices, and Human Rights Education in the Peruvian Andes”](#)) notes:

Based on the Andean cycle of life, Quechua knowledge systems are organized and purposeful towards a good and balanced life for all beings. There are clearly defined responsibilities for human beings and protocols for engagement with all elements in the universe – from the sun and moon, heavens, and stars, to the rivers and trees and animals, to the ancestors.

Relatedly, Whyte (► [Chap. 40, “Reflections on the Purpose of Indigenous Environmental Education”](#)) writes, “When I thought more about our traditions, I realized that their importance is not that they are ‘ancient’ or ‘the way it’s always been.’ Rather, they are stories or guides for understanding the moral fabric of our peoples that is woven with these qualities of trust, empathy, consent, and many others.” The intersections between what people know and how they believe are crucial to the education and schooling of Indigenous children.

The second E, enact, is the ability to practice particular teachings that engage and implement identity development. While we note the importance of pedagogy above, we want to highlight the crucial aspect of tying particular practices to how people become Peoples. That is, what does it mean for individuals to become parts of groups? Is there a secret code involved? A password that parents pass down to their children? Are there particular genetic traits that individuals have? We argue that there are deliberate, intentional practices that communities have relied on for millennia to teach their children to be part of their community. These lessons, these practices, coalesce around larger questions of community survival. In this instance, we do not mean survival as simply staying alive; it is more complex. As Vaioleti and Morrison

(► [Chap. 36, “The Value of Indigenous Knowledge to Education for Sustainable Development and Climate Change Education in the Pacific”](#)) remind us in relation to the Pacific:

Pacific culture and knowledge has always been traditionally conceived, produced, applied, and critiqued by Pacific peoples, and therefore there exists a long-standing tradition of developing complex yet self-sustaining systems. The respect, reciprocity, and the enduring endeavor to maintain the *vā* (relational space between people and the environment), in turn, will continue to be an immensely significant and invaluable component of the cultural capital of the Pacific.

Survival necessitates staying alive, but there is a level of thriving embedded in the enactment. Perhaps we should call it “thrival” in order to fully explain the wealth and goodness inherent in identity development for people and peoples.

Bang and colleagues (► [Chap. 41, “Indigenous Family Engagement: Strong Families, Strong Nations”](#)) note, “we suggest the everydayness of Indigenous families’ lives are perhaps the sites in which the most radical and hopeful possibilities for Indigenous resurgence and futures can and do unfold.” Enactment is future facing; it is hopeful and resurgent. And, it is both specific and has broad implications. Prasit and Meixi (► [Chap. 38, “Indigenous Educational Movements in Thailand”](#)) write:

Indigenous people in Thailand have always been engaged in the process of self-definition and in 2007, a transIndigenous movement in Thailand solidified. The global flow of ideas and connections to international Indigenous alliances promoted leaders to form the Network of Indigenous Peoples in Thailand (NIPT) to give voice to Indigenous issues in Thailand.

Enactment is also about amplifying the voices of peoples so that they, in the words of Ojibwe scholar Scott Lyons (2000), set the terms of the debate. The terms of the debate are local; they are also international. The shared experiences of Indigenous Peoples as it relates to education and schooling are crucial to understand the power of this volume in relation to enactment.

Our intent here is to recognize that while enactment happens by and through individuals, it also circles around communities and their collective members. The identity development is both singular and plural in that it happens in both individuals and collectives. So, while some might refer to the enactment as informal practices – denoting that this happens outside of schools and the schooling process – we argue that anything that addresses the future of a community must be engaged with a seriousness that calling it “informal” diminishes.

The third E, engage, centers relationships between people and place. For Indigenous Peoples, place matters. The relationships between us and the land are rooted in mutual respect and sustenance. For human beings, we are fed by the land, whether it is through the four-leggeds, vegetables and fruits that grow on it, the waters that provide us with hydration and fish and vegetables, and the air, which provides birds, water, and sunlight. The relationship calls on humans to care for the lands, water, and air. Elliott and Fryberg (► [Chap. 35, ““A Future Denied” for Young Indigenous People: From Social Disruption to Possible Futures”](#)) argue, “it is vastly important that Indigenous communities strengthen their connection with

their traditional territories; this can be done through land—/place-based teaching and learning, land restoration projects, and food and medicine harvesting practices.” Lands feed us physically; they also teach us.

Indeed, humans serve as stewards of the land in multiple senses. We are responsible for the land’s well-being in our hunting, gathering, farming, fishing, and other extraction practices. And humans are – as noted above – responsible for leaving the land, air, and water better than we received it for the generations to follow. This goes beyond more traditional forms of sustainability in which human beings are expected to leave lands and places as they found them.

These relationships, as they relate to education, are going beyond lands and peoples, however. We must engage relationships between people and knowledges. Some knowledge is embedded in the course content. Much of it, however, is the content of the places in which people live, the teachings passed down through generations, and the knowledges shared between people orally and through example. These different knowledges come from different sources and serve different ends. Taken together, however, they can be used to assist individuals and communities toward some higher end. And, it is the idea of a purposeful framework that we now turn.

The fourth E, envision, is guided by creating a purpose-driven framework. This framework is largely guided by the concept of nation building that we referenced earlier. There is an important connection between education and, in many cases, schooling – as it relates to nation building. By this, we do not mean the kinds of nation building that imperial powers engage in when they hope to “spread democracy” by over-running sovereign nation states with different ideological leanings. Instead, we mean the ways that tribal communities and nations create futures of their own making. Chin et al. (► [Chap. 34, “Systems of Support: What Institutions of Higher Education Can Do for Indigenous Communities”](#)) define the importance of nation building in the following way:

Nation building in education means preparing and training Native teachers, principals, and counselors who understand students’ cultures, knowledges, and contexts. It also means preparing and training physicians, engineers, business entrepreneurs, social and public health practitioners, and legal thinkers who can provide direction and act in the capacity of community leaders for health and well-being, infrastructure, economic development, law and governance, and so forth. A nation building agenda identifies areas of improvement or needs that community members should focus on and emerges when tribal leaders, elders, and community members come together to identify an asset-based outlook for the future community.

There is a purpose to community-driven work. It is about the perpetuation of that community; it is also about the evolution and envisioning of what is to come. Again Bang and her colleagues (► [Chap. 41, “Indigenous Family Engagement: Strong Families, Strong Nations”](#)) show they understand the complexities of a nation-building approach writing, “A challenge for us is always to both dream and contribute to birthing resurgences and Indigenous futures — an elsewhere to the current settler-colonial forms and systems of education — as well as to account for the here-and-now enclosures.” These enclosures, they help us understand, “include racism, invisibility, tokenism and forced compliance.” They go on to argue that the enclosures “are

remedied through practices and acts of resurgence (which include learning from and with lands and waters, multi-generational learning, new partnerships between Native and non-Native peoples, and collaborations between schools and families).” The relationships between the possibilities and the enclosures require that the education and schooling of Indigenous children must be engaged with care and love.

In the future-making process, Indigenous Peoples and communities envision their futures and engage sovereignty. By sovereignty, we mean the inherent rights of Peoples to govern themselves. As an inherent right, we believe that sovereignty manifest itself and is operationalized in self-determination. In spite of the fact that the reference is self-determination, the emphasis here is not on individuals, but on community self-determination. When communities govern themselves and build and strengthen capacity, they are creating a purpose-driven framework.

Nation building, of course, is not the only way this happens. It is one example. Others might be when communities focus on language policy and planning, or reframing and controlling particular narratives about their own health or well-being, or resisting national compulsory education. The point here is that when tribal nations and communities are driven by particular purposes – strengthening themselves and moving toward a successful future (determined by the community), they have engaged in the process of envisioning.

The final E, enhance, is a recognition that there is room for both institutional and tribal support to address the envisioning process. Interestingly, some argue that we must have a return to tradition and believe that there is some form of purity in this return. We believe that there are particular principles rooted in traditions including a recognition of the importance relationships to land, the role of survival and stewardship that honors ancestors and creates opportunities for youth, a recognition of the role of imperialism and colonization, and the honoring of particular knowledge systems. There should, however, also be some recognition that Indigenous Peoples have always adapted and adjusted. It is how we have survived. The notion that being static is the pathway forward is nonsensical. What role do institutions, which have traditionally been colonizing forces, have in enhancing the present and futures of our citizens and communities? Solyom et al. (► [Chap. 33, “Carceral Colonialisms: Schools, Prisons, and Indigenous Youth in the United States”](#)) help us understand the intersections between the “traditional” and the “institutional,” with a full understanding that tribes can be institutional, when they write:

Thus culturally relevant curriculum must become a process that reshapes schools’ institutional functions, changing schools as sites of assimilation in to facilitators of self-determination through education—regardless of location. Access to educational spaces which provide students with the benefit of cultural reflexivity are a means to allay and eventually counteract the negative legacy of assimilationist colonial education policies.

As it turns out, cultural reflexivity is an acknowledgment of the flexibility (and its concomitant wisdom) of Indigenous Peoples to educate and school our children.

At the same time, Smith et al. (► [Chap. 37, “Reclaiming Our People Following Imprisonment”](#)) argue that a key to turning around the imprisonment rates of Māori in New Zealand requires the work of the State and Māori. They state:

...while the prison system remains in its current form, providing the right type of support post release is critical [. . .]. That support needs to be consistent and long term, with people who have a strong and positive effect in their lives. This project met those two needs by providing iwi-based (tribal) health and social service support, combined with key hapu (extended family) facilitators. Both these supports mean that tangata ora (people who are healing) have potential lifetime support that goes beyond the life of a service contract. Both these supports provide culturally solid, potential lifetime support which do enrich the lives of the tangata ora.

Conclusion

Taken together, this collection of essays begs the question: What does this mean for the education and schooling of Indigenous children? The essays ask us to reimagine the role of knowledge and knowledges in the education and schooling process. How might we reimagine what counts as knowledge that is sanctioned by the state as something worth knowing? These chapters force us to acknowledge what we, as Indigenous Peoples, have known since time immemorial. Our knowledge is good knowledge. It is smart, is interesting, and serves as a foundation not only for personhood, survival, and engagement with the natural world and others, but it is also illuminating for life and education/schooling for the twenty-first century. There must be calls for reimagining and rethinking curricula and evaluation of what kinds of knowledges should count. They call for a reimagining of how we teach and learn and what we teach. And, importantly, there is a call in these chapters to acknowledge the centrality of relationships (both negative and positive) between people, knowledges, school and schooling, each other, and place. There is hope in the essays about how to recapture, reestablish, and re-instantiate our nations of peoples. Our hope is that they serve as guideposts for not only Indigenous Peoples and educators but for non-Indigenous Peoples on ways to rethink schooling for our children. Those children deserve the very best we can give them.

In the twenty-first century, Indigenous Peoples remain poised to lead in education, schooling, the environment, knowledge production and reproduction, health, relationships to land, and other related areas. In order to do so, we draw on lessons cumulatively attained and learned over millennia and adaptations to surrounding technologies. The leadership of these goals can be enhanced by the places in which many of us work – the schools, universities, and other educational institutions – but the enhancement must be done with care, concern, caution, and collaboration. We believe that the chapters in this section address

the five E's and highlight both the perils and the possibilities of the futures of Indigenous Peoples.

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Carceral Colonialisms: Schools, Prisons, and Indigenous Youth in the United States

33

Jeremiah A. Chin, Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy, and
Nicholas Bustamante

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Abstract

In this chapter, we attempt to open conversations on the school-prison nexus and indigenous youth by tracing the history of colonization from boarding schools to the modern school to prison pipeline, focusing on a statistical analysis of school discipline in Arizona schools. The attempted assimilation and colonization of Indigenous youth in the United States has moved from boarding school policy to the modern network of zero tolerance and school discipline policies that form the “school to prison pipeline” as students are pushed out of classrooms and in to mass incarceration. Although the school to prison pipeline has been documented and analyzed in many communities of color, the extent and effect of the school-prison nexus for Indigenous youth in the United States has been under-explored. We found that schools with a predominantly non-white student population, particularly predominantly American Indian and Alaska Native schools, reported higher rates of school discipline. Furthermore, reports of Indigenous students

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being disciplined for purported dress code violations when wearing traditional Indigenous hair styles signifies the ways in which colonization permeates the educational system in the United States. These destructive, disruptive, and colonial educational practices must be stopped.

Keywords

School to Prison Pipeline · School-prison nexus · Mass Incarceration · Indigenous Youth · American Indian/Alaska Native schooling

Introduction

On August 23, 2017, a 4-year-old American Indian boy, named Jabez Oates was sent home from school because his long hair violated school district policy on appropriate dress (Fonrouge 2017). Oates' mother, Jessica Oates, a member of the Cocopah tribe, noted that she had documentation from the tribe about the cultural significance of long hair for males. She said, "It's a symbol of strength." Ms. Oates worked to conform to the district's rules by sending Jabez to school with his hair in a bun. Apparently, having Jabez's hair in a bun violated district policy, being called "an 'inappropriate hair accessory'." In a later interview, the superintendent of the district noted, "Parents have a right to seek an appropriate educational setting for their child, just as Ms. Oates has the right to place her child in a district that reflects her personal expectations for standards of appearance." The superintendent takes an important cultural marker for a male's body and turns it into an issue of *school choice*; disregarding the lack of realistic choices for Ms. Oates, a single mother looking for a second job to support her family.

By framing discipline as choice, the superintendent ignores the cultural and historical components of an "individual choice" and reframes the debate as the district's interest in maintaining "standards." To wit, his statement notes, "There are procedures in place for addressing concerns over policy if it is Ms. Oates' desire to have her son educated in Barbers Hill ISD. But we would and should justifiably be criticized if our district lessened its expectations or longstanding policies simply to appease." In this case, the idea of "appeasing" a cultural decision and using policy as a way to discipline difference is one way that institutions begin to institutionalize "expectations" against Indigenous peoples. An accommodation that would facilitate learning and inclusion is made to appear as a violation of policy, placing blame for punishment and rejection of a 4-year-old who honors his culture on the shoulders of his mother, who may have no practical choices about where to live, work, or send her child to school. Jabez Oates will only ever have one first day of school, and it will – forever – be marred by a principal and his superintendent's perceptions and a policy for appropriateness that demonizes Jabez's (and by extension his mother's and their tribe's) culture. Stories like Jabez's are disappointingly common, making almost annual appearances in news and education circles. Jabez's story is a reminder that schools begin the disciplining process early and often for Indigenous children. This is not a new phenomenon.

Schools are institutions of learning and conditioning – formally educating students in subjects like math or science, while also instilling cultural norms and values. In the United States, learning has become interwoven with discipline, creating controlled environments where students are taught to obey authority and act in conformity with white norms and policies. These range from in-class norms of interaction, or, as Jabez story shows, dress and physical appearance. Failure to conform to policy results in punishments ranging from lowered citizenship grades, to zero tolerance policies that tie behavior to suspension or expulsion, and serve to push students out of school (Noguera 2003). These policies disproportionately effect students of color and students with disabilities to create a “school to prison pipeline” that pushes youth from education to incarceration (Christle et al. 2005; Tuzzolo and Hewitt 2006; Kim 2009; Winn and Behizadeh 2011; Vaught 2011, 2017; Nance 2014; Laura 2014; Redfield and Nance 2016; Morris 2016).

The school to prison pipeline encompasses inequitable educational outcomes and experiences for students of color, emphasizing the impact of structural discrimination on low income and racialized youth and their families experience in relation to the school system (Noguera 2003; Vaught 2011; Morris 2016). Studies highlight the way disciplinary practices (Kim 2009; Losen 2011; Noguera 2003), school resources and teachers (Christle et al. 2007; Tuzzolo and Hewitt 2006) and the presence of school resource/police officers (Nance 2014), negatively affect the educational opportunities of youth of color generally, and Black, Latina/o, and American Indian/Alaska Native students specifically.

Studies focusing specifically on Black and Latino boys and raise important issues in interrupting the criminalization of Black and Brown boys, but scholarly analyses of the school to prison pipeline rarely focus on the school-based criminalization of Black and Latina girls (Morris 2016) or Indigenous youths, particularly those in rural areas (Healey 2013). Thus, discussions on the racialization and criminalization of youth in schools fail to account for the ways race and gender contribute to negative educational outcomes for girls of color or Native youth. As Monique Morris points out, “the narrative arc of the school-to-prison pipeline has largely failed to interrogate how punitive discipline policies and other school-related decision-making affect the well-being of girls” (2016, p. 11). Black and Brown girls or Indigenous youths do appear in national studies on school discipline and the school-to-prison pipeline and reveal disproportionate, and statistically significant, disparate disciplinary practices for Black, Brown, and Indigenous youths in comparison to white youths (NCAI 2015; Redfield and Nance 2016; U.S. Dept. of Ed. 2014; Wallace et al. 2008). However, the inclusion of Indigenous youth is largely as a comparison group, and they remain absent from statistical and anecdotal narratives of the school to prison pipeline. This cursory inclusion is symptomatic of statistical analyses that expose systemic issues but render the experiences of American Indian students invisible because of a lack of a statistically significant sample size (Shotton et al. 2013). In this chapter, we use the terms American Indian, Alaska Native, Native Hawaiian, Native, and Indigenous to refer to the original inhabitants of the lands that now make up the United States, including Alaska and Hawaii, and their descendants. We are specific where possible in identifying which Indigenous peoples or nation we are speaking

directly about. We alternate between these terms because we recognize that grouping people in this way is a social construct rooted in a shared history of oppression from colonial forces from Europe and their descendants in the United States. Just as there is no essential or definitional experience that defines Indigenous peoples, there is no term that all Indigenous peoples will agree on.

Discussions of the school-to-prison pipeline are growing in academic literature on education, law, and policing – critiquing the disproportionate impact of zero tolerance policies, current events, and effects that have increased discipline and policing (Morris 2016; Nance 2014; Vaught 2011, 2017). Fewer studies situate this in the historical context, building on the histories of racialization and white supremacy in the United States that associate blackness, otherness, or indigeneity with criminality and valorize whiteness to create racial disparities that continue to grow (Morris 2016; Vaught 2011, 2017). The school to prison pipeline is nothing new, but unfortunately also shows few signs of rust or disrepair. As the story of Jabez that opened this chapter shows the criminalization of youth has been well maintained.

The school-to-prison pipeline for Indigenous peoples in the United States is rooted in the history of colonization and assimilation through boarding schools. Schools, as institutions, are sites and extensions of colonial power in the application of social policy to the bodies and ways of knowing of indigenous youth. The next section situates the school-to-prison pipeline rooted in ideologies of discipline behind the boarding school movement, identifying how colonization has shifted from forced assimilation through removal to a removal from schooling for failure to properly assimilate. This shift is an important adaptation made by schools. We then turn to focus specifically on how disciplinary practices are enacted in Arizona, based on recent data accumulated by the United States Department of Education. Contrasting historical accounts and modern qualitative data helps to begin conceptualizing and reframing the way schooling, and school discipline, are enacted for American Indian Youth. We conclude by reflecting on the school as a colonial institution and turn towards Critical Indigenous Research Methodologies (Brayboy et al. 2012) to consider how culturally relevant institutions can disrupt the school to prison pipeline.

From Boarding Schools to Prisons

Schools serve multiple purposes; they educate children in particular subjects, they lift certain elements and expectation that society's power-brokers deem desirable and appropriate. Boarding schools were a violent assimilationist effort to cultivate ideal Native Americans citizens; to transform indigenous peoples and knowledges into white, Anglo norms. Indigenous youth who did not fit Eurocentric norms found themselves unfit for inclusion into US civil society, but even those whose ways of being and knowing were colonized by schools were still marginalized (Lomawaima and McCarty 2006). The modern prison industrial complex similarly functions

within a state of white supremacy, as school safety and disciplinary policies are often used to demarcate students of color for amplified punishments that too often introduce and link minority youth to the carceral state, either as inmates or guards (Gilmore 2007; Jung et al. 2011; Noguera 2003). Moreover, the school to prison pipeline is complicated by the role of private prisons, whose influence in state legislatures across the country directly contribute to legislation that both underfunds public instruction and increases the presence of for-profit prisons (Jung et al. 2011). The modern school to prison pipeline underscores and reinforces normative behaviors, views, and knowledges associated with ideal (white supremacist) citizenship, functioning as a filtration system for capitalism, sorting out those who may participate or those subject to the warehousing, labor, and disenfranchisement of people through mass incarceration.

Colonial Schooling

Schools that serve as a mechanism of social control over non-white populations by the removal and cultural demonization of children are nothing new. As K. Tsianina Lomawaima and Teresa McCarty explain, “the education of American Indian children has been at the very center of the battleground between federal and tribal powers” (2005, p. 5). Beginning in the late nineteenth century and continuing well through the twentieth, the Indian boarding school system was a means of social, academic, cultural, and physical control – regulating Tribal governance and culture by removing youth and forcing education only in white ways of speaking, behaving, and learning (Adams 1995; Ellis 1996; Lomawaima and McCarty 2006). Richard Pratt, founder of the infamous Carlisle Indian School, plainly stated the assimilationist mission of boarding schools was to “kill the Indian in him and save the man” by removing Native youth from their home communities to off reservation boarding schools (Adams 1995, p. 52). This assimilation was not with the intent of integration; rather the intent was to create docile, differentiated bodies for labor and exploitation:

Native individuals, as well as particular cultural traits or practices, were being fitted into an American ‘safety zone’ of obedient citizenry and innocent cultural difference. Parameters of the safety zone corresponded to relations of power: Safe citizens were part of a subservient proletariat, and safe cultural differences were controlled by non-Native federal, Christian, and social agencies that could proclaim themselves benefactors dedicated to ‘preserving’ native life. (Lomawaima and McCarty 2006, p. 49)

By assimilating Native youth and marking them as other, boarding schools ensured marginalization that would eliminate connections with their home community, while racial marginalization and low-level schooling would guard against social advancement in White spaces. The modern carceral state is thus modeled on the boarding school system’s ideological process of marking particular bodies as deviant others, removing them from their homes and communities, and then forcing discipline or docility.

Punishing Native Students

Current policies of discipline that push students out of the classroom are the colonial legacy of boarding schools. Punitive zero tolerance policies continue the assimilation and marginalization for American Indian students by marking characteristics of student dress, look, or behavior as criminal with harsh consequences. Jabez Oates' story is not an isolated incident – schools across the United States continue to sweep Native youth into punitive school discipline simply for upholding cultural traditions. For instance in 2014, a 5-year-old Navajo boy named Malachai Wilson was sent home from his first day of kindergarten because his long hair violated the school's dress code. Texas' Seminole school district policy requires “[b]oys’ hair shall be cut neatly and often enough to ensure good grooming” with special exemptions on religious or cultural grounds so long as the school is given prior notice and an administrator approves (Moya-Smith 2014). A year later at Arrowhead Elementary School in 2015, Jakobe Sanden, a Seneca boy, was sent to the Principal's office for being a distraction. His crime? A mohawk haircut that honored his ancestors. The principal worried that his hair may have violated policy and sent him home without a second thought (Bever 2015; DeMille 2015; Wood 2015). Policing what characteristics constitute “good grooming” for boys are indicative of larger, implicitly biased school policies that seek to punish non-white student behavior as deviant. Though Malachi and Jakobe would return to school without having to cut their hair, with apologies from administrators, Malachi will never have another first day of school, and Jakobe will always know that his hairstyle – and that of his ancestors – will remain suspect at Arrowhead Elementary.

Cultural conflict in the education of youth of color is part of a long history of colonization and white supremacy in the United States. For Indigenous youth in particular, indigenous education can be, according to Creek scholar K. Tsianina Lomawaima (2000), summarized in three simple words: “battle for power” (p. 2). Education scholars have thoroughly identified the disconnect between white schooling and Indigenous youth, highlighting the history of assimilation in US schools and simultaneous resistance by Native students and communities (Brayboy 2005; Lomawaima and McCarty 2006). Even as schooling has become less overtly assimilationist, Native students are still excluded and alienated from educational processes, prompting calls for culturally responsive schooling and culturally relevant/sustaining/revitalizing pedagogies to foster, enhance, and promote Indigenous achievement (Brayboy and Castagno 2009; Brayboy and Maaka 2015; Castagno 2012; Castagno and Brayboy 2008; McCarty and Lee 2014).

These principles take on added significance in school discipline, as demonstrated in the lawsuit against the Winner School District in South Dakota. In 2004, the US Office for Civil Rights of the Department of Education (OCR) targeted Winner for compliance review based on community reports of racism and disciplinary discrimination against Native students (Kim 2010, p. 967). Parents reported that students left the district because of harassment and unfair discipline, but for the local Rosebud Sioux community, the only alternative was an on-reservation boarding school, which “poses a hardship for the families and the students who would otherwise be able to

live at home” (ibid. at 967 n. 68), while others would drop out, or even wind up in a juvenile correctional facility (ibid. at 969). After a group of parents sued the school district, the parties entered into a mediation process between three parents, two tribal representatives, three district administrators, and three members of the district’s Board of Education – ending with a consent decree agreeing to increase graduation rates, decrease suspensions and police referrals, with various attendance and participation requirements (ibid.).

In this case, the lawsuit over disproportionate disciplinary policies and local harassment lead to a mediation that resembles the type of community involvement that culturally relevant schooling seeks to achieve. Critically, this process demonstrates how even schools that are under tribal control may become burdensome to Native students and families, as those who live off-reservation would have to send their children to live in dormitories away from their home. Even though the students are on their Indigenous homelands, they are not with their parents and families on a daily basis. Still, Winner School District litigation is exceptional mostly in that parents were able to directly show discrimination and racism recognized by courts. As Jabez, Malachi, or Jakobe’s stories illustrate, school policies also hinge on cultural norms that can ostracize and discipline Indigenous students for traditional practices, connected to indigenous ways of being and knowing, which are labeled as abnormal or deviant.

The control, management, and suppression of knowledge production over Indigenous and persons of color is central to United States colonization. To this end, education was used to suppress Indigenous axiologies, ontologies, pedagogies, and epistemologies and replace them with eurocentric ways of learning and being (Brayboy 2005; Lomawaima and McCarty 2006; Smith 2012). Education is a sociohistorical process used to model colonial structures of power and further codify relationships of power, particularly white supremacy (Brayboy 2005; Ladson-Billings 1998; Vaught 2011). Peruvian decolonial scholar Anibal Quijano (2000) explains the interdependence between education, identity, and colonization of the Americas as the “constitution of Europe as a new *id*-entity needed the elaboration of a Eurocentric perspective of knowledge, a theoretical perspective of the idea of race as a naturalization of colonial relations between European and non-Europeans” (p. 534). Creating a distinct European identity through colonization necessitated naturalizing Indigenous inferiority through race and white supremacy. The delineations between peoples and knowledge systems became constitutive elements in Western education environments, where the classroom and dominant institutions of education became sites of colonialism. Students who did not embody the cultural norms and European normative values associated were labeled as deviants, needing discipline.

Epistemological and physical abuses of the boarding school system have not died, but instead evolved into discretionary disciplines of the modern school-to-prison pipeline. Punishment of youth of color is made to appear as an outlier, hidden behind neutrally worded general policies that upholding the rules of the education system to make for a more cohesive, or white, educational environment. The stories of Jabez Oates, Jakobe Sanden, and Malachi Wilson reflect the ways in which discipline is

meted out against Native children; punishing the children to undermine the parents', and thereby community's, adherence to traditional appearance, at least with respect to hair. School discipline and the school-to-prison pipeline extend the rationale of the boarding school by making student behaviors, thoughts, and actions the problem, rather than focusing on the institutional and systemic barriers in schooling. We believe this connection is exposed by quantitatively identifying if, where, and how Indigenous youth are disciplined. It is to this work that we now turn.

Disciplining Native Students in Arizona

In order to define how discipline is meted out, we turn to the Civil Rights Data Collection (CRDC) housed in the Office of Civil Rights of the Department of Education. The Civil Rights Data Collection (CRDC) is a biennial mandatory survey required by the United States Department of Education, collecting data on education and civil rights issues to analyze equity and opportunity. As a part of federal funding, schools are required to self-report on a variety of categories, from student enrollment to teacher salaries and budget to use of school discipline. The unit of analysis in this data is institutional, as schools will report the aggregate number of students in a given school, for example identifying the total number of American Indian students. To create our dataset, we took the excel files provided by the CRDC, merged and cleaned the data using Stata statistical software to focus specifically on Arizona. We then cleaned the data to identify key variables and perform multivariate regression analyses, described below.

Sampling Arizona

We chose the 2012 CRDC dataset because at the time we requested data, it was the most current dataset with robust and complete data on Arizona. We focus on Arizona for three reasons. First, it is where we currently reside, making it more relevant to our personal experiences. Second, Arizona is home to 22 federally recognized tribal nations and communities, with the third largest American Indian population in the United States. This means a greater proportion of Native students in the total population to avoid statistically insignificant representations of Native youth in our sample. Third, because of the large Native population and number of reservation communities in Arizona, we believed we were more likely to find diversity in schooling environments for Native youth, with a greater likelihood of predominantly American Indian schools in urban and rural settings, as well as larger proportions of American Indian students in urban and rural public, private, and charter schools. The advantage of CRDC data is that it collects public, magnet, charter, and other non-private schools throughout the state of Arizona, leaving us with 1920 schools in our dataset (see Table 1). Unfortunately, the disadvantage of the CRDC data is that all the numbers are self-reported leaving some frequent missing responses, particularly in measures of school discipline. The demographics for our total sample

Table 1 School sample ($n = 1917$)

Variable	%	Mean (SD)
School type		
<i>Public school</i>	71.06	
<i>Magnet, alternative or charter</i>	28.94	
Title I schools	61.35	
Grades taught		
<i>PreK</i>	0.89	
<i>K – 6 (elementary school)</i>	17.29	
<i>7 & 8 (middle school)</i>	12.24	
<i>K – 8</i>	19.79	
<i>Mix of grades (K – 8)</i>	17.86	
<i>7–12</i>	3.65	
<i>9–12 (high school)</i>	20.52	
<i>K – 12 (all grades)</i>	2.92	
<i>Ungraded (Juv. Justice/online)</i>	4.84	
School size		
<i>Small (2–315 students)</i>	33.44	
<i>Medium (315–662 students)</i>	33.23	
<i>Large(662 + students)</i>	33.33	
Phoenix/Tucson	54.79	
Total school spending (dollars)		3,767,312 (2.95×10^7)
<i>Average teacher salary</i>		42,248.36 (34,458.24)
<i>Per-student spending</i>		6877.66 (24,525.82)
Total FTE of classroom teachers		28.95 (22.65)

includes all 1920 schools reported in the original data; however, the final analysis reduces our total to 1874 schools that reported all disciplinary measures, and of those schools most reported few to no instances of discipline.

As Table 1 demonstrates, the sample is predominantly public schools, with 28.94% of schools identifying as magnet, alternative, or charter schools. The CRDC defines magnet, alternative, and charter school as distinct schools, but notes this includes programs that are located within other schools – i.e., a magnet program housed in a public school. For our purposes, we wanted to show the divide between schools based on differences in funding from the district – magnet, alternative, and charter schools are more narrowly focused at specific issues, populations, or subjects, and receive different types of funding. Title I schools are defined by federal funding provided by Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which provides additional federal funding to schools where more than 40% of the student population are identified as low-income. We use the grades taught variable to show the distribution of the different types of school and ages of students within that school in our sample. We split our data into thirds by the number of students enrolled, thus creating small, medium, and large schools within the sample so we could see if the size of the school affected school discipline. Furthermore, we used

the zip codes available within the dataset to divide our data by whether the school is located in a zip code in the Phoenix or Tucson Metropolitan Statistical Areas, to try and see if there are differences in the discipline meted out by urban and rural schools. Finally, we used fiscal variables to capture school funding, looking at total school spending, that was subdivided into the average teacher salary and per-student spending which synthesizes school size and spending. However, as shown in Table 1, each fiscal measure has a large standard deviation, especially in per-student spending where the standard deviation of 24,525.82 is nearly four times as large as the mean of 6877.66, showing large variance in the spending reported by schools. This indicates a broad range spending among the schools in the sample, with no consistent average across the sample. Finally, we also wanted to look at the Total FTE of teachers employed by the schools, to indicate student-teacher ratios and employment.

Defining Key Variables

Race

Looking at the effects of discipline within the school-to-prison pipeline for Native students requires identifying key variables: school discipline, sex, and race. The CRDC defines race along seven racial categories, adopted in 2007, using a two part question to identify racial and ethnic data. First students are identified as Hispanic/Latino of any race, then they are identified as American Indian or Alaska Native (AI/AN), Asian, Black or African American, Native Hawaiian, or other Pacific Islander, White, or Two or More Races. If students are identified as Hispanic/Latino, they are tabulated as Latino, even if other categories are selected.

The CRDC data misses important racial subtleties, marking Afro-Latinos simply as Latino, or, as particularly relevant to Arizona, Latinos with Native heritage. Thus a student who is Navajo and Mexican would only be identified as Latino in the CRDC data. Furthermore if a student identifies with multiple racial categories, i.e., Black and AI/AN, they would be tabulated in the two or more races category automatically, even if they did not identify under this broader multiracial category. This means that data for Black, American Indian/ Alaska Native, Latina/o, and Asian American students likely underestimate the representation of these groups within the sample, and the lack of nuance clustering students as multiracial underrepresents the varied effects of different socioeconomic and geographic factors for students at the margins of these narrowly defined categories. While there are theoretical and practical issues with the way identity is treated by these data, the standardization of data on race in the CRDC helps to identify discrete racial groups, particularly AI/AN, which are most relevant for our analysis. However, we believe it may also underestimate the effects on Indigenous youth by overly narrow conceptions of race and indigeneity. Again, since we are dealing with school level data, the school's categorization (or miscategorization) of students could speak to the way students are conceptualized as part of the student body, thus, with these caveats, we use the schools categorization of students to see if a relationship exists between school demographics and discipline.

Table 2 School demographics ($n = 1917$)

Variable	Mean (SD)
Student enrollment	572.98 (543.31)
<i>By race</i>	
<i>American Indian/Alaska Native</i>	29.42 (80.78)
<i>Asian American</i>	16.38 (32.29)
<i>Black</i>	30.53 (47.04)
<i>Hawaiian/Pacific Islander</i>	2.25 (5.27)
<i>Latino</i>	240.34 (295.34)
<i>White</i>	244.63 (336.83)
<i>Multiracial</i>	9.41 (32.38)
<i>By sex</i>	
<i>Male</i>	294.28 (272.32)
<i>Female</i>	278.70 (273.10)

School racial demographics in Arizona are identified in Table 2, showing the mean racial and sex demographics for Arizona within the sample. We created variables representing the mean number of students by race, by sex, and by race *and* sex. The proportions and means of students by race and sex are nearly identical to the general racial demographics, but we use the race and gender interaction variables in our final regression models.

The mean racial demographics in Arizona schools within the sample differ dramatically from the United States census. American Indian and Alaska Natives are 7.89% of the students in Arizona schools in our sample, compared to 1.6% of the national population (Census 2016). Similarly Latinos represent 41.06% of the student population of sampled schools, more than double the 17.8% in recent U.S. Census data (2016). White (41.53%) and Black (5.05%) are underrepresented in the sample in contrast with the national census data (61.3% and 13.3% respectively). However, the size and racial composition of schools varies greatly across the sample, demonstrated by the large standard deviations in Table 2. Although the mean Black and American Indian populations are both near 30 students, the large standard deviations (47.04 and 80.78 respectively) exemplify how school racial demographics are not consistent across the sample, and the data contains many outliers.

Part of this is due to large high schools and online schools; there are 13 schools in Arizona with more than 3000 students, three of which are online schools with more than 5000 students. In Arizona, online schools provide virtual classroom environments for students to learn and submit work, but also still involve student and teacher interaction, all through digital environments. Students are still subject to disciplinary measures from their respective schools, but the physical classroom environment differs, even between online schools. Some online schools are magnet programs, housed within physical school campuses, others are purely virtual environments. Furthermore, the CRDC data includes no distinctions between online and in person programs, meaning data would have to be manually researched and recoded to distinguish all online schools from in-person charter, magnet, or alternative schools.

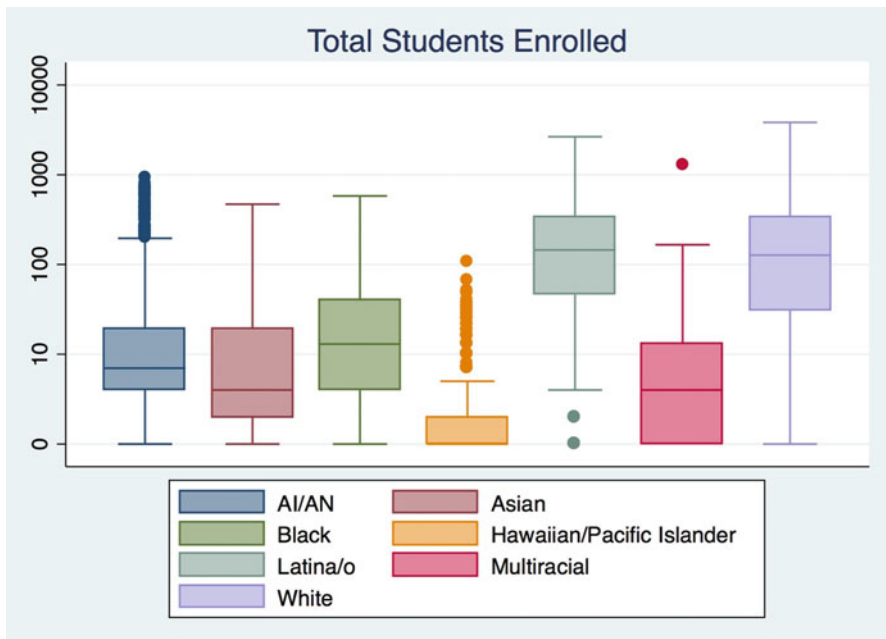


Fig. 1 Enrolled Student Demographics

In future studies, we would like to distinguish this information, but for our purposes in this analysis, we do not believe the online in-person distinction was sufficient for its own analysis, other than noting the ways they contribute to the population gaps.

These 13 online schools have 4.5% of the students in the 1920 schools in the sample. Additionally, there are 262 charter, online, and public schools in our sample that have less than 100 total students enrolled. Schools with 100 students or less thus make up about 13.65% of the schools in our sample, but only about 1.21% of the sample. Figure 1 shows a box and whisker plot to visualize the outliers in our sample, considering the large number of schools with a small student body, and the few schools with a large student body. These large schools necessitated the box and whisker plots to be shown logarithmically to show the medians and quintiles for each variable, meaning each tick is exponentially larger than the previous. Box plots in Fig. 1 demonstrate that, particularly for American Indians, Alaska Natives, Native Hawaiians, and Pacific Islanders, the mean student population obscures the numerous outlier schools with large Indigenous populations.

This inspired us to highlight the predominant racial groups at various schools, to give better perspective of how these variations in the mean student populations represent the racial diversity or segregation at Arizona schools. In Table 3, we start by looking to two key features of segregation, majority minority schools and intensely segregated schools.

Most Arizona schools are majority minority schools meaning there are more non-white students than white students (55.78%), while a small but significant

Table 3 School segregation (*n* = 1917)

Variable	%
Majority minority school	55.78
Intensely segregated (>90% white)	1.41
Intensely segregated (>90% AI/AN)	4.17
Intensely segregated (>90% Latino)	7.29

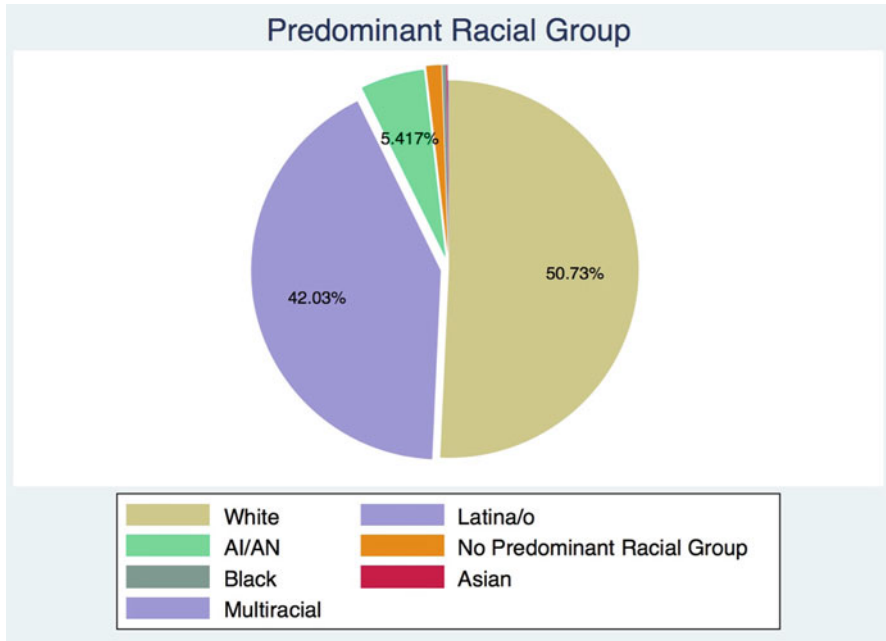


Fig. 2 Predominant racial group at a school

amount of schools are intensely segregated, is defined as schools where more than 90% of the student population was one racial group (Orfield et al. 1994). Table 3 shows that a majority of schools in our sample are majority minority (55.78%), with some schools intensely segregated by race for Latinos, Whites, and Natives (7.29%, 1.41%, and 4.17% respectively).

However, even though most schools in the sample are majority minority, Fig. 2 shows that most schools are still predominantly White (50.73%), meaning that White students are the largest racial group at the school. The remaining schools are predominantly Latina/o (42.03%), with some predominantly Native schools (5.42%); less than ten schools are predominantly Black, Asian, or Multiracial (0.10%, 0.31%, and 0.10%, respectively); and 25 schools have no predominant racial group (1.30%). Interestingly, the percentage of intensely segregated Native schools (4.17%) being so close to the percentage of predominantly Native schools (5.42%) emphasizes that most predominantly Native schools are intensely segregated.

Table 4 School discipline summary ($n = 1917$)

Variable	Mean (SD)
Total discipline	81.06 (134.30)
<i>Law enforcement</i>	2.98 (9.86)
<i>Corporal punishment</i>	0.33 (5.58)
<i>Mechanical restraint</i>	0.02 (0.48)
<i>In-school suspensions</i>	37.34 (82.64)
<i>Out-of-school suspensions</i>	38.19 (58.35)
<i>Expulsions</i>	0.71 (3.74)

School Discipline

Based on our review of the literature, a central feature of study for the school to prison pipeline is school discipline. We created a composite “school discipline” variable by combining the varied forms of discipline within the dataset: manual restraint, corporal punishment, in school suspension, out of school, arrests, expulsions, and referrals to law enforcement. Table 4 shows the mean number of reported instances of each type of school discipline that we focused on.

The large standard deviations demonstrate the spread of this sample – meaning that while many schools reported no discipline, or zero instances of a type of discipline, some schools reported extremely high numbers particularly in both in- and out-of-school suspensions. In 2012, Arizona schools in our sample range from zero in-school suspensions, all the way up to 1206 in-school-suspensions. This means that even though suspensions are the most common discipline, the scale and number of disciplinary measures varies greatly between schools.

Importantly, we want to emphasize that because our data is institutional, meaning the unit of analysis is at the school level, it means that all of our data is aggregated for the entire student body. This is particularly important for discipline and demographics of the school since the CRDC data reports raw aggregate numbers based a school’s reported data. The number of disciplinary actions are not tied to the number of students but reflect a general count of actions taken against students, so it is impossible to tell if, for example, one student has been suspended four times and expelled, or four students have been suspended and another has been expelled. However, we believe that this institutional data allows us to look at the ways in which schools take disciplinary action by analyzing how those disciplinary measures are distributed by race and gender, giving us a way of highlighting structural problems but unable to correlate individual actions or behaviors to school responses. We can say from this data that schools may discipline specific populations disproportionately to their representation in the student body or relative to other groups in the sample, but we cannot say why or how those students are being targeted.

Therefore, to account for the variations in school size and racial demographics across different schools, we created a per-student discipline variable, which we disaggregated by race, demonstrated in Fig. 3 and in Table 5.

This per-student discipline variable simply reflects the number of disciplinary actions reported against a student of that group, created by dividing disciplinary

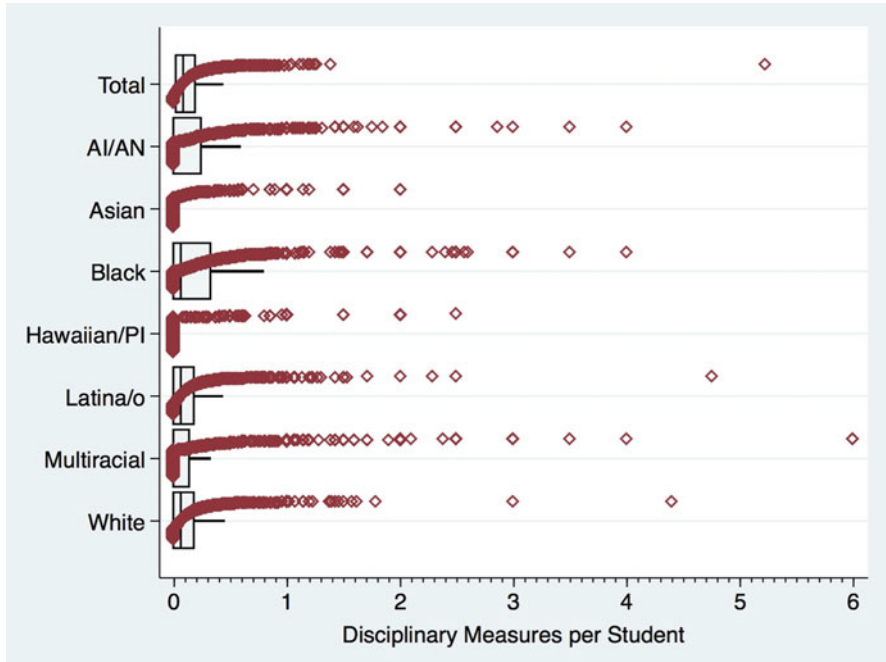


Fig. 3 Disciplinary measures per student, by race

Table 5 Per student school discipline, by race ($n = 1917$)

Variable	Mean (SD)
Per student	0.1428 (0.2142)
<i>American Indian/Alaska Native</i>	0.1759 (0.3398)
<i>Asian American</i>	0.0572 (0.1728)
<i>Black</i>	0.2210 (0.3785)
<i>Hawaiian/Pacific Islander</i>	0.0611 (0.2431)
<i>Latino</i>	0.1373 (0.2424)
<i>White</i>	0.1405 (0.2359)
<i>Multiracial</i>	0.1578 (0.4218)

measures reported for each group by the total number of enrolled students of that group ($\frac{\text{number of disciplinary measures by race}}{\text{number of enrolled students by race}}$). Therefore the disciplinary measures demonstrated in Fig. 3 and described in Table 5 represents that for every American Indian and Alaska Native students in a school in Arizona, on average, 0.1758 disciplinary actions were reported per enrolled American Indian and Alaska Native Student. Figure 3 demonstrates the many outliers, particularly for students of color, with some schools reporting more than two disciplinary actions taken for every student of color enrolled in a school. Black, Native, and Multiracial students all show rates of

discipline above the average across racial groups. This highlights schools implementing disciplinary actions against Black, Native, and Multiracial students disproportionate to their representation in the student body. Again, because we have school-level data and not student-level data, we can only speak in terms of discipline relative to school demographics, rather than assessing whether particular students are more or less likely to be disciplined.

Disproportionate Discipline

School-to-prison literature often focuses on disparities by race or funding that are particularly significant (Orfield et al. 1994; Nance 2014; Laura 2014; Redfield and Nance 2016). The lack of adequate school funding limits access to resources for students and has the compounded effect of students falling behind peers and becoming disengaged from education in general (Nance 2015). Too often, students of color are the pool of students being bearing the costs of lower education outcomes and disparate rates of punishment associated with school funding (Darling-Hammond 2015; Morris 2016). Pedro Noguera notes, in the majority of United States school districts, low academic achievers and Black and Latino males are most likely to be over represented in suspension, detention, and expulsion practices (2003).

Since this dataset focuses at the institutional level, rather than student level, we tried to conceptualize race and economic status by contrasting the racial composition of the schools and the school's spending. We use spending as our key financial variable, as this is the only assessment of funding within the dataset. Overall spending helps to look at some of the disparities between the potential for resources to be made available to students, which is particularly important for understanding what students are being left behind or becoming disengaged from the classroom experience. To allow for easier comparison, we created an ordinal spending variable that divided schools into three equal groups (low, medium and high) based on the amount of money spent per-student, which is then contrasted by race, shown in Table 6.

Across all seven racial groups, Black and American Indian/Alaska Native students have the highest rates of per-student discipline, regardless of per-student spending. For schools in the low and mid tiers of per-student spending, mean per-student discipline for Black students ($\bar{x} = 0.2357$ and $\bar{x} = 0.2544$ respectively) is noticeably higher than the overall mean for per-student discipline or mean per-student discipline for Black students ($\bar{x} = 0.2210$), yet schools in the highest tier drop off dramatically ($\bar{x} = 0.1746$). Per-student discipline of Latina/os and Whites, however, appear to consistently increase with higher funding, though still below any of the means for Black or Native students. For us this was a startling display that per-student discipline, for Whites, Latinos, and overall, appear to increase with spending, as most studies show that schools that are underfunded face the largest disciplinary issues. Per-student discipline for American Indian and Alaska Native students, however, seems to fluctuate based on spending, but without noticeable increases or decreases overall or by spending. Table 6 highlights that not only is school discipline varied by race, but school finance may play an important factor in the distribution of discipline in schools.

Table 6 Per-student discipline by race & per-student spending (*n* = 1875)

Disciplinary measures (per student)	Mean (SD)	Per-student spending (3 categories)		
		Low (\$ 0–3005)	Mid (\$3016–4617)	High (\$4626+)
Total	0.1428 (0.2142)	0.1212 (0.1451)	0.1330 (0.1590)	0.1735 (0.2980)
<i>AI/AN</i>	0.1759 (0.3398)	0.1719 (0.2789)	0.1800 (0.3425)	0.1759 (0.3889)
<i>Asian</i>	0.0572 (0.1728)	0.0593 (0.1427)	0.0679 (0.1823)	0.0448 (0.1892)
<i>Black</i>	0.2210 (0.3785)	0.2357 (0.3281)	0.2544 (0.4281)	0.1746 (0.3702)
<i>Hawaiian/PI</i>	0.0611 (0.2431)	0.0695 (0.2529)	0.0775 (0.2643)	0.0364 (0.2066)
<i>Latino</i>	0.1373 (0.2424)	0.1213 (0.1706)	0.1275 (0.1668)	0.1626 (0.3418)
<i>White</i>	0.1405 (0.2359)	0.1253 (0.1638)	0.1390 (0.2192)	0.1570 (0.3016)
<i>Multiracial</i>	0.1578 (0.4218)	0.2272 (0.5514)	0.1621 (0.3479)	0.0855 (0.3139)

Therefore we created a set of variables try to focus strictly on the proportionality of discipline within schools, indicating if the proportion of disciplinary measures was less than or equal to the proportion of the student population ($\frac{\text{school discipline by race}}{\text{total school discipline}} \leq \frac{\text{students by race}}{\text{total students}}$).

Black and Native students in Arizona are, on average, disciplined at higher rates than other students, as demonstrated in Table 6. However, as Table 7 shows, they are also more likely to be disproportionately disciplined at a school level. The proportionality demonstrated in Table 7 is calculated by looking at whether each racialized group’s disciplinary measures is proportional to their representation in the student body. The first row in Table 7 is the percentage of schools which reported disciplinary measures equal to or less than the number of enrolled students of color, i.e., if a school is 40% White, and White students make up 20% of school discipline incidents, then they are classified as less than or equal to percent of the population. However, Table 7 demonstrates that schools were more likely to disproportionately discipline Black and American Indian students than White and Latino students, emphasizing the racialized disparities previously indicated by the sample. Still, the majority of schools across these four racial groups indicated schools punished proportionally to a group’s percentage of the student population.

Distributions of Discipline

Because of the racially disproportionate means in Arizona schools’ rates of discipline, we want to ensure that these disparities are statistically relevant and try to eliminate the possibility they are simply due to chance or random error. In our sample, data on disciplinary measures are positively skewed, meaning most of the schools report less than one disciplinary measures per student (median = 0.08, skewness = 8.57), and a long tail of outliers, going up to 5.23 disciplinary measures per enrolled student (kurtosis = 175.24). As shown in a histogram of per-student discipline in Fig. 4, the distribution of school discipline is not a normal, symmetrical distribution around the mean.

However, because we did not want to ignore the outliers and transforming the data to simulate a normal curve is more difficult considering the large number of

Table 7 Proportionality of discipline by race ($n = 1920$)

Proportionality	Percentage of sample			
	AI/AN	Black	Latino	White
Less than or equal to % population	64.32	51.30	84.84	80.31
Greater than % of student population	35.68	48.70	15.16	19.69

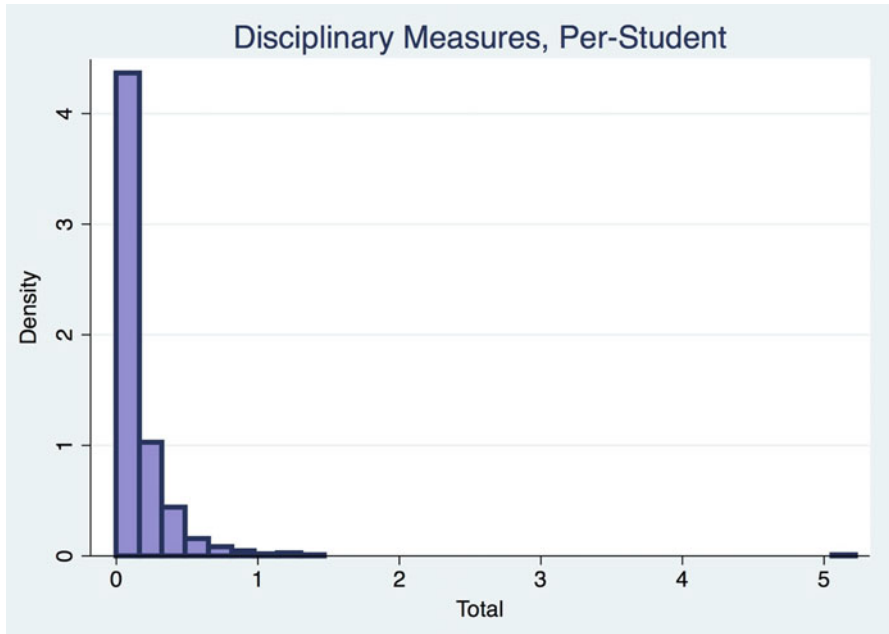


Fig. 4 Histogram of disciplinary measures, per-student

schools reporting zero discipline, we used the Wilcoxon-Mann-Whitney two-sample rank-sum test (WMW test) to compare distributions of data between two non-parametric groups. Rather than focus on the means or plotting a line of best fit along the distribution of the data, the WMW test sorts and ranks the data in two groups, then calculates and compares the sum of ranks for each group and the sum expected by chance (Longest 2012). Put simply, this test checks to see whether the distribution of data between two independent groups is significantly different, and not due to random chance. For our purposes, we used the per-student discipline variable and compared the distributions of discipline by race, focusing on the demographics of the school using our variables for majority minority schools, predominant racial groups, and intensely segregated schools.

These data displayed in Table 8 show that there are statistically significant differences in schools' per-student discipline rates based on the predominant racial group of the school. In schools where White students make up less than 50% of the

Table 8 Wilcoxon Rank-Sum Test: per-student discipline ($n = 1875$)

Variable	Obs.	Mean(SD)	Median	z-score	p-value
Majority minority schools					
White $\geq 50\%$	807	0.12 (0.24)	0.06	-4.703	<0.001
White <50%	1068	0.16 (0.19)	0.10		
Predominant racial group					
AI/AN					
Non-AI/AN	1772	0.14 (0.21)	0.08	-3.954	<0.001
AI/AN	103	0.26 (0.29)	0.17		
Latina/o					
Non-Latina/o	1070	0.14 (0.24)	0.07	-2.997	0.003
Latina/o	805	0.15 (0.17)	0.09		
White					
Non-white	943	0.16 (0.19)	0.10	3.732	<0.001
White	932	0.13 (0.24)	0.07		
Intensely segregated					
AI/AN					
<90% AI/AN	1796	0.14 (0.21)	0.08	-3.939	<0.001
$\geq 90\%$ AI/AN	79	0.27 (0.30)	0.18		
Latina/o					
<90% Latina/o	1735	0.15 (0.22)	0.08	3.753	<0.001
$\geq 90\%$ Latina/o	140	0.10 (0.17)	0.05		
White					
<90% white	1848	0.14 (0.21)	0.08	1.32	0.009
$\geq 90\%$ white	27	0.09 (0.15)	0.03		

student population, WMW test indicates that rates of per-student discipline were statistically significantly greater than the rates of per-student discipline majority White schools ($z = -4.703, p < 0.001$). Similarly, for schools where American Indian and Alaska Native students were the predominant racial group, or where the student body was more than 90% Native, the rates of per-student discipline were statistically significantly greater ($z = -3.954, p < 0.001$ and $z = -3.939, p < 0.001$, respectively). However, in schools where Whites were the predominant racial group, intensely segregated Latina/o schools, and intensely segregated White schools, the rates of per-student discipline were statistically significantly lower than non-predominantly White or nonintensely segregated White or Latina/o schools ($z = 3.732, z = 1.32$, and $z = 3.753$, respectively). What these WMW tests reveal is a relationship between per-student school discipline and school demographics, particularly when there are schools with a high concentration of American Indian and Alaska Native students in the student body. Per-student discipline does not disaggregate the severity or distribution of discipline in the student body but does indicate that these schools are more likely to have higher rates of discipline, making students at these schools more vulnerable to punishment and tracking into the school prison pipeline we have described.

In order to further illuminate the structural relationship between schooling, race, and discipline, we repeated the WMW tests, this time using per-student discipline variables for American Indian Alaska Native, Black, Latina/o, and White students. Again, each of these focuses per-student discipline on the number of disciplinary measures recorded for students of that race, meaning only schools that report enrollment of Native, Black, Latina/o, and White students would be included in each group's per-student discipline variable.

The distribution of per-Native student discipline mirrors the trends we saw with the overall per-student discipline in Table 8. Looking specifically at discipline per-Native student, the distribution of discipline was statistically significantly higher in majority minority schools, predominantly non-White schools, and intensely segregated Native schools ($z = -5.258$, $z = 4.833$, $z = -5.617$, respectively). Across other racialized groups, we see that in both Black and White per-student disciplinary measures, there are similar, statistically significant, higher rates of per-student discipline in majority minority schools, predominantly Latina/o schools, and predominantly non-White Schools. This signals a general institutional problem, since the various WMW tests in Table 9 indicate that predominantly non-white schools have statistically significant differences in the rates of per-student discipline. Put simply, students in predominantly non-White schools are generally disciplined at higher rates, regardless of the race of the student being disciplined.

But of course, this comes with exceptions in intensely segregated schools, i.e., schools where the student body is more than 90% one race. For Native, Black, and Latina/o per-student discipline, our WMW tests showed median per-student discipline was statistically significantly lower in intensely segregated Latina/o schools ($z = 2.095$, $z = 1.979$, and $z = 2.546$ respectively, $p < 0.05$). Only Latina/o per-student discipline had a median greater than zero (median = 0.04). In intensely segregated Native schools, median per-discipline rates for Black, Latina/o, and White students were statistically significantly lower, all with medians of 0.00 ($z = 3.848$, $z = 4.313$, and $z = 5.744$, respectively, $p < 0.001$). Yet for Native students in intensely segregated Native Schools, median per-student discipline was statistically significantly higher, with a median of 0.18 compared to the median of 0.00 in non-intensely segregated Native schools ($z = -5.617$, $p < 0.001$). American Indian and Alaska Natives are the only racial group in our WMW tests to have more schools with higher median rates of per-student discipline in intensely segregated schools where they are the largest student group. Latina/o and White per-student discipline in intensely segregated Latina/o and White schools are statistically significantly lower, than in non-intensely segregated schools.

Overall, our WMW tests reveal that race is a statistically significant factor in the rates of per-student discipline. Both in the composition of the student body and in the per-student discipline by race, schools serving a larger proportion of Native students reported higher rates of discipline. For us, this signals a systemic issue, particularly in looking at the school to prison pipeline, by highlighting the structural inequalities that exist at the school level. Again, because all of the CRDC data we use in this study is at the school level, rather than at the individual level, it is more difficult to be precise in how race is effecting the rates of school discipline, and what confounding

Table 9 Wilcoxon Rank-Sum Test: per-student discipline, by race

Variable	All/AN (<i>n</i> = 1667)		Black (<i>n</i> = 1591)		Latina/o (<i>n</i> = 1807)		White (<i>n</i> = 1811)		Obs.	Med.	z-score	Obs.	Med.	z-score	Obs.	Med.	z-score	
	Obs.	Med.	Obs.	Med.	Obs.	Med.	Obs.	Med.										Obs.
Majority minority																		
White ≥50%	688	0.00			-5.258***	692	0.09	-3.514***	795	0.06	-1.282	807	0.06	-4.097***				
White <50%	979	0.05				899	0.15		1012	0.07		1004	0.10					
Predominant group																		
All/AN																		
Non-All/AN	1564	0.00			-6.007***	1554	0.14	1.432	1759	0.07	2.811**	1748	0.07	4.529***				
All/AN	103	0.17				37	0.00		48	0.00		63	0.00					
Latina/o																		
Non-Latina/o	941	0.00			-2.717*	874	0.09	-4.401***	1002	0.06	-2.376*	1030	0.05	-6.159***				
Latina/o	726	0.02				717	0.18		805	0.07		781	0.11					
White																		
Non-white	855	0.05			4.833***	776	0.16	3.224**	887	0.07	0.538	879	0.10	3.264**				
White	812	0.00				815	0.10		920	0.07		932	0.06					

(continued)

Table 9 (continued)

Variable	AI/AN (n = 1667)		Black (n = 1591)		Latina/o (n = 1807)		White (n = 1811)		Obs.	Med.	z-score	Obs.	Med.	z-score
	Obs.	Med.	Obs.	Med.	Obs.	Med.	Obs.	Med.						
Intensely segregated														
AI/AN														
<90%	1588	0.00		0.14	3.848***	1783	0.07	4.313***	1771	0.07	5.744***			
AI/AN														
≥90%	79	0.18		0.00		24	0.00		40	0.00				
AI/AN														
Latina/o														
<90%	1573	0.00		0.14	1.979*	1667	0.07	2.546*	1689	0.07	1.873			
Latina/o														
≥90%	94	0.00		0.00		140	0.04		122	0.00				
Latina/o														
White														
<90%	1654	0.00		0.13	1.475	1786	0.07	3.445***	1784	0.07	2.228*			
white														
≥90%	13	0.00		0.00		21	0.04		27	0.02				
white														

*p < 0.05; **p < 0.005; ***p < 0.001

factors may exist. Yet from the disparities in mean and median rates of discipline, and from our Wilcoxon-Mann-Whitney tests, we can see that school demographics play a statistically significant factor in the rates of discipline. Particularly for Native youth, these data reveal potential disparities and structural issues that need further investigation and analysis.

Limitations

The relationships we look at in our statistical analyses are unfortunately very narrow and do not have a robust structure to look at the many confounding or moderating variables that could affect discipline rates, at the individual and institutional level. Unfortunately, the limitations of this sample and dataset are that they rely on self-reported institutional level observations rather than student level results. Additionally, these data do not include variables that we believe are relevant to interrogating how and why discipline is disproportionately applied, and no aggregated data on actions or instances that the school deems sufficient for discipline – a student suspended for harassing another student and a student suspended for coming to school with a non-conforming hairstyle are represented simply as suspensions in the data. Additional important information should include the racial/sex demographics of teachers and staff, additional indicators of which disciplinary measures are discretionary or compulsory, and most importantly whether there is overlap in discipline (i.e., are the same few students being expelled, suspended, and physically punished multiple times, or are these one-time instances spread across the student body?). In future research and data, collection factors associated with administrative and institutional demographics are needed, as well as quantitative and/or qualitative comparative case studies on schools that to gain insight into the disciplinary experiences of students at the individual level, particularly for AI/AN youth who have been largely excluded from quantitative data in school-to-prison research.

Changing the Institution Through Self-Determination

We have spent this chapter focusing on how data may misrepresent, misunderstand, or completely overlook the experiences of American Indian and Alaska Native students to emphasize how American Indian Students are racialized and disproportionately punished, but even these data are just the tip of the iceberg in how educational institutions continue to fail American Indian students. Stories of Indigenous students and communities highlight the ways in which colonial, white supremacist states have attempted to erase people socially, culturally, spiritually, and physically from their homelands. Statistics tell their own story of how these different examples are connected to larger systems and structures of power – how the story of Jabez, Jakobe, and Micah are part of a systemic disenfranchisement of students of color, which exploits cultural perseverance as a reason for discipline rather than celebration. Rather than take a deficit-oriented perspective, we emphasize racialized disparities to highlight the inadequacies in US educational institutions serving Indigenous students.

Statistics, on the surface, present a grim state of affairs for American Indian student achievement and are misinterpreted as the individual fault or problem of American Indian students, placing the burden of performance on students rather than on the schools failing them. Just as Jabez Oates' principal blamed his mother and culture rather than reconsidering the exclusionary school policy, this lens not only fails students but enhances white supremacy. Under this lens, it is simpler to categorize American Indian students as problems, incompatible within education settings. However, delving deeper into the statistical analyses as we have sought to do in this article, the numbers reveal narratives of how institutions of education have failed Indigenous students, and students of color generally. This necessitates questioning the pedagogical environment and curriculum in which Indigenous learners are being instructed, and also how Indigenous students see themselves within education settings. Fundamental to the success of Indigenous students and more broadly students of color are curriculums that are grounded in community, reciprocity, cultural reflexivity, and self-determination.

American Indian and Alaska Native students are guaranteed education through treaties, statutes, administrative policies, and executive statements. Historically, this has meant assimilation through education that enforces white supremacist, eurocentric ways of learning and knowing. In the 43 years since *Morton v. Mancari* (1974), United States policy has embraced the liminal status of Native peoples in the United States – recognizing American Indians and Alaska Natives both as racialized people and people who possess a unique political status derived from history, treaties, Tribal citizenship, and federal laws and policies (Brayboy 2005). Yet even in this era of self-determination, the liminal status recognized by courts of law holds little weight in combating classroom discipline and the school to prison pipeline. Intervention from federal authorities can provide some relief, like when the Office of Civil Rights intervened in Winner School District, mentioned earlier in the article, but this is an exceptional case for a systemic issue. American Indian and Alaska Native's political status that guarantees education is instead negated by wake of racialized, colonial policies from dress codes to zero tolerance that push American Indian, Alaska Native, Native Hawaiian, Black, Latino, and other students of color out of schools and into prisons. The problem comes from the fact that the institution of schools themselves may in fact be too rooted in a colonial, white supremacist agenda to facilitate the inclusion of all students of color, or enable the success of all students. This pushes us to consider how and in what ways Indigenous students should be better served through educational environments that value Indigenous ways of being and learning – what we would call culturally relevant institutions.

Creating culturally relevant institutions means incorporating culturally relevant schooling and pedagogy to rework institutions from their foundations. A teacher dedicated to culturally responsive schooling can do wonders for a classroom of Indigenous students, but if this is done within a school that sends students home for having the wrong haircut, or speaking out at the wrong time, or some other form of discipline, these important efforts of pedagogy and schooling are negated by institutional constraints. We suggest that culturally relevant institutions come from principles found in Critical Indigenous Research Methodologies (“CIRM”),

grounding research and curriculum, as well as institutional structure, in indigenous knowledge systems, with emancipatory and anti-colonial focuses concentrating on the needs of communities in which the research is being engaged.

The overarching principles of CIRM are rooted in the four “r’s”: relationships, responsibility, respect, and reciprocity and accountability (Brayboy et al. 2012). These principles focus research on the strengths and needs of a community, as identified by the community. Within this framework, the community is not the *object* of inquiry but rather a research partner that instills Indigenous values, knowledges, and guidance into the research process. CIRM is an emancipatory method of inquiry as it pushes Indigenous communities “to reclaim research and knowledge-making practices that are driven by indigenous peoples,” (2012, p. 425). This reclamation of what knowledge making processes constitute implicates how Indigenous students learn and are perceived within education settings. Institutionally reforming how the subjugated knowledges, histories, and practices of Indigenous peoples is instrumental in confronting and counterbalancing education models that over punish, under value, and under serve Indigenous students. Maori Scholar Linda Smith stresses the importance of engaging in work that is self-reflexive and that also points to the knowledges and needs of the communities in which scholars work. Smith’s *Decolonizing Methodologies* (2012) encourages research to be grounded in community’s ways of being and knowing, and in partnership with those communities. The same principle of reflexivity in the production of knowledge via research is true in the classroom, in the curriculum, and must also be true for the institution of schooling itself. Lumbee scholar Bryan Brayboy notes, the concepts of culture, knowledge, and power take on new meaning when examined through an Indigenous lens. Governmental and educational policies constructed schools as institutions with the goal of assimilation and colonization. As Brayboy (2005) explains, “colonization has been so complete that even many American Indians fail to recognize that we are taking up colonialist ideas when we fail to express ourselves in ways that may challenge dominant society’s ideas about who and what we are supposed to be, how we are supposed to behave, and what we are supposed to be within the larger population” (p. 431). Pedagogically and administratively, colonial models of education have negatively influenced how American Indian students have come to be seen within education settings. In this light, American Indian students cultures, like Jabez, Micah, and Jakobe’s hair, are branded as negative, distracting behaviors in need of institutional intervention, and correction through discipline. The right of Indigenous communities and students to actively participate and manage what practices are administered in learning is integral in decolonizing educational institutions.

Chicana scholar Gloria Anzaldúa underscores the destructive effects of colonial ideologies and practices have had on colonized peoples; she notes “[b]y taking away our self-determination, it has made us weak and empty.” (1999, p. 108). Culturally responsive curriculum brings self-determination back to the educational setting by forefronting students’ unique cultural experiences and students actively take part in producing new academic knowledges (Belgarde et al. 2003, p. 42). Within the context of the education of American Indian students, sovereignty and self-

determination are paramount in developing culturally relevant curriculums that augment the success of American Indian students (Castagno and Brayboy 2008). However, gaining access to culturally relevant curriculum is not simple, even when such programs exist. As was evident in the Winner School District suit, American Indian students had an on-reservation alternative, but it presented additional difficulties and burdens in travel and living away from families. Thus culturally relevant curriculum must become a process that reshapes schools' institutional functions, changing schools as sites of assimilation in to facilitators of self-determination through education – regardless of location. Access to educational spaces which provide students with the benefit of cultural reflexivity are a means to allay and eventually counteract the negative legacy of assimilationist colonial education policies. In these spaces, as opposed to traditional spaces of education, the bodies and epistemologies of Indigenous students are not the subjects of scrutiny, contestation, or punitive discipline. Rather, their experiences and ways of being are sources of strength and repositories of knowledge.

Conclusion and Future Directions

In 1916, Seneca scholar Arthur C. Parker wrote:

Human beings have a primary right to an intellectual life, but civilization has swept down upon groups of Indians and, by destroying their relationships to nature, blighted or banished their intellectual life, and left a group of people mentally confused. . . . The Indians must have a thought-world given back. Their intellectual world must have direct relation to their world of responsible acts and spontaneous experiences. (p. 258)

The stories, history, and data provided in this chapter underscore the extent to which American Indian, Black, and Latino students disproportionately disciplined and punished in schools, particularly in Arizona where the punishment of Black and American Indian youth exceeds their representation in the student population. Though our data and analysis highlight the negative consequences of discipline, they also highlight the dearth of what is known about the day to day experiences of individual students, particularly Indigenous students that are directly affected by disproportionate rates of punishment and negative educational outcomes. Anecdotal evidence like the stories of Jabez Oates, Malachi Wilson, and Jakobe Sanden allow us to peek behind the curtain of data and see how neutrally worded policies come with disciplinary consequences, particularly for Indigenous students attempting to live the traditions and culture of their peoples, and how instructors and administrators brand them as outsiders asking for something more than an education. The referrals to the principal's office, phone calls from administrators, and referrals home because their physical appearances disrupted the learning environment of their peers highlight how native bodies are marked in the education system. It is a remnant of a colonial past that coercively disciplined and attempted to assimilate indigenous peoples into Western representative models of students and pupils.

However, we also know that programs promoting culturally responsive curriculum have a record of successfully funneling students into higher education, transforming the institutional pipeline from prison to community engagement. In Tucson, Arizona, for example, ethnic studies programs were integrated into the Tucson Unified School District, offering courses for African American, American Indian, and Mexican American studies that used culturally relevant pedagogies and teaching practices to transform how students interact with the education system. These programs were initiated within the public schools at all levels to redress low graduation rates, poor performance rates on standardized examinations, and overall poor academic achievement among their students (Hawley 2012). Mexican American Studies (MAS) and American Indian Studies in particular emphasized the indigenous traditions of peoples of the southwest and Central and South America, though because of the white supremacist and anti-immigration political climate, Mexican American Studies was targeted by local politicians as a source of hostility that they sought to eliminate all of the ethnic studies programs in TUSD and the state.

Programmatically, MAS advances both indigenous knowledge values emanating from Mexico and also provided history lessons that included Mexican history of the southwestern United States into class discussions. The program became the subject of scorn by local legislators and was effectively banned for purportedly promoting curriculum that advocated for an ethnic group, against an ethnic group, or the overthrow of the US government. In truth, the ethnic studies program was initiated to advance the success of its students by using culturally relevant and reflective curriculum, Tucson MAS curriculum was derived from Indigenous knowledge bases by making use of the Mexican Indigenous cultural concepts of *Nahui Ollin* (Our Age) that encompass notions of *Tezcatlipoca* (self-reflection), *Quetzalcoatl* (precious and beautiful knowledge), *Huitzilopochtli* (the will to act), and *Xipe Totec* (transformation) and the Mayan principle of *In Lak Ech* (you are my other me) (Villanueva 2013). The curriculum included the use of creation stories, decolonial pedagogies, self-reflection, Chicano history.

The culturally responsive curriculum grounded in community, which included Indigenous and cultural history salient to the Mexican American and Latino students with backgrounds from Central America proved to be an effective pedagogical tool in navigating a hostile educational institution. Over time, the program was successful and resulted in graduation rates, specifically in 2008 MAS students were 18% more likely to pass AIMS testing. Arizona's Instrument to Measure Standards (AIMS) Test is a standardized test used to examine academic achievement in math, reading, writing, and in science from public school students in grades 3–12. In 2010, the students were 64% more likely to pass aims testing. Moreover, MAS students were shown to be 162% more likely to pass than students who did participate in MAS courses. These increased rates of academic performance ultimately contributed to students successfully transitioning out of high-school via graduation as opposed to exiting the education system via expulsion or drop out. Students who participated in MAS courses were between 51% and 108% more likely to graduate from high school than non-MAS students. The positive effect of Tucson MAS curriculum on students is exemplary of how programs grounded in culturally relevant pedagogies

and practices and intentionally designed for students to engage their histories, epistemologies, can have on successful education outcomes for marginalized populations. With students being taught in styles of instruction that engaged and valued Indigenous pedagogies and epistemologies, the relations of power within the classroom shifted. The instruction and classroom environment did not hinge on obedience and discipline management rather the classroom space was liberatory and promoted the self-expression of students in ways relevant to their respective histories and communities.

We believe that taking away culture, forcing assimilation, and removing an Indigenous *thought world* in curriculum leads to damaging effects in education outcomes, a manifestation of which are disparate rates of punishment. Indigenous students, through education models that result in disparate rates of punishment, and subsequent egresses from spaces of learning, are deprived of a right to education. Moreover, maintaining a system that alienates Indigenous children from the time they enter school leads, invariably, to deleterious effects, including the overrepresentation of Indigenous peoples in prisons. History and present show that the state of education for students of color, particularly American Indian students, is interwoven with state managed discipline. Discipline in schools is a continuation of education's colonial legacy. Boarding schools attempted to erase Indigenous values and supplant cultural knowledges with European and American ways of being. Institutional commitments to culturally relevant curriculums and teacher practices are a step towards amending fraught experiences of Indigenous students in education.

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Systems of Support: What Institutions of Higher Education Can Do for Indigenous Communities

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Abstract

The purpose of this chapter is to highlight ways institutions of higher education (IHEs) can support culturally relevant community-driven measures and asset-based research that allows Native students to excel academically and display enhanced well-being, self-efficacy, and self-esteem (McCarty, *Teach Educ* 20:7–29, 2009). This chapter presents an overview of the challenging social and academic context facing Indigenous boys and men (ages 12–25) in the United States. We argue that Indigenous peoples know how to successfully develop research and engaging learning spaces that advance anti-oppressive education and “permits historical and contemporary perspectives of Indigenous material culture to critically wrestle with dominant discourses” so that Native youth develop a stronger sense of identity and self-confidence (Bequette, *Stud Art Educ* 55:214–226, 2014, p. 215). Programs that prepare Native boys and men to be academically and culturally successful do so by using asset-based approaches to respond to existing need, placing Native peoples in position as leaders, and understanding that successful mentors and highly qualified teachers are not always one and the same. Furthermore, these programs demonstrate a commitment to capacity- and nation-building efforts and respond to historical trauma and coloniality in Indigenous communities. We introduce two programs as examples, one located in the southwest and one in the pacific that demonstrate support for courses of study, activities, or resources designed by community members and education leaders. Using these programs as examples, we offer six principles that appear to guide successful programs. These principles are intended to serve as the beginning of a conversation with the understanding that more can and should be added.

Students are more likely to develop healthy identity formation, be more self-directed and politically active, and have a positive influence on their tribal communities when IHEs recognize the challenges facing Indigenous students and work to complement education programing rather than seek to dominate and control it. This understanding is important because even though they are designed to assist or address issues facing Native youth, IHEs may create programs that overtake, superimpose, or otherwise colonize community efforts. We conclude by offering recommendations for how IHEs can form meaningful relationships and

partnership with existing or emerging community-based efforts to create systems of support that center Indigenous communities and knowledges as partners rather than subjects or objects.

Keywords

Indigenous education · Community-based programs · Youth · Nation building · Capacity building

Introduction

But you who are wise must know, that different Nations have different Conceptions of things; and you will therefore not take it amiss, if our Ideas of this Kind of Education happen not to be the same with yours. We have had some Experience of it: Several of our Young People were formerly brought up at the Colleges of the Northern Provinces; they were instructed in all your Sciences; but when they came back to us they were bad Runners, ignorant of every means of living in the Woods, unable to bear either Cold or Hunger, knew neither how to build a Cabin, take a Deer, or kill an Enemy, spoke our Language imperfectly; were therefore neither fit for Hunters, Warriors, or Counsellors; they were totally good for nothing. We are however not the less obliged by your kind Offer, tho' we decline accepting it; and to show our grateful Sense of it, if the Gentlemen of Virginia will send us a dozen of their Sons, we will take great Care of their Education, instruct them in all we know, and make *Men* of them.

Speaker for the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois Confederacy), as told by Benjamin Franklin, Remarks Concerning the Savages of North America (1784)

In the last 50 years, US federal education policy has slowly embraced collaboration with Indigenous peoples that recognizes the importance of Indigenous knowledges in formal education. However, formal and long-lasting partnerships between Indigenous peoples and local institutions of higher education (IHEs) remain tenuous. Before we get into the details of why that is, it is critical to understand the foundation of Indian education in the United States. We begin by acknowledging the entirety of the United States exists on Indigenous lands. Nearly all of the 3.7 million square miles of land were taken by force, policies, or treaties, usually in exchange for promises of health, education, protection, and welfare. With over 500 treaties signed, the majority of promises made have not been honored.

Broken treaties and federally driven policies of attempted physical and epistemological genocide have left a wake of significant present-day economic, health, and education disparities for Indigenous youth (Throughout this chapter, we use the terms Indigenous and Native to refer generally to American Indian, Alaska Native, Native Hawaiian, and other Pacific Islander peoples colonized by the United States. Though we recognize this is a geographically dispersed, diverse, and highly different population, our terminology recognizes the history of these peoples as the first inhabitants of the lands taken, colonized, annexed, or otherwise seized by the United States. We try to be as specific as possible talking about different populations and regions). In 2015, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention reported suicide as

the second leading cause of death for American Indian and Alaska Native (AIAN) and Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander (NHPI) youths ages 15–24. Furthermore, a 2016 analysis of the National Youth Risk Behavior Survey found that US Indigenous youth ages 15–24 were no more likely to consider suicide than other groups yet were 25.5% more likely to attempt suicide (Qiao and Bell 2017).

When we focus on education measures, disparities begin in early childhood. In 2014, the US Department of Education reported that Native kindergartners were twice as likely to be held back as their white peers with boys representing 61% of those held back. As students matriculate through the educational “pipeline,” national standardized testing reveals only 21% of AIAN and 28% of NHPI fourth graders (~9 years old), and 22% of AIAN and 24% of NHPI eighth graders (~13 years old) score “proficient” or above in reading (National Center for Education Statistics 2015, Table 221.20). In mathematics, 23% of AIAN and 30% of NHPI fourth graders scored at or above proficient, while 20% of AIAN and 29% of NHPI eighth graders scored above proficient (National Center for Education Statistics 2015, Table 222.20). Compared to their non-Native peers, Native students are more likely to be mislabeled as having learning disabilities and placed in special education classes (NIEA *n.d.*, p. 26). Given these dire statistics, disparities continue through secondary and postsecondary/tertiary education.

In 2013, the national secondary school graduation rate for all AIAN students was 67%, which was 14.2% below the national average (National Center for Education Statistics 2015, Table 219.40) (problematically, US national education data has only begun to report Pacific Islanders as a discrete group since 2011. In this graduation rate data, Pacific Islander populations are bundled into an overbroad “Asian or Pacific Islander” category, making data unspecific to Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders). For the nearly 48,000 students enrolled in government-run Bureau of Indian Education schools, the graduation rate in 2014 was 53% (Executive Office of the President 2014). While the enrollment of Indigenous students in IHEs has more than doubled in the past 30 years, only 13% of Natives earned bachelor’s degrees, and only 5% earned graduate or professional degrees – less than half of the national average for both bachelors and graduate degrees (NCAI 2012).

For Indigenous boys and men, educational disparities become more stark. In the 2012–2013 academic year, the high school graduation rate for AIAN males was 65%, 5% lower than the 70% graduation rate for Indigenous females (National Center for Education Statistics 2015, Table 219.40). Graduation rates are intimately connected to school discipline. According to the US Department of Education’s Office for Civil Rights, in the 2011–2012 school year, Native boys were disciplined at nearly double the rate of their White peers in primary and secondary education. For out-of-school suspensions, more Black and AIAN boys were suspended than all other racial groups combined. Thirteen percent of AIAN boys received an out-of-school suspension in the 2011–2012 school year, compared to 7% of Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander boys, and more than double the 6% of White boys receiving suspensions (there is a certain level of awkwardness here that is separating out American Indian and Alaska Native children from Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander children. The authors of this chapter would, under other circumstances,

characterize all these children as Indigenous. And, they are. The US system of classification, however, separates the two groups out. For us to try to disaggregate these data in meaningful ways is problematic. Therefore, we are inclined to leave it as is but respectfully acknowledge that the problem of labeling is an important one). AIAN girls were suspended at 7% (half the rate of Native boys) yet at nearly triple the rate of suspensions for White girls (at 2%) (2012). These statistics demonstrate that Indigenous boys and girls are more often being problematized in school settings, which can derail their educational progress.

Disparities between Indigenous men and women persist in college enrollment patterns (importantly, this language of gender and sex in statistical data is largely essentialist and binary. These large samples, particularly in government data, do not account for trans, two spirit, or otherwise gendered or sexed populations and largely depend on colonial, patriarchal, cisgender, heteronormative politics. Keeping this in mind, we present this data in this way to generalize as to the way that Indigenous populations have been constrained and defined according to colonial norms, resulting in the targeting of cisgendered males, under a colonial patriarchal framework). In 1976 AIAN male and female enrollment in undergraduate education was evenly split (49.9% male, 50.1% female), yet in 2015 parity shifted to 40.4% male and 59.6% female among American Indian and Alaska Natives. For NHPI in 2015, males represented 46.57% of enrolled NHPI undergraduate students. However, over the past 30 years, enrollment inverted for AIAN males in graduate education. In 1976 AIAN males represented 58.3% of AIAN graduate students yet dropped to 36% in 2015. Similarly, NHPI males only make up 38.5% of the graduate student population (National Center for Education Statistics 2015, Table 306.10).

These statistics are not intended to downplay the achievements of Native students; our intent is to emphasize the decline and disparities in AIAN and NHPI male enrollment as they represent larger statistical trends that Indigenous boys and men face that are distinct institutional and systemic problems. The numbers speak to a nationwide, systematic failure to fulfill the promises of health, education, protection, and welfare as articulated in treaty negotiations. Rather than speak of an “achievement gap” or “education deficit,” language that wrongly frames the problem as individualized failings of Native youth or communities and unjustly burdens Indigenous peoples, we present these disparities in an acknowledgement of what Gloria Ladson-Billings refers to as the “education debt” (2006). Shifting understanding from deficit to debt recognizes that educational inequities are not natural phenomena but by-products of a history of colonization, oppression, and assimilation – creating a debt that must be repaid through acknowledgment, engagement, and opportunities.

As demonstrated by the epigraph at the beginning of this chapter, education provided by IHEs may not always be beneficial to address the multifaceted problems faced by Native communities. Imperial education that forces Euro-Western norms, ideals, and values has not – and will not – improve Indigenous peoples. Too often, formal education may turn young men into “bad Runners” who have acquired a college degree but who are unable to help their communities. A colonial approach

fails to understand the critical role of taking a fuller, more rounded approach to learning, being, and living as an Indigenous person, or Indigenous man, while also being aware of the myriad interconnected challenges and advantages that Indigenous people face. We look to Indigenous community perspectives to provide insight that focuses on preparing “good Runners,” thereby mending this gap in knowledge between Indigenous communities and IHEs.

In the next sections, we consider ways in which institutions of higher education can help repay the education debt through meaningful partnerships with Indigenous peoples. We look at ways in which Indigenous communities have created programs that center Indigenous peoples as leaders as well as Indigenous ontologies (ways of being) and epistemologies (ways of knowing) in order to repair the harms of coloniality. These programs reimagine the ways in which IHEs can better serve Indigenous peoples (we want to be clear that IHEs, in this model, serve tribal nations and communities. They do not dictate the challenges, questions, or issues addressed or explored by research, initiatives, or programs. Rather, IHEs respond to the requests and desires of communities and tribes). The next section traces the origins of the education debt for Indigenous youth by offering a partial exploration of the history of assimilation in education as a way to understand why these historical injuries have not healed. Next, we explore ideas of nation- and capacity-building to frame what we believe to be the goals for relationships between IHEs and Indigenous communities. Third, we present two key programs that embrace community efforts and culturally meaningful ways of Indigenous learning, being, and knowing. One program focuses on educating Native boys and men on best practices as *citizens of their Indigenous nations*, and the other focuses on the role of formal Western education in increasing graduation and college success for Native boys and men. Both are committed to treating and shaping Native men and boys as future leaders within their communities and respective fields. Drawing on these efforts, we conclude by presenting considerations for how IHEs can forge meaningful connections that support asset-based community programs.

The Education Debt: Colonization Through Education

One day some white people came among us and called a meeting of the parents. . . They had come after some boys and girls and wanted to take them a long way off to a place about which we knew nothing. I consented at once, though I could think of nothing else but that these white people wanted to take us far away and kill us. . . To me it meant death, but bravery was part of my blood, so I did not hesitate. Luther Standing Bear (Lomawaima and McCarty 2006, p. 16)

Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the US federal government and Christian missionary organizations actively targeted Native youth for colonization and assimilation into White European standards. This was accomplished under the guise of providing education through boarding schools. The objectives for this assimilationist agenda were largely driven by Carlisle Indian Industrial

School founder Captain Richard H. Pratt who believed education should be used as a strategy to “Kill the Indian, [and] Save the Man.” In other words, schooling would become a tool to eliminate the spiritual, cultural, and linguistic orientations of students and replaced with White Eurocentric practices and values. Today numerous testimonials from boarding school students, survivors, and staff remain, which paint vivid pictures of the deplorable actions used by school administrators and personnel to accomplish these objectives – proving that Standing Bear’s suspicions about being taken away and killed were well founded.

Countless Native children and youth were ripped from their communities and alienated from their sense of humanity, separated from their families and homelands, in many cases indefinitely. Students were restricted from accessing their personal belongings and traditions including wearing traditional clothing and hairstyles. Moreover, they were stripped from their livelihood, speaking the language of their ancestors, and nurturing the development of their cultural and ancestral knowledges. The result has manifested in a condition known today as “historical trauma.” Historical trauma refers to a “cumulative emotional and psychological wounding, over the lifespan and across generations, emanating from massive group trauma experiences” (Brave Heart 2003, p. 7) (although historical trauma research has reached wide acceptance in education and health sciences research, there is another body of scholarship that questions, doubts, and critiques historical trauma frameworks to push historical trauma away from an individual/community problem in order to spotlight current structural actors that continue to perpetuate oppression and trauma. Kirmayer, Gone, and Moses (2014). We argue that recognizing historical trauma as an individual, community, and structural issue is more multifaceted, incorporating past oppressions to highlight ongoing harms from past oppressions and present-day responsibilities of actors who have, and continue to, engage in the misappropriation, colonization, and harm of Indigenous peoples). Restricting use of heritage language and cultural expression, for example, not only facilitated assimilation, it created a silence and change in the learned behaviors of individuals who were forced to suppress emotions and thoughts to themselves (Lomawaima and McCarty 2006). These actions were further compounded by legislation such as the 1819 Civilization Fund Act, which set aside monies for missionaries to establish schools on reservations in Indian Country that promoted the conversion to Christianity and colonization efforts, and the 1892 Thomas J. Morgan “Rules for Indian Courts,” which effectively outlawed American Indian spiritual and religious expressions and practices. The psychological pain and spiritual grief resulting from such oppressive conditions led to harms across generations and an overall skepticism of federal and state systems. For some Native peoples, this legacy has led to a deep distrust toward formal education institutions and the US federal government.

While Native communities proceed to address the current impacts and present-day manifestations of historical trauma, Native students continue to experience difficulty with the education system. The cycle of colonialism remains. Native students are likely to face educational contexts with curriculum and pedagogical

practices that fail to recognize Indigenous perceptions, values, worldviews, learning styles, and knowledges as legitimate. Furthermore, Native students have to navigate marginalization, racism, and hostile policies. For those Native students who identify strongly with their Native cultural identity, they may be more likely to face cultural discontinuity (Brayboy 2004, 2005) and personhood invalidation (Tachine et al. 2017) between their culture and the culture of educational institutions. Native students' experiences and identities are fluid, complex, and layered with access to context of place and people. Oversimplifications of Native identity miss nuances of experiences and harm perceptions of dynamic peoples.

Empirical research and institutions often overlook this fluidity of identity formation. Low teacher and counselor expectations stunt academic, personal, and professional development opportunities, driving Indigenous scholars to explore asset- and strengths-based factors that enhance Native student persistence. These approaches include factors such as mentoring, role modeling, community support, and culturally responsive education programming (Castagno and Brayboy 2008; Shotton, Lowe, and Waterman 2013; Tachine et al. 2017). Involvement in culture-related activities and relationships with educators who have an understanding of Indigenous cultures and histories leads to positive educational experiences. However, educators and institutions are rarely held accountable for the continued perpetuation and oppression of Native peoples through Eurocentric education practices and contexts.

While the practices and implementation may have changed, US education of Indigenous students remains tied to histories of colonization and assimilation. Native students may no longer be forcibly removed from their homes, yet they remain more likely to be referred to discipline officers or experience "push out" from schools than to be put on-track for college (Solyom 2017). Reports of Native students being sent home or disciplined for having a traditional hairstyle remain common in public schools. Even students who approach graduation are sometimes punished for combining Indigenous symbols and expressions with school graduation regalia like donning hard-earned eagle feathers on their graduation caps. These stories remind us that, although a far cry from mission and boarding schools, institutions of education remain a site of trauma and cultural exclusion for Native students.

Despite ongoing challenges and an unpaid educational debt, Native communities often promote education as a source of hope and strategy for self-determination. According to Lomawaima and McCarty (2006), "Native communities have persistently and courageously fought for their continued existence as *peoples*, defined politically by their government-to-government relationship with the U.S. and culturally by their diverse governments, languages, land bases, religions, economies, education systems, and family organizations" (p. 7). Therefore, Native students are frequently encouraged throughout their academic careers to return to their communities and give back. Historically viewed as the "Indian Problem," the resilient experiences, knowledges, cultures, and ways of being demonstrated by Indigenous students suggest a strong potential to contribute and strengthen not only academia but society at large.

Building Nations and Local Capacity Through Education

In order to ensure the education debt is repaid, educational programs for Indigenous peoples must provide culturally appropriate, responsive, and respectful learning environments and opportunities. With over 570 American Indian tribes, more than 250 Alaska Native villages, Native Hawaiians, and many other Pacific Islanders, Indigenous peoples in the United States may share certain needs and desires – especially commitments to sovereignty and self-determination – but their approaches will vary depending on their unique local histories, languages, customs, and needs. In other words, historical, social, geographic, and political contexts shape Indigenous goals and visions for nation building and partnering with external institutions and governments.

Nation building can be properly understood as the “political, legal, spiritual, educational, and economic processes through which Indigenous people engage in order to build local capacity to address their educational, health, [and] legal...needs” (Brayboy et al. 2012). Nation building is directly tied to sovereignty and self-determination. Sovereignty refers to the “inherent right of [Indigenous] nations to direct their futures and engage the world in ways that are meaningful to them” (Brayboy et al. 2012, p. 17). Self-determination, which is the enactment of sovereignty, “provides greater control to tribal citizens and their government in planning, designing, implementing and controlling the public affairs of their respective tribes.” Combined, sovereignty and self-determination are utilized by Indigenous nations and communities to drive nation building visions through defining long-term goals for the community including (re)imagining and (re)invigorating programs, processes, and initiatives to meet those goals.

Nation building serves as a tool for Indigenous communities to outline a set of guiding principles or philosophies for education, economic structures, systems of governance, how they will be controlled, by whom, and how this will be accomplished. A nation-building agenda fosters local leadership and situates Native peoples as leaders. This requires developing a plan for ensuring community members have the education, knowledge, and expertise to fill present and future community needs. This may require establishing a system of education and governance that ensures local processes are community owned, operated, controlled, and guided by the values, beliefs, goals, and practices of the local community. Nation building can exist outside the immediate community as Indigenous peoples foster relationships, partnerships, and programs with external or Indigenous institutions.

Nation building in education means preparing and training Native teachers, principals, and counselors who understand students’ cultures, knowledges, and contexts. It also means preparing and training physicians, engineers, business entrepreneurs, social and public health practitioners, and legal thinkers who can provide direction and act in the capacity of community leaders for health and well-being, infrastructure, economic development, law and governance, and so forth. A nation building agenda identifies areas of improvement or needs that community members should focus on and emerges when tribal leaders, elders, and community members come together to identify an asset-based outlook for the future community.

Components of a nation building agenda can be short-term and narrowly focused, like a heritage language after-school program or summer arts camp; or they can be broad, long-term, and multitiered. For instance, students may express personal goals and aspirations to learn in areas of study that can improve their community economically, educationally, politically, or in well-being while keeping their culture intact and not assimilating. Under a nation-building framework, this may spark an education initiative shaped by the Indigenous community aimed at fulfilling those goals. Whatever the vision, nation building through self-education centralizes the entire community – as a people with cultural traditions, language, heritage, and governance – and takes into account both the people and the context in which they live, have lived, and hope to live.

Capacity building is essential to meet goals of nation building. One cannot expect a community or the concomitant traditions associated with a particular group to sustain themselves if the knowledge or skill sets are kept with one person. These knowledges and skills must be passed down and supported by the community so that they can continue to be transferred to generations well into the future. In knowing the history, goals, and experiences of the people, Indigenous communities utilize that knowledge to imagine ways of strengthening their communities. There must be thoughtful succession planning. The enactment of a nation building agenda through capacity building in education should not be confused with individual successes, though these should also be celebrated. The individual success must be put in context, capacity building that goes beyond formal training and role modeling to include programs and agendas that recognize and enhance the needs and roles within the community. The heart of nation building is always driven by the success of the community: to be engaged in addressing the desires, needs, and wants of community via asset-based and culturally relevant and respectful approaches.

Nation building is not a complete rejection of Western education or knowledges. Indigenous communities must sift through Western practices and knowledges to discern what best meets their community, in context. Nation building in education therefore builds on four key components: a commitment to sovereignty and self-determination, an awareness of the local and historical context of tribes, strengths-/asset-based approaches, and capacity building.

“Make Men of Them”: Programs Serving Indigenous Boys and Men

To engage a nation building framework focused on capacity building, we began this chapter by considering the historical context of the education debt and presenting statistics on disparities in education. This information contextualizes some of the many issues facing Indigenous peoples, particularly Indigenous boys and men, in the United States. School discipline or declining graduation and enrollment rates for Indigenous boys and men in the United States signal a crucial need that communities are trying to address yet despite this growing need programs and solutions lack

significant scholarly discussion or media attention, limiting discourse on and visibility of powerful local efforts and insights currently underway.

Our understanding of Indigenous men and boys is limited, which is antithetical to goals of nation building. Though research has explored ways in which colonization has impacted and reshaped Indigenous gender/sex dynamics by imposing White, Eurocentric norms of patriarchy and masculinity, there remains a dearth of literature specifically addressing Indigenous men or masculinities (Bitsóí 2007; Barker 2017; Perea 2017). A literature review of programs serving Indigenous boys and men in the United States found 609 articles and dissertations that mentioned programs serving Indigenous peoples, but only 48 (7%) of these programs specifically addressed issues, questions, or even disaggregated data facing Indigenous boys and men (Brayboy et al. 2016). Much of the discussions of masculinities and gender for Indigenous boys and men have wrongfully attempted to deter feminist and critical interrogations of patriarchy and masculinities in Indigenous communities or fall into the trap of attempting to “remasculinize Indigenous men. . . inadvertently reify[ing] heterosexist ideologies that serve conditions of imperial-colonial oppression” (Barker 2017, p. 24). This obstructs the worldviews and perspectives of Indigenous matrilineal societies. Our focus on men and boys is not an attempt to re-center men in conversations, which too frequently overemphasize cisgender male participation and obscure the critical contributions of women and LGBTQ leaders, teachers, activists, organizers, and thinkers. Instead, we focus on men and boys in education to interrogate the ways in which programs can address a holistic education that not only promotes community growth (e.g., nation building) and success by recognizing men and boys as critical sources of strength for their Indigenous nations and also reevaluate toxic, patriarchal masculinities from an Indigenous perspective.

In the next section, we describe two educational programs (the Hale Mua program in Hawai’i and the American Indian Summer Bridge Program in Arizona) that serve Indigenous boys and men and explore how they are working outside of typical academic designs to strengthen communities in distinct ways. We offer an overview of these programs followed by a general discussion of the state of programming for Native men and boys. The following information was drawn from a comprehensive literature review of programs targeting Native men and boys (Brayboy et al. 2016). The review covered 16 years of research (2000–2016) on education programs specifically designed to promote the well-being and achievement of Indigenous boys and men ages 12–25. Data analysis focused on the following three questions: what types of strengths-based education programs or interventions have been offered specific to AI/AN/NH/PI boys and men? Where? And, what successful guiding principles and practices have emerged from these interventions that lead to increased personal and academic achievement?

We present these two programs because they are illustrative of strengths-based and asset-based programs which help to inform beneficial principles and practices for supporting Native men and boys. Strengths-based approaches focus on the promises and possibilities of people, their communities, and their homelands. Such approaches draw on the expertise and knowledges of the collective with an eye toward creating a community of interdependent learners to address challenges

(Brayboy et al. 2016). Programs that use this approach see wisdom in intergenerational exchanges of knowledge that produce culturally and linguistically vibrant communities and respond to present needs and opportunities (Marlow and Siekmann 2013). Similarly, an asset-based approach imagines new possibilities through Native student's capabilities, as partners in learning and knowledge construction. Educators listen to the stories that students share about their families, life experiences, and histories and include elders, parents, and community members as active participants in schooling. Asset-based approaches stress that education must be relevant to the current struggles facing youth and must aid in learning about policies, rights, and status of Indigenous peoples (and their nation) so they can aid in nation building.

Our 2016 review of the literature revealed only nine programs that have been established for the purpose of serving the distinct needs of Native men and boys. Six of the nine programs identified were for youth ranging from 8 to 17 years old. Each program had an emphasis on general Indigenous culture, both in values and in practices. Three of the nine programs were related to education, either administered by IHEs or other local academic partners, and focused on postsecondary readiness or increasing rates of high school completion. Other programs focused on developing relationships and identity. Eight out of the nine programs focused on an individual's place and responsibilities in the home, tribal community, or greater society. Lastly, four of the nine programs emphasized the role of community mentors or role models as an aspect of the program. In general, these programs and their hosting organizations either extended or included the local Indigenous community.

We contacted the nine programs and requested interviews and/or more information. However due to a limited time frame, we were only able to interview two programs: the 'Aha Kāne Foundation (Hale Mua) and Maricopa Community Colleges (American Indian Summer Bridge Program). Both programs are grant-funded and dedicated to educating Indigenous boys and men, stressing the importance of Indigenous cultures. For this chapter, we highlight key aspects of the Hale Mua Initiative in Hawai'i and the American Indian Summer Bridge Program at Maricopa Community Colleges in Arizona (for a more detailed elaboration of the interviews and methodological approach, please refer to Brayboy et al. 2016).

The Hale Mua Initiative

Originating in 2012, the Hale Mua Initiative is a mentoring program designed to reestablish intergenerational connections between Native Hawaiian boys and men through activities, rites, and gatherings rooted in Indigenous ways of being and knowing. Groundwork for Hale Mua began in 2006 at the 'Aha Kāne Native Hawaiian Men's Conference to address issues of health and well-being among Native Hawaiian men. These conferences were designed in the spirit of traditional cultural gatherings (as opposed to European style conferences) and brought together community members to focus on traditional roles of men that had been lost. Participants noted how men had become disconnected from their cultural identity

as part of family and community and appeared to be suffering from intergenerational and historic trauma, much the result of colonization. Even as these gatherings focused on the well-being of men, women outnumbered men three to one. Women participants urged male attendees to address both the low male attendance rates at 'Aha Kāne as well as the larger problems facing men on the islands. Several months after the 2012 gathering, nearly a dozen boys attempted suicide, spurring the founders of Hale Mua and the community to hold gatherings and discussions on why this was happening to their youth.

From these internal discussions, founders of Hale Mua submitted a proposal to the Queen Lili'uokalani Trust for seed funding to begin a series of programs that would extend beyond the conference or annual gathering to a more active role in the everyday lives of Native Hawaiian men and boys. The Trust, created in 1909 from lands dedicated by Queen Lili'uokalani to benefit destitute and orphaned Native Hawaiian children, provided 3 years of funding for Hale Mua and was supplemented by funds from the Atherton Family Foundation as well as the Department of Native Hawaiian Health at the John A. Burns School of Medicine. Hale Mua focused on gathering community partners and potential male mentors, ages 18–80, and boys, ages 6–8, as participants who could actively engage the mission of connection and learning in traditional Native Hawaiian ways.

Named after the Hawaiian “men’s house,” Hale Mua began by visiting three different communities and hosting a series of 3-day weekend retreats to discuss the meaning of mentorship and promote traditionally male activities and discussions across various life stages. In the 1st year, Hale Mua organizers sought nominations for older males identified as “successful” Hawaiian men by their community to serve as mentors who could share their knowledge with young men in traditional Native Hawaiian practices (such as fishing) as well as general knowledges (such as how to successfully interview for a dream job). This process stressed the importance of intergenerational relationships with young men and elders in creating a space and pathways for success. The young men (the mentees) were then tasked with reaching out to young boys in the following year. Over time, this ensured the gatherings would be helpful and productive, rooted in Native Hawaiian ceremonies, rites, and rituals that would ground discussions on what it means to be a Native Hawaiian man.

As an ongoing project, Hale Mua aims to have at least a 2:1 ratio of mentors to youth, to not only temper behaviors of youth but also ensure the relationships between mentors and youth come from multiple perspectives and create a wider network of support. In their own words, Hale Mua is designed around the Indigenous institution

where Hawaiian men learned the roles and responsibilities of being a successful father, husband, and warrior, and basic occupations like farming and fishing. Elders and master practitioners served as educators. This emphasized moral character development and adherence to kapu (taboos) governing forbidden or inappropriate behavior. The education received in the Hale Mua also encouraged the preservation and maintenance of mana (power). By sustaining one's mana, each kāne fulfilled his kuleana (responsibilities) by honoring his kūpuna (elders). (Hale Mua 2017)

From inception to its ongoing course of programs, Hale Mua represents an Indigenous community-embedded project designed and orchestrated by community members in the service of intergenerational connection and responsibility. Each activity and gathering has purposes rooted in Native Hawaiian ways of being and knowing, providing youth connections to their elders in person, and sustaining the traditions of Native Hawaiian men. Long-term, Hale Mua coordinators hope to receive enough funding to create a permanent space for Hale Mua within the communities they serve – both as a sacred site of gathering and learning and for the kind of intergenerational connections and permanence that are necessary to ongoing community and well-being.

American Indian Summer Bridge Program

Since 2011, the American Indian Summer Bridge Program (AISB) at Maricopa Community Colleges (MCC) in Arizona has focused on creating a network of support for American Indian boys with the hopes of ensuring college success. The AISB is one of many programs created by the MCC to promote achievement and retention in higher education at the ten community colleges within Maricopa County, which includes the greater Phoenix Metropolitan Statistical Area, and shares borders with the Salt River Pima Maricopa Indian Community (Salt River), the Gila River Indian Community (GRIC), and Tohono O’odham Nation. Funded by a grant from Salt River, the AISB recruits a cohort of American Indian eighth grade boys, between 11 and 16 years of age, from different communities in the Phoenix area. Students are given a full scholarship to enroll in one summer college course. The course focuses on strategies for college/academic and life success and is taught by an American Indian faculty member. The program also provides ongoing events and mentoring throughout the year. Students are taken on trips to local universities, the Heard Museum in Phoenix (dedicated to American Indian art and history), the Challenger Space Museum, and other local educational learning facilities.

The “Strategies for Success” course is taught at the Chandler Gilbert Community College. The course focuses on college readiness and teaches strategies that emphasize study skills, time management, finding and utilizing financial resources for higher education, understanding and meeting faculty expectations, and using student support services available at MCC. By reaching out to eighth grade students, typically students entering or preparing to enter secondary education, the program begins the process of college transition early. This ensures that students keep postsecondary education in mind as they move through high school while connecting them with mentors and resources outside of their school or familial networks.

Central to the goals of the AISB is the network of mentors for students, providing them not only with connections and ideas for student success, but role models in higher education. As a part of the MCC Male Empowerment Network, the AISB is designed to provide a support network for males of color throughout the ten community colleges. The AISB represents an outreach program to draw together

college students, graduates, and future college students to create an intergenerational support network that will last from eighth grade through college graduation. Importantly, the network goes beyond students and faculty at community colleges and features guest speakers, or men of color who are leaders in their respective fields, and emphasizes American Indian speakers in hopes of providing role models for AISB students.

Although students, mentors, staff, and instructors in the AISB are not from the same community, their shared experiences as Indigenous peoples in Arizona provide a network of support and understanding. The structure and purpose of AISB show the importance of programs, student organizations, services, and groups that focus on Indigenous experiences, particularly in educational settings. By relying on existing staff and support faculty, AISB shows the importance of having Indigenous faculty, support staff, and others who either share or understand the experiences of Indigenous boys and men as a part of the key programmatic functions. For all those involved in AISB, program organizers stress in their curricula and training the importance of respecting social and cultural norms of the different communities the students come from, to properly use instructional tools that draw from Indigenous knowledges and to include the students perspectives from their home communities. Above all, AISB creates familiarity with college campuses and expectations, focusing on a success skills course that begins the transition to higher education early in students' careers.

State of Programming for Native Men and Boys

Mentoring and role modeling are central to capacity building. Both Hale Mua and the AISB are building capacity largely through the use of role models and mentors and by using cultural knowledges. Yet the structure and content of each program is distinct. Hale Mua is grassroots, community built, and community grounded. It emphasizes the importance of relationships, cultural connectedness, ceremony, and place in identity development in specific community sites under a Native Hawaiian framework. The AISB program on the other hand serves a diverse group of Native youth at an IHE. Though AISB may not emphasize a specific traditional ceremony or language in the same way as Hale Mua, it operates with the understanding that role-modeling is key to success for Native men and boys. Similarly, both are primarily community funded, Hale Mua receiving grant through the Queen Lili'uokalani Trust and AISB through Salt River, and have relationships to local colleges and universities.

Institutionalized programs like Summer Bridge Program create important pathways for students to reach higher education. Yet these programs must also consider ways in which support is provided when students hit institutional barriers. Institutionally grounded programs need to be able to respond to institutionally created obstacles – whether that is school discipline and its relationship to the school to prison pipeline, the tracking of Indigenous students into noncollege preparatory programs or special education, or simply the lack of institutional

commitment beyond a summer bridge program, noting the temporal limitations that exist. Bridge programs like AISB are crucial, but their focus only on higher education lacks Hale Mua's holistic model that provides mentors and role models while interrogating what it means to be an Indigenous man, in an Indigenous setting, from an Indigenous perspective. As an institutionally created and driven program focused on retention and degree completion, AISB lacks the broad agenda that community-created and community-driven programs like Hale Mua have.

Despite these differences, both asset-based programs respond to vital needs and are dedicated to empowering men with the knowledge and skill sets needed to become leaders in their fields and communities. Hale Mua establishes Native peoples in position as leaders, while Summer Bridge Program encourages Native leadership in professional and academic settings. Interestingly, both models suggest there is a difference between successful mentors and "highly qualified teachers." Both seek to build capacity and Hale Mua additionally focuses on addressing nation building efforts by responding to the effects of historical trauma and coloniality. Both validate and promote Indigenous knowledges, recognize the importance of community embeddedness and languages, and use materials that are informed by those Indigenous knowledges. Lastly, they focus on preparing leaders. In the case of Hale Mua, local leadership is taking charge and only Hale Mua offers a focus on different knowledges needed for different cultural and personal life stages (e.g., boy, man, father, warrior, elder).

Principles for Successful Indigenous-Serving Programs and Liaisons

Our review of the literature and interviews with Hale Mua and AISB suggest that programs which enhance education outcomes for Native men and boys appear to be driven by six promising principles: they *empower*, *enact*, *engage*, *enlighten*, *envision*, and *enhance*. Empowerment refers to harnessing and accentuating Indigenous knowledges while also acknowledging traumas specific to Native boys and men in order to provide a space for healing; mentors matter and are critical to preparing boys and men to be successful. Enactment is the ability to practice particular teachings about cultural protocol, spiritual practices, and sharing stories. Engaging in relationships with people (e.g., institutional staff, faculty, and family), place (e.g., home and homelands), and ceremony are critically important for Native peoples. This principle stresses the fact that place-based learning and access to culturally significant geographic areas are important. The enlighten principle refers to the reciprocal learning that ensues when engaging with others including family, elders, mentors, and other community members, while envision refers to a purpose-driven framework that strengthens students' motivation to persist in education. This may be tied to a desire to "give back" to their community or to help fulfill a nation

building agenda. Lastly, enhancement refers to the ways in which institutions and tribes provide support to Native students (e.g., having Native instructors, curriculum centered on Indigenous pedagogy). Together, these principles contribute positively to Native student persistence and success. We discuss these principles in more detail below.

Empower: Nurturing Indigenous Ways of Being and Knowing

Effective programs that assert empowerment harness and accentuate Indigenous knowledges, create space for peer networks and sharing, and acknowledge traumas specific to Native boys and men in order to provide a space for strength and healing. Programs with an empowerment perspective foster identity in meaningful ways, including teaching Native languages and cultural traditions that reflect Native epistemologies, allowing men and boys to gain the skills to enhance self-determination. Promoting empowerment through the facilitation of cultural knowledges and emphasizing relationships to tribal communities are meaningful ways of redressing historic and present-day institutionalized oppression. We briefly mentioned the fluidity and complexity of identity earlier, which speaks to aspects of polyculturalism. These polycultural aspects show up with mixed race or mixed national peoples, two-spirit and/or transgendered peoples, and those tied to urban, rural, suburban geographies. Learning to navigate different social contexts, while retaining an Indigenous sense of self and resisting assimilation, are important tools that programs serving Indigenous boys and men must nurture and strengthen. Empowerment work underscores the importance in recognizing internalized oppression and historical trauma through by promoting the strengths and positive qualities of Indigenous peoples. Examples of this include strengthening identity formation through identifying personal strengths within themselves and others. By instilling a greater sense of self-confidence, Native students are more equipped to survive and thrive at school settings.

The promotion of cultural knowledges and ways of being serves as sources of strength and motivation for Indigenous peoples in spaces where they are traditionally underrepresented and underserved. What Hale Mua, AISB, and others have found is the reason why Native students are able to successfully navigate institutions of education is because they have a special strength and resilience to adapt to potentially challenging situations and take away value from any experience. Empowering Indigenous students' success means recognizing the array of strengths they draw from their cultural backgrounds and communities to persist. For institutions of higher education and programs seeking to empower Indigenous students, this means incorporating cultural environments with motivation. Consider Hale Mua's social and physical location of the men's house within the community – building on existing cultural strengths to empower youth with existing community strategies, highlighting resources that may have previously gone underutilized or unnoticed. Indigenous students are better served and better

equipped to achieve in education settings when culture is empowered – viewed as a resource, fundamental to instruction and educational, personal, and professional success.

Enact: Spiritual Practices and Sharing Stories

Enactment refers to the ability to practice spiritual teachings and share stories. Tradition-based spiritual practices, rooted in Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies, are an integral source for Indigenous peoples. Important to these practices is providing space and opportunities for Native men and boys to dialogue about their spirituality and life experiences. In Hale Mua, this is a central function of the men's house, providing a distinct and unique space for men and boys to teach, understand, and negotiate spirituality, tradition, and life experiences in an intergenerational context. Activities in Hale Mua draw from Native Hawaiian spirituality and community stories, passing these stories down while cooking, crafting, or simply sharing space. We recognize that many Native men and boys practice and believe in different faiths, but how spirituality is defined and practiced is not the purpose of this discussion. Rather, we acknowledge the powerful role that spirituality has on Native men and boys. Like identity complexities, spirituality is equally complex and often tied to a sense of self.

Another important aspect of enactment involves sharing stories with other Natives. A focus on dialogue is important since trauma can be expressed in disillusionment with community leaders and grief about perceived culture loss as well as the complex connections between traumatization at the level of the individual and the community. Stories offer a place for Native men to heal connecting and relating with those who may encounter similar experiences or to provide awareness to boys on situations they may encounter from the perspective of men who have experienced them. Creating safe and culturally relevant spaces for Native boys and men to share their stories, like what Hale Mua has done, is a form of enactment and reeducation that allows them to reconnect to a collective experience, potentially alleviating feelings of individualized shame or isolation.

Engage: Relationships with People and Place Matter

Engaging in relationships with people (e.g., institutional staff, advisors, faculty, peers, and family) and place (e.g., home and homelands) are critically important for Indigenous success. Relationships matter. This means enhancing existing familial or community relationships while building relationships in new spaces – as Native students prepare for higher education, careers, or different transitions and contexts in life. When it comes to making important education and life decisions, it is important to keep in mind, when Native peoples are asked to consider a

course of action, they may be hesitant to make an immediate decision as an Indigenous worldview may necessitate discussion with the family prior to committing to something that could impact the family or larger society. Institutions of higher education and programs serving Native boys and men should recognize and seek to facilitate these important relationship networks by providing students opportunities and space to foster and maintain these connections. Policies and practices within education that promulgate the relationality between Native students and tribal communities are crucial to the future success and capacity of Native communities.

Similarly, institutions must also help students to forge new connections and bonds, both with their own communities and with communities within the institution. The strength of programs like AISB is in building these connections between students, by creating an eighth grade cohort with ongoing activities so students have a peer relationship network as they continue through school and into higher education. Furthermore, creating connections with institutional staff and mentors in higher education at an early age means these relationships have time to develop and grow over time. Students are therefore better able to understand the resources available to them and recognize the support that exists not only in their families and communities but in their future educational institutions. Reaching out to youth also allows institutions to form connections with their families and communities, building the trust that is essential to relationships between Indigenous communities and educational institutions to move away from the histories of exploitation and assimilation that have generated trauma.

Enlighten: Reciprocal Learning from Engaging with Family, Elders, and Mentors

Closely linked with the engagement principle is the enlighten principle, which is reciprocal learning (enlightenment) that ensues when engaging with others. Powerful learning is exchanged when Native students connect with family. This principle emphasizes the influential role of *mentorship*. Actively seeking supportive relationships with positive, non-violent elders and mentors in the community enhances success that may be passed down with each successive generation. We mentioned in the previous section that asset- and strengths-based approaches see wisdom in intergenerational exchanges of knowledge, produce culturally and linguistically vibrant communities, and respond to present needs and opportunities. Social support from elders, community members, and faculty/staff mentors is powerful for student success. Mentors, both from an educational and cultural context, are key to aspiring Native students. Peer mentoring programs can also help in the adjustments/demands of college life. Building on established relationships means not only role modeling between Native boys and men but also seeking and providing mentors from different communities, genders, sexualities, and professional lives, to foster the

reciprocal learning that helps students remain focused, yet open-minded and engaged with different understandings of what it means to be an Indigenous person, and thereby what it may mean for the student, or their community, to be an Indigenous man.

Envision: Purpose-Driven Framework

The envision principle refers to the purpose-driven framework that strengthens students' motivation to persist in college. A desire to help community can be a guiding force for Native students as it illustrates a "full circle of purpose" (Elliott 2010, p. 177). Both AISB and Hale Mua are focused on persistence of Native boys and men, with two distinct approaches. Hale Mua takes an intergenerational persistence to the core of community and Indigenous ways of being and knowing in the many activities of the men's house, connecting boys with men and elders from their community that they may not have connected with previously. For AISB, the connection to persistence comes from different American Indian men in careers, showing the results of persistence in education with the hopes of role modeling for the eighth grade boys involved while also providing mentorship for these boys to offer assistance in their chosen educational path. For boys becoming men, phrases like "man up" or "grow a pair" wrongfully tie masculinities to an individualized strength that exists in isolation, forcing a false narrative that boys become men on their own and that masculinity is not a community negotiated process. By connecting Native boys and men in this way, Hale Mua and AISB reinforce the reciprocal relationship of community for men who are too often told to bear burdens on their own. Envisioning Native boys and men in a community, and as part of larger Indigenous communities, reassures students with support and thereby encourages long-term persistence, particularly in higher education. In many ways, the notion of envisioning is directly tied to larger conversations around the importance of tribal nation building, mentorship, and relationships (Brayboy et al. 2012, 2014). The nature of being driven by collective purpose is crucial to the success of all Native students and peoples; it is especially true for Indigenous men and boys.

Enhance: Institutional and Tribal Support

Our final principle, enhance, should guide IHEs in providing support to Native students. Within institutions, having Native instructors, access to classes on Native topics, curriculum centered on Indigenous pedagogy, and applying life skills, all contribute positively to Native student persistence and success. Educators should not assume that all students understand European-based stories and their themes. To enhance success, institutions and instructors should focus on community-relevant stories, pedagogies, and epistemologies. This means not only teaching in ways that are relevant to the learning styles of the Indigenous peoples being taught but to incorporate subject matter that is most relevant for the local community and the

students being taught. This also means avoiding essentialist notions of Indigeneity and masculinity. The activities, rituals, and conceptions of what it means to be a man in Hale Mua may have connections or similarities to activities in AISB, but this does not mean either model should be imposed or transplanted in other communities. Rather, Hale Mua and AISB show models of building strength and support that are relevant to the local community by building on their Indigenous perspectives, rather than attempting to superimpose an absolutist, essentialist, romanticized, and counterproductive definition of Indigenous manhood. This would simply be reifying colonial practices with a pseudo-Indigenous face. Rather, by focusing on enhancing existing community programs and networks of support as Hale Mua and AISB strive to do, institutions can build on existing networks with funding, structural support, and connections that foster important programs and strategies for success.

Institutions seeking to enhance communities rather than colonize should focus on consultation and partnership with communities. This means not only hiring faculty, staff, and administrators who understand local issues and are even from local Indigenous communities but ensuring retention of students, faculty, and staff by collaborating with local Indigenous communities. Programs like AISB and Hale Mua do not exist in a vacuum, but both have funding partnerships with local colleges and universities, which enable their success without attempting to impose a model of success. We argue that the key to enhancing institutions and communities comes in partnership that recognizes the importance and salience of local Indigenous knowledges in serving Indigenous peoples, rather than attempting to impose formulaic programs that would defeat the purpose of the partnership.

Sustaining Systems of Support: Institutional Partnerships with Indigenous Peoples

Programs and institutions addressing the needs and experiences of Indigenous boys and men recognize the importance of education and schooling but must be mindful of histories of colonization and assimilation. Therefore, student success must be rooted in forming systems of support – connecting historically colonial institutions of higher education to Indigenous communities and culture through partnership and collaboration that values and centers Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies. Engaging Indigenous students through culture-affirming approaches and helping to facilitate relationships within their community can effectively counter disparate educational outcomes. Moreover, this necessitates a recognition that education goes beyond the formal and Westernized notion of schooling to include learning *within* Indigenous communities. Such learning is often family-, community-, and environmental-based, connecting boys and men to their homelands, defining or redefining Indigenous masculinities, and allowing for important ceremonies and sacred and spiritual practices to take place.

Programs serving Native boys and men emphasize the importance of cultural knowledges and how Indigenous peoples strategically apply those knowledges for survival and success. Moreover, peer support and mentoring are vital to redress

challenges and inequitable education outcomes. Mentors, role models, and bonding activities provide culturally effective spaces and reflective relationships to acknowledge and discuss critical issues of importance to Native boys and men. Brave Heart et al. (2012) describe alternative ways of thinking about interventions for men by focusing on the impacts of historical trauma that have resulted in “male separation from the traditional self, internalization of oppression, and identification with the aggressor – an intrinsically devalued true self” (p. 179). Thematically, Hale Mua and AISB shift from a deficit approach to a repayment of the education debt discussed earlier by engaging Native men in culturally relevant and relational-oriented approaches that each emphasize relationships to family, community, identity, and culture – mending bonds that have been damaged by colonization while strengthening connections between generations.

We believe Native communities best understand the challenges facing them and may have their own solutions in place or new ideas for resolving problems facing boys and men but may lack resources, funding, or support. Ultimately, our goal in this chapter is not to necessarily reshape educational institutions or the community, but rather reshape the relationship between the two, thereby strengthening Indigenous peoples. In other words, we are not suggesting that communities need institutions of higher education to design and operate their programs; they need their support as partners in understanding that Native peoples are the ones who provide relevance to the community. So how can IHEs help support the nation building goals of tribal communities and enhance Native student development and success?

Overall, IHEs must recognize there is no one-size-fits-all model for Indigenous communities. American Indian, Alaska Native, Native Hawaiian, and Pacific Islander communities are diverse and distinct, connected by the colonial power of the United States. Each community has different needs, protocols, contexts, and desires. Each community may have differing ideas of the health and education needs of their youth. Building on our six principles, there are some basic tenets to keep in mind when working with and for tribal communities and their students:

1. Research design and collaboration must be rooted in context that honors and engages protocol that varies from community to community – this encompasses interpersonal interaction, ways of speaking, types of questions that are considered respectful or rude, or standards for eye contact, among many various ways of communicating. The simplest solution to understanding and engaging in respectful protocol is to hire or work with members of that community, who can not only serve as a connection between IHEs and Indigenous communities but can ensure that best practices match Indigenous community expectations.
2. Relatedly, research needs to examine non-Western forms of education as strengths-based forms of instruction. Indigenous knowledges should be used in the classroom for instruction and understanding for Indigenous peoples, not just as the subjects of study by White researchers or as topics of conversation in predominantly white institutions.
3. Research and programs must build capacity, primarily through mentorship. In other words, IHEs must recognize that capacity is built by preparing Indigenous

boys to be Indigenous men, serve in ceremony and understand their role, and place in relation to being in mutually rewarding (inter)dependent (inter)relationships with other men, women, and all others.

4. IHEs can encourage funders to take seriously the invisibility and erasure of Native peoples more generally and Native boys and men more explicitly. There is a clear need for funders to take the issue of the current state of Indigenous boys and men – and their communities – seriously. To this end, new funding streams need to be opened that will allow researchers opportunities to explore the current state of education, health (both mental and physical), culture and linguistic, justice-related, suicidality, labor, nutrition, and housing for Indigenous peoples more generally and Indigenous boys and men more specifically. These opportunities should take both topic-specific and intersectional analyses. It is difficult to fully address the nature of the challenges in front of us without fully understanding what the challenges – and resources to respond – truly are.
5. Creating Native cultural centers on college campuses allow young men there to both have a refuge from the daily stressors of being on campuses that are often hostile to them and to engage in community building. Coordinating a physical space to provide emotional and psychological support is also crucial. We recommend that institutions implement student support groups and encouraging culture-specific student groups. Combining the physical with the psychosocial elements is crucial in assisting Indigenous men in making the transition into higher education.

Conclusion

Educational institutions have a fraught relationship with Indigenous communities, to put it lightly. Histories of assimilation and colonization have deprived Indigenous peoples of educational systems that embrace Indigenous knowledges, culture, and people. Particularly for Indigenous boys and men, this has meant assimilation, tracking into criminal justice systems, or imposed and unresolved trauma. Academic research on Indigenous boys and men are more likely to use “at-risk” descriptors and frame discussions of Indigenous boys and men as dysfunctional, deficit, or unfit for schooling while noting feelings of isolation, loss of cultural identity, depression, and other symptoms of trauma. Yet, Indigenous communities and people are resilient and have created solutions to problems felt in their communities, often lacking support from institutions of education to enrich Indigenous communities. Rather than take people and resources from the community, we advocate for ways in which institutions of education can support and partner with Indigenous communities to their mutual benefit.

With the dearth of research on strengths- or asset-based educational programs and institutions serving Indigenous men and boys, our analysis of Hale Mua and AISB suggests six guiding principles to improve education outcomes beyond typical curriculum, discussions, or practices. We suggest that Indigenous peoples know how to successfully develop research and engaging learning spaces that advance

anti-oppressive education and “permits historical and contemporary perspectives of Indigenous material culture to critically wrestle with dominant discourses” so that Native youth develop a stronger sense of identity and self-confidence (Bequette 2014, p. 215). By focusing on empowering, enacting, engaging, enlightening, envisioning, and enhancing programs serving Indigenous boys and men, institutions of higher education become better able to support existing community involvement while ensuring space for future community and institutional developments.

Indigenous communities are more than gatherings of people; they are nations with the sovereign right to govern themselves and shape their lives in ways they see fit. Self-determination includes the creation and modification of laws to support Indigenous nation building, even when US Federal laws may provide funding, guidance, or even impose boundaries on governance. In education, this means ensuring systems of support for Indigenous education initiatives by creating and maintaining Indigenous education departments and funding Indigenous institutions from primary schools to universities and general policies to fund, support, and strengthen Indigenous communities through educational partnerships. Education on Indigenous terms is often difficult, as US institutions – courts, administrative bodies, and academia – have a hard time understanding Indigenous epistemologies, ontologies, and sovereignty in education because education has historically been rooted in assimilation to Western standards of learning instead of adapting to the cultural needs of Native students and faculty. Nation building in education thus recognizes Indigenous peoples’ dual citizenship as US citizens and tribal citizens. Education is more than ensuring people can contribute to the US or individual successes but also to their own communities and continue to teach the generations after them.

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“A Future Denied” for Young Indigenous People: From Social Disruption to Possible Futures

35

Emma Elliott-Groves and Stephanie A. Fryberg

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Abstract

Representations of contemporary Indigenous people in the USA and Canada are poorly reflected in public institutions. Portrayals are rare and generally inaccurate, highlighting the erasure of Indigenous people from current discourse. Such erasure is an inevitable result of settler colonialism, a process that aims to replace the Indigenous inhabitants of a given region with settlers. Settler colonialism is predicated on the notion that land can be owned as private property, and that Indigenous people have no special claim to their traditional territories. The US government and its legal system have supported its ends, which have disrupted the web of relationships necessary for Indigenous identity development. These relationships include prescriptions for what it means to be an Indigenous person and how to conduct one’s life in a good way. In conjunction with representational erasure, their disruption prevents young Indigenous people from developing positive concepts of self. In the face of cultural invisibility and widespread

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negative stereotypes, the attempts of young people to build healthy identities for themselves can be compromised or completely thwarted. They cannot find ways to connect the narrative thread of their past and present with their possible futures, which are effectively foreclosed. Thus, representational erasure places young Indigenous people at great psychological risk, culminating far too often in suicide. To mitigate these effects, we recommend raising social awareness of settler colonialism and reimagining public education in ways that will affirm rather than deny Indigenous values.

Keywords

Indigenous erasure · Settler colonialism · Collective capacities · Possible selves · Identity development · Social representation

When young Indigenous people look out into the world, they seldom see themselves or members of their group represented. The issue is not a total absence of representation; rather, young people are exposed to a predominance of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century images instead of contemporary representations in which they might recognize themselves (Shear et al. 2015). This absence is true across a variety of consequential domains, such as education, media, health, and law. The representational erasure of contemporary Indigenous people in the USA and Canada is largely a reflection of settler colonial discourse. Although there are many settler colonial states, including the USA, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, this paper will draw from the North American context. Used broadly, the term “Indigenous” here refers to the first people of the land, and at the core of Indigenous identity is relational responsibility, as constituted by history, ceremony and spirituality, language, and land (Alfred and Corntassel 2005). By drawing on theories of social psychology and engaging a settler colonial theoretical framework, this paper theorizes the consequences of representational erasure on identity development and wellbeing for young Indigenous people in the USA and Canada.

With the intention of acquiring land, settler colonialism aims to erase Indigenous populations from their homelands and replace them with settler societies (Lefevre 2015). In addition to land dispossession, settler colonialism seeks to remove Indigenous political authority (Coulthard 2014). Ultimately, settler colonialism is about Indigenous erasure for the purpose of land acquisition made possible through an unequal distribution of power between the nation state and its first people. Through representational erasure, the presence of Indigenous people and their cultural practices are altered, appropriated, or erased, ultimately threatening the process of identity development for young Indigenous people.

Actively writing Indigenous people out of the domain of contemporary representation is tantamount to an erasure of entire ethnic groups and has devastating psychological consequences for young Indigenous people. The lack of contemporary Indigenous representation in mainstream media and across US or Canadian institutions is pervasive despite the rich and lasting contributions of Indigenous people to North American societies. Native Americans in the USA and First Nations

and Inuit people in Canada have made significant contributions in areas such as economic development, military service, conservation, and environmental protection, yet many of these contributions lack visible representation. The result is Indigenous erasure. This representational and contextual reality begs the question, "How can young Indigenous people develop a contemporary self when their people have been metaphorically frozen in the past and contemporarily written out of the present and the future?" The answer to this question importantly depends upon the content of the social representations and narratives that are available to young people. In the absence of positive social representation (e.g., role models from ethnic, gender, or class population), young Indigenous people are tasked with their own identity development in the context where their social representation is not acknowledged or represented accurately. The lack of widespread misrepresentation or lack of visible representation of Indigenous people presents obstacles to identity making and impedes young people's efforts to figure out who they are and what they will become in the future. As a result, they experience greater psychological risk than their non-Indigenous peers who are represented more widely and more favorably, leading to stress, depression, anxiety, and suicidal ideation.

Put forth in this paper are three key implications of Indigenous erasure: first, it disrupts Indigenous social and cultural formations; secondly, it limits the possible selves available to young Indigenous people for identity development; and thirdly, it elevates psychological risk for many young Indigenous people. Settler colonial theory is presented as a frame for this discussion, referring specifically to historical and contemporary disruptions of Indigenous collective capacities (Whyte 2015). Next, thoughts on how such disruption limits the available representations necessary for Indigenous identity development are discussed followed by real-world, social, and cultural outcomes of Indigenous erasure. Finally, culturally specific suggestions for educators and mental health practitioners to alleviate the impact of Indigenous erasure on identity development are offered, with the larger objective of expanding Indigenous possible selves and decreasing the risks associated with an absence of representation.

Disruptions of Collective Capacities of Indigenous Populations

The study of how colonization has disrupted Indigenous social and cultural formations is not new. Various studies have discussed the impact of these disruptions on Indigenous communities (Chandler et al. 2003; Whyte 2015). The social and cultural formations, or collective capacities, of a community refer to the interacting systems of humans, nonhumans, entities, and landscapes that support its capacity to self-determine and to adapt to changing circumstances, such as colonization (Whyte 2015). For example, Indigenous collective capacities include relationships with the land and other living entities, religious and cultural narratives, social and cultural ways of life, and political and economic systems (Whyte 2015). The central component of collective capacities are the interacting relationships embedded within each system, which have been conceptualized specifically to enhance community

members' quality of life and increase their ability to determine their own futures. For young Indigenous people, a large part of identity development depends on one's role in community and the practices embedded within the culture, as well as one's responsibility to the collective (Cajete 1994). In other words, young people learn what it means to be "a human, one of the People" through their community relations (Cajete 1994, p. 41). When the collective capacities of the community are disrupted, the necessary relationships and representations available for identity development are limited or absent, which presents the psychological consequence of erasure. The capacity to sustain a thriving community is predicated on the collective's ability to establish and maintain strong social and cultural formations (Trospen 2009), including educational and child welfare systems. In settler colonial states, however, the process of colonization has encroached on Indigenous institutions and relationships.

Settler colonialism is a complex and continuous social process aimed at eliminating Indigenous people through the disruption of their collective capacities (Whyte 2015; Wolfe 2006). The principal endeavor is the creation of a homeland for settlers, a goal typically achieved by the acquisition of Indigenous land and the subsequent establishment and management of permanent settler structures (Allen 1986; LaDuke 1999; Maracle 1996; Veracini 2010; Wolfe 2006). This process disrupts Indigenous social and cultural formations and degrades quality of life by creating food insecurity, lowering standards of public health, and compromising cultural integrity, thereby hindering community members' efforts to determine their own futures (Whyte 2015). Without the ability to plan, prepare for, and adapt to changing circumstances, Indigenous people experience many psychological and material consequences, including limited or foreclosed possible selves.

In the USA, settler colonialism was facilitated by specific actions of the federal government, including the forced relocation of American Indian children to boarding schools in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; the Dawes Act of 1887, which attempted to privatize tribal lands for individual ownership and sale; and the termination and relocation policies of the 1940s through 1960s (Adams 1995; Ellis 1996; Lomawaima and McCarty 2006). In Canada, settler colonialism operated through similar federal policies including the Crown Lands Protection Act of 1839, which empowered the federal government as guardians of all Crown lands; the 1867 British North America Act, under which Indians and Indian land became federal responsibility; and the Indian Act of 1876 which defined and racialized Indian identity, supported the removal of Indian children from their family homes, and mandated the removal and forced sedentarization through the reservation system (Haig-Brown 1988; Johnston 1995; Kirmayer and Valaskakis 2009).

In contemporary society, the disruption of Indigenous collective capacities continues with the disproportionate representation of Native American children in foster care (Cross 2008), the disproportionate police violence against young Native American adults (Center on Juvenile and Criminal Justice 2014), and the scarcity of tribally run and tribally determined schools. Child removal, for example, ensures that Indigenous knowledge systems atrophy. When parents and elders are prevented from nurturing and educating subsequent generations in the social and cultural practices that ensure collective well-being, the entire collective is placed at risk.

Another factor associated with the psychological consequences of erasure is temporal persistence, which refers to the ability of individuals and cultures to connect the narrative thread of the past with their own present and future (Chandler et al. 2003). Temporal persistence involves understanding shared social and cultural practices and experiencing oneself and one's culture as continuous through time. In the context of identity development, however, the notion of temporal persistence highlights a paradox of human existence: we must continually change, yet we necessarily remain the same (Chandler et al. 2003). Young people who face this paradox must draw on their collective capacities to facilitate their development as human beings. In the case of Indigenous young people, however, collective capacities have often become so fractured, and self-images so compromised, that it is difficult for them to link past, present, and future.

Chandler and colleagues argue that cultural continuity, manifesting as community control over health, education, policing, land claims, government, and cultural spaces, can serve as a protective buffer against suicide in First Nations' communities in British Columbia. In one of their studies, suicide rates were directly correlated with the degree of cultural continuity in each community, such that First Nations' communities striving to preserve and promote their own social and cultural practices experienced less suicide (Chandler and Lalonde 1998). In another study, they found that 85% of actively suicidal young people had difficulty understanding their own or others' persistence across time (Chandler et al. 2003). At the individual as well as the collective level, an inability to connect the past with the present and future exacerbates suicide risk (Chandler et al. 2003). Disruptions of collectives' social and cultural formations are indeed a matter of life and death.

By jeopardizing collective abilities to adapt to changing needs, the obstruction of social and cultural formations in Indigenous communities places the entire collective at greater psychological and material risk than their non-Indigenous counterparts. The same obstruction limits the availability of representations that could help Indigenous young people understand what it means to be a good, right, or moral person. Representations that reflect cultural invisibility, negative stereotypes, and widespread cultural mismatch leave these young people in a constant state of psychic disequilibrium (Rich 1994). To understand and potentially reverse these destructive processes, the next section examines the dependency of an individual's possible selves on available cultural representations.

Possible Self-Concepts: Me or Not Me?

As social beings, we all engage with a vast network of other people's ideas about who and what we are supposed to be. Within this network, everyone must develop a sense of self, which includes imagining our "possible selves," or who we might like to become in the future (Markus and Nurius 1986). Possible selves, either positive or negative, are cognitive manifestations of our hopes, fears, threats, and goals (Markus and Nurius 1986). They are self-concepts that are dynamically constructed through everyday interactions (Oyserman and Fryberg 2006), including prevalent attitudes,

values, and social practices. Positive possible selves, which are associated with goals, and negative possible selves, which are associated with fears, serve as motivational and regulatory guides for behavior, providing a crucial cognitive link between present and future (Oyserman and Fryberg 2006). Research demonstrates that students whose possible selves include a good balance of desired (“I want to be a good student”) and feared selves (“I fear being a bad student”) perform better in school. In the process of identity development, thoughts about who we once were, who we currently are, and who we might become emerge directly from the social representational landscape. Because possible selves are dynamic constructs, the possible futures available to young people can be expanded or foreclosed, depending on the representational landscape. For Indigenous young people, the representational landscape is imbued with stereotypes and historical misrepresentations that shape and too often limit their self-concepts in relation to temporal persistence.

Therefore, the question of possible selves for Indigenous young people is not simply about what is going on in their minds, but about what is depicted in the world. This includes the systems of relationships in which they are engaged, as well as the ways in which those systems are affected by the representational landscape. When faced with a representational landscape that disregards or erases their perceived or actual self or social group, Indigenous young people are placed at a greater disadvantage during the process of identity development. Although American Indian, Alaska Native, and First Nations people have demonstrated significant resiliency in the face of widespread change, the focus here is on the risks and challenges associated with settler colonization in North America. The simultaneous prevalence of negative representations and absence of positive representations have adverse psychological consequences for young Indigenous people as they try to develop positive possible selves. For Indigenous populations, widely available representations often falsify or exclude positive reflections of Indigenous identity, resulting in a form of Indigenous erasure. Like all young people, they must engage with and ultimately shape their self-understanding on the basis of available social representations (Fryberg and Townsend 2008). Yet not all social representational landscapes are created equal.

The social representational landscape comprises the ideas and images accessible in a given social context that help people orient themselves and communicate with one another (Moscovici 2001). Social representations serve two functions. First, they provide a way to define, categorize, and develop generalized knowledge about people and objects to assist us in interpreting the world. Second, they are directive: they tell us how to think, interpret, feel, and act in the context of social and cultural norms. Thus, what a young person considers possible is a direct reflection of the representations available in the broader social world, including home and school. Young people negotiate their own identity development by drawing on these preformed and widely available ideas about the identity of their social group. They then determine whether the possible futures that emerge from these ideas represent “me or not me.”

When available representations are limited, negative, or absent, young people may realize that these ideas and images simply do not reflect their own self-concepts,

creating internal conflict (Fryberg and Townsend 2008). In contrast, this inequity across social groups in the availability of positive representations presents some young people access to multiple possible selves that reflect a positive version of "me." To illustrate this inequity, we introduce Sans, an 18-year-old high school senior who is a member of the Cowichan Tribes in Canada; he was interviewed as part of a study conducted by one of the authors of this paper (Elliott 2016) aimed at understanding suicidal behavior from the perspective of community members. One part of the interview, directed specifically at young people, focused on possible selves. When asked if he had considered any job opportunities after graduation, Sans replied, "I can't imagine there's that many jobs in this town for Native people. I heard most are heading out of British Columbia for worthy jobs. I guess I'll have to leave." He proceeded to describe significantly racist attitudes toward Native people in his hometown, which he associated with the lack of job opportunities for himself and others like him. Clearly, his observations of the social representational landscape had helped him to develop generalized knowledge about what was available to him and to others in his social group. In turn, this acquired knowledge served a directive function. Like many of his peers, Sans seemed resigned to the necessity of moving out of the province in order to find his livelihood. Although he did not want to leave his family or community, he felt hopeless about his own prospects for employment. Sans had seen few social representations of First Nations men who acquired "worthy jobs" in his community after high school graduation. Because of this representational erasure, his possible selves were severely constrained.

This example highlights the fact that social contexts are not "equal-opportunity self-schema afforders" (Fryberg and Townsend 2008, p. 174). In other words, the availability of positive and inclusive social representations varies widely, depending on one's social identity (a construct informed by race, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, and similar categories). Every society is organized around particular social identities, such that members of different social groups encounter varying representations and unequal social identity contingencies. These contingencies are predicated on specific social positions and can be positive or negative; in particular, social identity contingencies include all "possible judgments, stereotypes, opportunities, restrictions, and treatments that are tied to one's social identity in a given setting" (Purdie-Vaughns et al. 2008, p. 615). For oppressed populations, these identity-based contingencies often reflect and result in physical and psychological risks. In the example above, Sans associated his identity as a First Nations man with the contingency of unemployment in his own community. While those in the social mainstream might encounter positive, inclusive opportunities and treatment from others, Indigenous people like Sans more often contend with restricted opportunity and negative treatment (Fryberg and Townsend 2008).

This research demonstrates that cultural narratives and associated representations deeply embedded in the contemporary social representational landscape influence the possible selves available to young people for identity development. In the process of identity development, young people draw from this landscape to determine what it means to be a person and what is possible for themselves. The disruption of Indigenous social and cultural formations on a collective level has

degraded the social representational landscape of Indigenous young people, and thus their everyday experiences and possible futures. Many of the cultural narratives and associated representations linked with Indigenous people are negative, false, or obsolete. As such, they limit the possible selves available to young Indigenous people, with deep implications for their psychological well-being. Without appropriate social representations to guide their self-understanding, young people face a type of erasure that influences their identity development. In this case, young people are vulnerable to such conclusions as “who I am doesn’t fit” or “who I am is not good enough.” Too often, the consequences are psychological distress and disequilibrium. To deeply understand how settler colonialism and the disruption to Indigenous collective capacities influence the development of possible selves, the next section provides real-world examples and consequences of Indigenous erasure. First, the theory of invisibility is presented including the concepts of absolute and relative invisibility. Next, negative stereotyping and cultural mismatch of Indigenous populations are offered as two forms of relative invisibility. Lastly, to demonstrate real-world, social, and cultural outcomes for Indigenous populations, Indigenous suicide is discussed as the ultimate result of erasure through colonization.

Real-World Consequences of Erasure

To understand the real-world consequences of absent or inaccurate representations, Fryberg and Townsend (2008) offer the theory of invisibility. Their approach illustrates the ways in which possible selves for oppressed populations can be undermined. Invisibility or erasure operates in many obvious ways, including overtly destructive stereotypes, to limit or deny possible selves. However, various tacit or taken-for-granted factors also legitimate certain people while discounting others; for example, these factors are brought to bear in situations of cultural mismatch or of institutional racism that privileges white people. Depending on the social representations available, underrepresented young people often contend with a context in which their social reality or worldview does not match the social representational landscape or is omitted entirely; despite the pervasive cultural mismatch, this situation goes unnoticed or is taken for granted. Social identities, including what it means to be a person or how to be good or righteous, are formed through bidirectional or mutual interaction with the social environment. The possible ways to develop a sense of self are observed and mediated through an array of social representations, whose availability varies widely according to social group identity. The psychology of invisibility refers to the psychological impact of engaging a social environment in which one’s likeness or representation is absent or misrepresented. Fryberg and Townsend (2008) present two types of invisibility with deep psychological implications for underrepresented populations: absolute and relative.

Absolute invisibility is characterized by a total absence of positive or negative representations (Fryberg and Townsend 2008). Young people who confront such a landscape must develop their identities without any road map for how to be a good

person in the world. North American Indigenous people are invisibilized in many public spaces, including mass media, education, and professional fields. For example, although they comprise about 2% of the US population, Native Americans are virtually absent from primetime television and feature films (Leavitt et al. 2015). In Canada, media representations of Aboriginal people function to safeguard dominant interests by depicting Aboriginal people as a threat (Harding 2006). Furthermore, among postsecondary degrees conferred in 2012–2013, only 0.54% were awarded to Native Americans (Kena et al. 2016). Similarly, in Canada, Aboriginal people are more likely to have a trades and college certificates than a university degree, indicating the disparate rates of representation in higher education institutions (Statistics Canada 2015). In degree-granting institutions in the USA, less than 1% of faculty are Native Americans, demonstrating the near absence of Native professional role models in academia (National Center for Education Statistics 2016). As a result, Native people feel the effects of representational invisibility during every interaction in their private and public lives.

Relative invisibility. The persistent misrepresentation (including stigmatizing and stereotyping) or limited positive representation of certain groups is known as relative invisibility (Fryberg and Townsend 2008). The misrepresentation of social group identity is evidenced through stereotypes or generalizations about entire social groups. Couched within misrepresentation are identity contingencies, or circumstances associated with belonging to a particular social group, that either afford or constrain opportunity based upon social location (Purdie-Vaughns et al. 2008). Limited positive representation of social identity can be observed through the concept of cultural mismatch. The theory of cultural mismatch states that inequality is produced when the dominant cultural patterns do not match the cultural patterns of underrepresented populations (Stephens et al. 2012b). Seen through the lens of stereotyping and cultural mismatch, relative invisibility denies Native people their full humanity.

For Indigenous people, social misrepresentations are embodied structurally in everyday institutions, including schools, churches, families, government facilities, and healthcare centers. In the following sections, practical examples of negative stereotyping and cultural mismatch are provided to illustrate the consequences of invisibility on underrepresented populations. First, examples of negative stereotyping are offered, with particular emphasis on the psychological and physical repercussions of this type of erasure. Next, independent concepts of personhood are contrasted with interdependent concepts of personhood to illustrate the cultural mismatch that Indigenous populations experience in mainstream US society. The pervasiveness of these misrepresentations results in relative invisibility, a status that is especially harmful to populations experiencing overt or covert oppression. When social group identities are misrepresented, young people must build their identities in a landscape of stereotypes.

Negative stereotyping. In contemporary US society, Native Americans are portrayed largely in a homogeneous and outdated manner as “frozen in time” (Leavitt et al. 2015). This portrayal confers relative invisibility on Native Americans, because mainstream groups are unlikely to recognize people who look modern as

authentically Indigenous. The negative force of such culturally sustained ignorance is encapsulated in a common stereotype: “All the real Indians died off” (Dunbar-Ortiz and Gilio-Whitaker 2016). This myth of nonexistence plays out in contemporary institutions and influences the daily experiences of Native people. For example, a study aimed at understanding the frequency and quality of Native American representation in the K-12 system in the USA concluded that 87% of state educational standards present Native people in a pre-1900 context (Shear et al. 2015). Such historicized stereotyping of Native Americans lowers the self-esteem of Native students, deters their academic achievement, and undermines their beliefs in community efficacy.

Other destructive stereotypes include notions that Native Americans are “savage and warlike” or “dumb Indians.” These constructs have been embedded in legal principles, court rulings, and educational guidelines – indeed, in the underlying philosophies of virtually all social and cultural institutions in the USA – to justify the large-scale extermination of people and cultures by settler colonists (Dunbar-Ortiz and Gilio-Whitaker 2016). Equally harmful are stereotypes that all Native people are poor, prone to alcoholism or addiction, and uneducated. If contemporary Native Americans diverge too far from these false representations, they become invisible. Conversely, the absolute invisibility of Native Americans in a given consequential domain, such as education or health, undermines Native engagement with those domains.

Identity contingencies. Both the absence of representation and persistent misrepresentation are contingencies that limit identity development and reduce quality of life for oppressed and marginalized populations. These contingencies are reflected in judgments and stereotypes about certain social groups, as well as in differential opportunities and restrictions that affect these groups (Purdie-Vaughns et al. 2008). Such identity contingencies pose psychological as well as physical threats. Under the rubric of “stereotype threat,” these factors have received scholarly attention in the context of African American experience (Purdie-Vaughns et al. 2008). Stereotype threat refers to the fear that the judgment of others, or one’s own actions, will confirm a negative stereotype about the group with which one identifies (Steele 1997). The perceived danger of confirming such harmful biases depresses intellectual functioning and identity development (Steele 1997).

The history of police violence against black and brown people in the USA illustrates the identity contingencies associated with relative invisibility. Many members of these populations actively fear US law enforcement. Given the nationwide currency of false assumptions and racial stereotypes, parents in African American, Native American, and Latino families are proactive in teaching their children, especially males, how to interact with police officers. Fear of police brutality, incarceration, and death drives the need for “the talk,” in which parents explain what their children must do and must not do if they are to avoid harm from the police. Both having and heeding “the talk” are a condition of safety for these populations. Notably, parents of White children do not have to consider this identity contingency, and might not even be aware of the relative privilege they enjoy.

Police violence against African Americans is a major topic of national conversation and a central concern of the "Black lives matter" movement. Yet media reports of the death of Native Americans during police encounters are essentially invisible. When broken down by race and age, Native Americans comprise three of the top five groups most likely to be killed by police officers (Center on Juvenile and Criminal Justice 2014). Nonetheless, few non-Native people are aware that Native Americans experience police violence at rates comparable to, if not higher than, African Americans. The impact of losing a loved one is devastating, and the trauma is compounded by the sense of injustice associated with police violence. For Native Americans, this loss is further intensified by the invisible nature of their experience. Parents suffer the psychological pain of having to teach their children that the larger society views them as "less than," while young people are left trying to navigate their own self-worth in a context where their life, their worldview, and their safety is not valued. In many cases, repeated experiences with police officers result in a settled perspective that this injustice is "just the way it is." Once they adopt such a perspective, Native people expect unjust interactions with police officers and have difficulty imagining a world in which their possible selves are not placed at risk. The absence of public acknowledgement of police violence against Native people is a contingency that they must negotiate in order to remain physically and psychologically safe.

Cultural mismatch. Populations that experience a mix of absolute and relative invisibility, as well as the negative stereotypes associated with the latter, are likely to find that their cultural expectations are out of sync with the dominant narrative. The theory of cultural mismatch suggests that placement in an incongruous cultural environment can elicit psychological distress that alters biological functioning (Stephens et al. 2012a). For example, Stephens and colleagues found that first-generation university students experienced greater difficulties adjusting to university life than did students whose parents also participated in higher education. They attributed this finding to a cultural mismatch between academia's institutionalized norms, which reflect individualized notions of self, and the interdependent norms of many first-generation students from working-class backgrounds. In another example, Fryberg et al. (2013b) demonstrated that Aboriginal students in a culturally matched environment reported higher levels of belongingness and more potential for success. Conversely, students tasked with operating in an environment where values and norms did not match their own risked an attenuated sense of belonging and a reduction in their perceived potential for success (Fryberg et al. 2013b). In most public US educational settings, the environment is conceptualized, designed, and implemented to highlight individuality, autonomy, and achievement. Thus, students with an interdependent orientation, such as Native Americans, are at a disadvantage in such settings.

The concept of personhood and the values of individualism that are most prevalent in the USA and Canada are based on European American society and are not shared by most other cultures in the world (Sampson 1988). Markus and Kitayama propose that independent versus interdependent views of self, which are associated with Western versus Asian cultures, respectively, are actually contrasting theoretical

perspectives (1991). In the independent view of self, each person is unique, autonomous, and self-contained, motivated by the need for individual achievement and self-consistency (Markus and Kitayama 1991). Other scholars have described this view as egocentric or individualistic (Kirmayer 2007). In the interdependent view, by contrast, each person is defined in relation to multiple others (e.g., family or community) and is motivated by the need for collectivism, respect for others, and cooperation (Kirmayer 2007; Markus and Kitayama 1991). This perspective is also described as sociocentric. Related variations on interdependent views of self have been characterized as ecocentric (self in relation to the environment) and cosmocentric (self in relation with the cosmos or ancestral world) (Kirmayer 2007). Concepts of self influence people's sense of who they used to be, who they are now, and who they might become, thereby providing a framework for being in the world. When a person's model of self does not match the model endorsed by others in the same environment, psychological discord will ensue as that person tries to determine how his or her self fits into the broader social world – if at all.

Indigenous concepts of personhood. Emerging from a largely interdependent standpoint, Indigenous people view themselves as a reflection of the multiplicity of reciprocal relationships (with each other and with ancestors, plants, animals, and the cosmos) that inform their past, present, and future selves. Indigenous conceptions of reality are typically based on an understanding of mutual reciprocity (Cajete 1994; Kawagley 1993). This principle refers to the Indigenous orientation of self in sustainable, bidirectional relations with others and the physical world (Cajete 1994). Indigenous ethics and moral guides, or what it means to “walk in a good way,” are shaped by mutual reciprocity, and are thus informed by responsibilities to family, community, nature, and spirit (Cajete 1994; Kawagley 1993).

For interdependent societies, such as Native American tribes or First Nations' bands, the link between culture and psychological well-being is tied to membership in the tribal community. This interdependence is reflected in the deep sense of reciprocity that characterizes all social relations. However, an interdependent orientation in the context of an independent society poses a severe cultural mismatch. Indigenous collectives often find themselves in social contexts where their values, norms, and worldviews are not adequately acknowledged, leaving young Indigenous people in particular with the challenge of navigating a world of misrepresentation as they attempt to develop their identities. In the absence of positive social representations, and lacking deep connections to each other, to plants and animals, and to the ancestral world, members of Indigenous collectives face an existential threat: they may not know who they are.

Cultural mismatch in everyday interactions and individual experiences is one of the subtler outcomes of contemporary settler colonization. The prominent messages of independence, achievement, and autonomy embedded in North American institutions exclude Indigenous people by rendering their worldview irrelevant, wrong, or obsolete. Indigenous students will continue to be colonized through the institution of education as long as they are relegated to classrooms where their interdependent perspectives are wholly absent, and where they are responsible for fitting themselves into alien cultural models. Such environments falsify the assumption that North

American classrooms are neutral spaces that afford every student the same chance to belong and succeed.

Frantz Fanon argued that the colonial process involves turning the social fabric inside out by both denigrating and denying the humanity of the colonized person (Fanon and Philcox 2007). Ultimately, colonized people can either accept new identities that are consistent with their colonizers' stereotyped perceptions, or they can revolt against these characterizations (Memmi 2013). A key step in pushing back against colonization is to identify the processes of erasure and invisibilization that prevail in everyday institutions. In the context of settler colonialism, the need for positive resistance to the physical and existential threats embodied in these institutions is underscored by an all-too-frequent outcome of such threats: Indigenous suicide.

Indigenous suicide, an ultimate reflection of settler colonial erasure. Suicide is a profoundly disturbing occurrence that challenges our assumptions about life and human existence and leaves an overwhelming sense of agony and confusion among the survivors of suicide loss. The grief of losing a loved one is devastating, and the loss is compounded by the sudden and unexpected nature of their death. Suicide disproportionately affects Indigenous populations in Canada, the USA, New Zealand, and Australia (Hunter and Harvey 2002). In the USA, American Indian and Alaska Native young people are at especially high risk: the suicide rate among people aged 15–34 years is 1.5 times higher among Native Americans than in the all-races population (Center for Disease Control 2015), with substantial variation across Native communities. In Canada, suicide and self-inflicted injuries are the leading causes of death for First Nations young people under the age of 44 years, with First Nations men (15–24 years) particularly at risk (Centre for Suicide Prevention & Canadian Mental Health Association 2013). Despite widespread concern about suicide in all Indigenous people, the root causes of suicidal behavior on a collective level remain uncertain. Those left behind wonder what makes some people relinquish their own futures and decide to take their own lives. However, suicide is not a reflection of any single factor in isolation; rather, it is a final expression of interactions among numerous mechanisms at the personal and social levels.

Suicide has been theorized largely from an individualistic standpoint in mainstream psychological research. That is, models of suicide describe suicidal behavior in terms of individual predicaments, which are typically understood in the context of a mental health condition. Individual-level risk factors for suicide are no different for Indigenous people than for people in other populations. At the level of the Indigenous collective or community, however, risk factors must be understood as the products of colonization, subjugation, and ultimately, the erasure or disruption of Indigenous collective capacities. A study conducted by one of the authors with the Cowichan Tribes in British Columbia sought to understand the perspective of multiple community members on the meanings of and explanations for suicide in their collective (Elliott 2016). She conducted 20 interviews and one focus group, each with an emphasis on understanding the lived experiences of each participant in relation to suicidal behavior. Participants were asked about the reasons for suicide,

their characterizations of suicidal behavior, and appropriate healing and helping practices. Their explanations for suicidal behavior were based on their shared experience of colonization and its impact on the interdependent nature of Cowichan society and culture (Elliott-Groves 2017). Their stories about suicide were rooted in the social and cultural disruptions to collective capacities that prevented Cowichan individuals, as well as the collective as a whole, from planning and preparing for the future. They highlighted the unequal distribution of power that Cowichan members experienced in the context of education, politics, economy, food systems, and land loss. All these explanations can be understood through settler colonial theory and are a reflection of the erasure of Indigenous social and cultural formations.

Embedded in their stories was a worldview that centered on the collective orientation of the Cowichan community and the responsibilities inherent in each relationship that linked tribal members. When asked, “Why do you think our young people are dying by suicide?” a Cowichan elder named Kyle responded, “You see, our ancestors wanted us to understand and value the sacredness of life. Some of our kids are losing their way because they are losing connection with our ancestors and our ceremonies.” From his standpoint, suicidal behavior was a reflection of fractured relations with ancestors and cultural practices. Cowichan people’s understanding of personhood is directly related to multiple mutual relations, including ancestors. These relationships are imbued with deep responsibilities that span human, animal, plant, ancestral, and cosmic entities. Kyle’s response acknowledges the relational responsibility that Cowichan people have to ancestors. The act of honoring ancestors is embedded within multiple cultural practices and is believed to bring spiritual strength and protection. The process of settler colonization has in many ways disrupted social and cultural practices including ceremonial acknowledgments. With a disruption to collective capacities, including spiritual practices, Cowichan young people are placed at risk for suicide. By acknowledging the multiplicity of relations, as Kyle implies, young people can demonstrate the importance of interconnectedness, which informs their purpose in life as members of the Cowichan Tribes. Further, a worldview that embraces the sacredness of life is very different from the dominant paradigm in current approaches to suicide, called the “prevention account” – the need to ensure that people do not kill themselves. Kyle’s response suggests that the interview question, which was framed in terms of a deficit, was not a cultural match for his strengths-based, relational worldview. More so, his answer points to the importance of engaging culturally specific models of self, especially interdependent models, when theorizing suicide or designing interventions.

Conclusion

To understand Indigenous identity development, the broad question addressed is how young Indigenous people can arrive at a positive sense of identity in the context of widespread erasure and invisibility. Using settler colonial theory as a starting point, the discussion centered on the ways in which disruption of Indigenous collective capacities informs the contemporary social representational landscape

where young Indigenous people must learn what it means to be a person. With land acquisition as the primary motivation, settler colonialism aims to erase Indigenous people and their collective capacities in order to establish settler structures on the land. The permanent establishment of settler colonization inscribes the land with a vast array of social, cultural, political, and economic meanings that empower settlers to adapt to the colonized environment while inhibiting the ability of Indigenous communities to plan and prepare for their own futures. The fracturing of the Indigenous relationship with land and traditional lifeways, as perpetrated through various assimilative processes, impedes the organizing structures that facilitate collective livelihood. With the disruption of these collective capacities, the continuity of Indigenous communities is threatened, leaving young Indigenous people in a social representational landscape that does not reflect their actual or perceived concepts of self. The result is psychological disequilibrium and a foreclosure of possible selves.

Because they provide a crucial link between present and future, possible selves are influenced by everyday experiences and environments. Across the life span, an individual person entertains multiple self-representations informed by social and cultural constructs. Young people in particular must engage with the ideas and practices of their everyday lives and shape their own self-understanding on this basis. Since lived experiences vary across individuals, families, communities, and cultural groups, the possible selves available to young people are socially constrained. Concepts of self are constructed through interaction with the social representational landscape, and thus figure among the most important regulators of future behavior, with the potential to expand or limit possible selves.

Social invisibility, both absolute and relative, erodes the availability of positive social representations. The result is a society in which some people must deal with identity contingencies based on their affiliation with a marginalized group. Everyday institutions such as schools and health systems are deeply imbued with implicit models of self, which might not match those sought by young Indigenous people. When they look at the world and fail to see themselves reflected, their risk of adverse psychological effects is elevated, because they cannot find the "original instructions" that would tell them what it means to be a person (Nelson 2008). They are left to negotiate a world in which their concept of self is neither affirmed nor validated. The erasure of Indigenous representation is accomplished by a variety of mechanisms, including negative stereotyping, stereotype threat, and cultural mismatch. These mechanisms have deleterious psychological and biological effects on oppressed populations, and for Indigenous young people in particular, they can depress educational achievement and lead to psychological distress, culminating far too often in suicide.

Recommendations. To counteract the effects of colonization on Indigenous populations, including American Indians, Alaska Natives, First Nations, Inuit, and Canadian Métis, broad recommendations for researchers, educators, and mental health professionals are provided. These recommendations are by no means comprehensive; rather, offered here is a broad multidimensional approach to decolonization, which may facilitate the expansion of possible futures for Indigenous people.

Interested parties are encouraged to consider how they can reach beyond the deeply embedded structures of inequality to offer positive representations and experiences to the people most affected by existing structures.

First, an understanding of the role of settler colonialism in Indigenous erasure and invisibility calls for a reconsideration of existing disparities in education and mental health, which are presented here as predominant symptoms of structural inequality. Second, the repercussions of settler colonization are far more than theoretical. The mechanisms of erasure activated by this phenomenon continue to compromise the educational and psychological well-being of young Indigenous people across multiple social contexts.

In educational settings, persistently mediocre achievement scores among secondary students in general, and Indigenous students in particular, call for a reimagining of what can be accomplished by formal and informal learning environments. To mitigate the effects of invisibility on Indigenous students, interdependent approaches to learning must be engaged (Fryberg et al. 2013a). In specific terms, relationships must be cultivated in all social spaces and projects to foreground interdependent values such as community engagement, collaboration, and collective responsibility. In this way, identity-safe learning environments can be created for marginalized groups. These environments should engage cultural practices that explain what it means to be a person, including Indigenous storytelling, teaching and learning practices, and social and cultural ways of knowing. Educational institutions can foster positive Indigenous identities by emphasizing the intergenerational social structures of Indigenous people, by hiring teachers and staff that represent the Indigenous student body, and by providing a variety of positive Indigenous role models and representations.

Cultural matching studies demonstrate the importance of including educators of diverse cultural backgrounds in the design of curricula and instructional practices. Cohen et al. (2006) argue that affirming the identity of a threatened social group has the greatest positive impact at the start of transition periods, such as the beginning of a school year or the launch of a major assignment. Similarly, Stephens et al. (2012b) demonstrate that affirming social group identity has positive effects on students' performance. In an educational study with working-class students, they reframed college welcome letters to highlight interdependent models of self, yielding positive effects on performance in subsequent activities for these students. In contrast, when they used welcome letters framed from an independent standpoint, working-class students performed worse on subsequent tasks and experienced higher levels of stress. Educators are therefore advised to launch activities and frame assignments in ways that match the cultural ways of knowing and cultural models of self of their Indigenous students.

At the level of community, Chandler and colleagues (Chandler and Lalonde 1998; Chandler et al. 2003) argue that the loss of cultural continuity between past and future is related to the above-average suicide rates recorded in First Nations communities (Chandler et al. 2003; Wexler 2006), while communal striving for cultural continuity is a primary protective factor against suicide. Strengthening community-level control over health, education, policing, treaty and land claims, and food

systems is an important way to mitigate the effects of erasure and invisibility on Indigenous young people. Indeed, the fact that Indigenous people in North America continue to grow and flourish demonstrates that communal striving can succeed, and that Indigenous groups as well as colonizers can take effective action to ameliorate and ultimately halt the ongoing psychological colonization of Indigenous communities.

In order to understand the lived experience of community members from their own perspective, there is a fundamental need to attend to relational responsibilities in collective communities. For many Indigenous people, a relationship with ancestral lands enables access to ontological ways of knowing and a vast body of local wisdom, while removal from those lands threatens their understanding of human life and poses an existential threat. When possible futures are degraded or cut off, psychological distress follows. Thus, it is vastly important that Indigenous communities strengthen their connection with their traditional territories; this can be done through land-/place-based teaching and learning, land restoration projects, and food and medicine harvesting practices, for example.

Recommendations are offered as a guide for the work of researchers, educators, and healthcare providers. Professionals are asked to reflect on how their practices and institutions might be contributing to Indigenous erasure instead of reversing its harmful effects. To expand sociological and ecological futures, and to create a just democracy for all people, it is necessary to understand the holistic and multi-dimensional needs of community members on the level of their daily lives. All participants in a democracy are subject to this imperative. After all, responsible relations with others and with the natural world sustain human existence and link us all together in a vast web of life.

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The Value of Indigenous Knowledge to Education for Sustainable Development and Climate Change Education in the Pacific

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Abstract

Pacific knowledge systems have always had to deal with change. Living in the vastness of the Pacific and exposed to environmental challenges has resulted in communities that are constantly needing to adapt to improve their conditions. Climate change (CC) is a more recent and indeed urgent phenomenon to which to respond. The Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) agenda established by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) is an attempt to encourage communities to set in place educational responses and strategies and to make informed choices regarding sustainable issues now and in the future.

The authors have worked on educational responses to ESD and CC in the Pacific over many years. Central to their approach has been the acknowledgment that both ESD and CC require a broad based, interdisciplinary, and holistic approach and any approach must uphold culture as its underpinning driver. Being critically sharpened by experiences of living in the colonized reality of Aotearoa/New Zealand and familiar with old Polynesian values, the authors are able to work alongside communities to coconstruct innovative solutions to assist in fulfilling the ESD agendas in the Pacific. Such experiences can be made relevant to other contexts.

This article will review approaches to ESD and CC education in two case studies in which Indigenous concepts were made central. Firstly in Kiribati, where the research was undertaken in partnership with Ministries, UNESCO Apia, and NGOs to firstly map the current school curriculum to include and strengthen climate change education (CCE) by creating a CCE framework which is culturally and contextually relevant.

Secondly, in the nonformal sector, the authors led work with an NGO in Samoa to train “Taiala” (pathbreakers) to incorporate the principles of ESD and CC adaptation into their villages through a leadership training workshop.

On both occasions, the approaches allowed for an innovative mix of Indigenous models to form an integral part of finding solutions to the ESD and CC challenges and to also ensure that the application was appropriate and allowed for successful educational outcomes as determined by the communities themselves and also for themselves.

Keywords

Indigenous knowledge (IK) · Education for sustainable development (ESD) · Climate change education (CCE) · Pacific development · Fonua · Tofi

Introduction

This chapter examines the application of Indigenous notions and approaches to two case studies in which sustainable development was emerging as a challenge. It discusses firstly the efforts by a State actor, the Ministry of Education (MOE) in

the Micronesian nation of Kiribati to include CC in its curriculum. The next case study focuses on an NGO (nongovernment organization), Matuaileo'o Environment Trust (METI) from the Polynesian nation of Samoa, whose aim was to incorporate the principles of education for sustainable development in the routines of village life in 50 villages through an education and leadership development endeavor in response to local needs.

Both cases emerged through a series of strategic and collaborative partnerships. The actors in the first case were UNESCO Pacific, Ministry of Education (MOE) Kiribati, Indigenous Māori and Pacific Adult Education Charitable Trust (IMPAECT*) a New Zealand NGO, and the University of Waikato. They were tasked to develop a Climate Change Curriculum Framework (CCCF) for Kiribati that is appropriate to their current realities. Further, in both case studies, Indigenous knowledge systems were a strong contributor to empowering the communities to transform themselves to meet their own cultural, spiritual, and economic aspirations in the face of an uncertain world.

From a global level, both cases were also guided by international policy commitments: The Millennium Development Goals (MDG), Education For All (EFA), and more recently the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) which were sanctioned by the United Nations in September 2015.

Global Contexts

The developing nations of the South Pacific generally have high regard for international global policy on education. Over past years, these nations have worked closely with development partners on initiatives to address shared education challenges in the region (UNESCO 2015). Through the transition from EFA and MDG to the SDGs, there have been valuable lessons and experiences to inform the way forward. At the core of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development is the notion of inclusion (United Nations 2017).

Education is a codified stand-alone goal. Goal 4 of the SDGs states “ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all” by 2030. At a high-level UNESCO meeting in Paris in November 2015, there was also agreement on the Education 2030 Framework for Action (United Nations 2017). Equally important for the Pacific region was the December 2015 gathering of world leaders at the United Nations CC Conference (COP 21), where global agreements on global warming and tackling climate change were adopted. Integral to the success of the COP21 plan are education and training, to raise awareness and to assist people in making informed decisions while promoting changes in lifestyles, attitudes, and behaviors.

Given the comparative slowness of progressing the United Nations intentions, the realities for the small, isolated, and low-lying Pacific nations is that they are being negatively impacted by CC and other global issues now and increasingly in multiple rates.

Education for Sustainable Development (ESD), Climate Change (CC), and Pacific Indigenous Knowledge

Thaman (2009) presents an argument for Pacific nations to hold on to their cultures through educational platforms especially in terms of developing resilience strategies. She suggests a total transformation in the way Pacific nations approach education, as some practices in both industrial countries and the Pacific are moving in a direction of unsustainability. As it is for all nations, ESD for the Pacific nations is essential given the environmental pressures, the pervasive individualism, and systemic selfishness that underpins capitalism and its education systems (Teaero 2003; Thaman 2009; Vaioleti 2011; Vaioleti et al. 2012).

Sustainable development is not a new idea for the Pacific nations (Teaero 2010; Vaioleti 2011). For some, living in isolated islands with limited land mass and high dependence on the ocean and weather for their survival, their education systems have traditionally taught them how to live with nature, support each other, and respect their environment as active and codependant members of a coherent system. Their Indigenous education was about learning one's *tofi* (or *tofi'a*: role and responsibility) which was a way of life or living that maintained balance and harmony with each other, nature, and the god/s (*fonua*). This is a way of being, otherwise referred to as *fakafonua*, which refers to the practices or ways of the land. *Faka* or *fa'a* in Samoan and *vaka* in Fijian means "way of" and *fonua* (Tongan) is a notion that in its physical form means the land and all that is contained within, including the water bodies in its environment. In its intellectual form, it can mean language, thought, and political system; it can mean its cultural social systems or religious systems that all add up to the knowledge particular to an area or a group. *Fonua* is the Tongan spelling with the same concept expressed as *fanua* in Samoan, *whenua* in Māori, *vanua* in Fiji, and *enua* in the Cook Islands. *Fakafonua* includes the practices of the *fonua* of Tonga; *fa'asamoa* and *fa'afanua* are the Samoan practices.

Pacific Indigenous thought systems and knowledge are relational, functional, and contextualized. Their basic ontology is conducive to reciprocity and respect that leads to balance and harmonious existence, a holistic type of sustainability. ESD advocates a spirit of preservation that Pacific peoples identify and align with in their ecologically anchored social/cultural practices such as *fakatonga* or *fakasamoa* (Teaero 2009; Thaman 2009; Vaioleti et al. 2012).

The emergence of sustainable development that underpinned the climate change research in Kiribati and that involved the community in Samoa had to be contextualized respectively to the *fonua* therefore aligning with the three pillars for ESD: society, environment, and economy. The addition of culture as the fourth pillar is vital for Pacific nations. Culture influences the work with which the authors are involved including those discussed in this chapter. The authors' work with Indigenous communities in Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, Kiribati, the Solomon Islands, and Vanuatu were underpinned by their local perspectives and respective cultures (Vaioleti et al. 2002; Vaioleti 2011).

Kiribati MOE and Climate Change Curriculum Framework (CCCF)

The former Secretary-General of the United Nations, Ban Ki-Moon, stated that climate change is “the defining issue of our era” (United Nations 2008). Nowhere is this more pertinent than in Small Island Developing States (SIDS) where some of the most vulnerable peoples live. In the Republic of Kiribati, climate change is already being experienced and urgent attention is being led by the Office of the President.

At the UN level, the Republic of Kiribati has been using many global frameworks to raise these issues. It has been working extensively with the many agreements that acknowledge the challenges that Small Island Developing States (SIDS) face in the effort towards achieving sustainable development. These include the United Nations Framework Convention on CC, Barbados Program of Action, Millennium Development Goals the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), the Sustainable Development Goals, as well as the Kyoto Protocol.

Midway through 2011 and in the ensuing 2 years, the authors led a team of researchers to develop a Climate Change Curriculum Framework (CCCF) for Kiribati which was based on the principles of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD). This group of researchers worked in partnership with the Pacific branch of UNESCO based in Samoa. The tasks were to:

- Map the existing curriculum across all the school subjects to assess the extent to which CC-related areas were being taught
- To find appropriate points of intervention to include CC in the curriculum where it was not being taught

The Republic of Kiribati is comprised of 33 small fragmented remote low-lying islands spread over four million square kilometers, yet its total land area is only 726 km². The main administrative centre of Kiribati is South Tarawa which is undergoing rapid and intensive urbanization. The Kiribati 2009 Demographic and Health Survey shows that the total population in mid-2010 was 103,466 (92,533 at the time of the 2005 census), and 50,010 of the total (just under 50%) were living in South Tarawa. Half of the Kiribati population is under the age of 21 and 36% of the total is under the age of 15 years (Kiribati Demographic and Health Survey 2009). With a heavy youth population, there are serious implications for future planning in an already resource constrained environment, especially when an increase in population is predicted (Bedford and Hugo 2011).

The impacts of CC are expected to be severe and, as reported in a World Bank Report, will have serious impacts on coastal land and infrastructure, water resources, agriculture, human health, ecosystems, and fisheries (as cited in Logan 2009). These impacts for Kiribati are already evident in Tarawa where the research team for this project observed rising sea level against low-lying lands, the impact of sea acidification on seafood sources, intrusion of sea water into wells, other water supplies, food fields, and increased severity and regularity of natural disasters. On top of these,

the challenges are magnified by physical isolation, heavy reliance on others for sea and air connections, and lack of a close relationship with other developed countries, financial and other resources.

For Kiribati, there are many urgent crises looming, including rising sea levels, the rapid decline in sea-based food supply for the local population and the economy due to acidification, decreased water quality, and dwindling water sources. Internal migration from outer islands to Tarawa for a better life through education and employment multiply the infrastructural challenges that are common to most smaller and poor Pacific nations. In addition, CC challenges experienced by such low-lying nations such as Kiribati further exacerbate these pressures at unsustainable levels.

The expansion of human activities and importation of foreign materials, services, and food associated with population growth also threatens the limited environmental resources, the islands' traditional subsistence economy, traditional knowledge systems, and culture. Yet despite these challenges, the communities endeavor to make a life from the limited resources they have, which is an important ESD lesson from which schools could learn. The research team observed an example of this propensity to adapt to changing environments, by young people using the land vacated by the sea at low tide for organized football and other games until the tide returned. These tendencies to rise above disasters are strengths that are associated with I-Kiribati. (I-Kiribati is a term which refers to the Indigenous people of Kiribati.) It is claimed that more than any other Micronesian country, Kiribati has held on to its traditional values and customs (Teaero 2009).

The Kiribati 2010 National Framework for CC and Climate Change Adaptation asserts that culture and identity as I-Kiribati is imperative and must be at the forefront of discussions (Office of Te Beretitenti Republic of Kiribati 2010). The intention of the Climate Change Framework was to encourage the use of local culture in tandem with scientific knowledge to preserve and grow cultural and traditional knowledge and to build a holistic capability to cope with CC and its challenges. This was seen as important to keep up with the twenty-first-century knowledge and community membership while maintaining identity, pride, and global citizenship obligations.

This framework then is a Kiribati scientific and cultural response to the climate change discourses. It recognizes the central role that the community plays in giving effect to such transformation. Cultural values and relationships between people and their lands and seas inform our deliberations in the formation of the framework. The work undertaken by Logan (2009, pp. 18–19) which notes “the degree to which Kiribati values influence adaptation to climate change” and that “cultural traditions are still very strong and relevant at all levels of governance” reinforces this position.

H.O.P.E Framework as a Methodology

The H.O.P.E Framework was applied and referenced from the Tokyo Declaration of HOPE 2009 and had significant input from Professor Konai Thaman, reputed Tongan scholar, poet, and philosopher. In that document, “Holistic,” “Ownership-based,” “Participatory,” and “Empowering” were characteristics that have both informed and

surfaced from ESD practice and have synergy with Pacific research values. The H.O.P.E acronym provides a list of the characteristics; the arrows indicate that it is not just a set of descriptions but an intricate interrelationship between the characteristics that deepens ESD practice. Talanoa, which is a term used for consultations, exchanges, and is guided by Pacific protocols (Vaiolati 2006, 2011, 2013) as well as being the base of culturally relevant Pacific research methodology, was used to guide the consultation and conversation with stakeholders. The combination of these two localized and international frameworks advocated and guided this ESD and CC endeavor. The structure of H.O.P.E is as below (Fig. 1).

The following commentary discusses the application of the H.O.P.E elements in the Kiribati CCCF development.

H for Holistic

Teaero (2009) suggests that, for I-Kiribati, the wholeness of a person is based on three significant values encompassed in *te mauri* (traditional blessings), *te raoi* (peace), and *ao te tabomoa* (prosperity), and that the teaching of appropriate cultural values and their application will help on all matters and aspects of life. These values informed all the research and development team's considerations throughout the development and relationships with the Kiribati stakeholders.

The research team, however, realized that CC education and ESD are important transformative agents and it needed to move people to adopt behaviors and practices to live full and worthwhile lives by combining holistic as well as scientific approaches. It was necessary for the team to reconceptualize CC in ways that will encourage educators, planners, and learners to engage CCE and ESD in a systemic and holistic way. To allow for ease of planning, teaching, and learning the project was guided by the following four themes:

- Awareness: Creating and raising awareness through education and public information
- Adaptation: Coconstructing strategies with partners, some of which may come from traditional practices to adapt to CC
- Mitigation: Coconstructing responses with partners to reduce the impact of CC
- Related issues: The responses to issues brought about by CC or loss of identity, environment degradation, poverty, and marginalization as a result of unequal

Fig. 1 Structure of H.O.P.E framework (As adopted from Asia-Pacific Centre for Culture for UNESCO 2009, p. 8)



development which may include urbanization, loss of leadership due to the migration of leaders, or professional classes (young and old) to global markets

O for Ownership

It was vital that the research team worked with the local community to ensure that the curriculum was sourced in their culture or *fakafonua*. This allowed a sense of ownership of their learning and the goals for their school curriculum by the community. That insight drove the authors and the research and development team to ensure that local learning concepts, values, and language were included in the CC framework. Views of the teachers, teacher training institutions, NGOs, and churches were included in both constructions to enhance the communities' sense of ownership. In many ways the authors realized that communities and individuals already had an intrinsic awareness of the concept of *tofi* although it was locally named because of the kinship units of *mwenga* (household), *utu* (extended family), and *kainga* (kin relationships). The village systems thrived on everyone knowing their role.

P for Partnership

Partnering with community including youth, institutional experts locally and internationally, was vital for ensuring that the Framework was at the cutting edge of the CCE field, yet easily delivered and relevant to the educational needs of Kiribati in the twenty-first century and beyond.

There is a popular Kiribati saying which says that in discussions with the community you have to "sit on their mat." Therefore finding out whose mat to sit on then building relationships which allowed for the shared sitting involved having community partners with which to work. Partnerships were essential to the ongoing success of the project and the development needs of the country, a point made by Corcoran (2016) in his PhD thesis on the implications of climate change for the livelihoods of urban dwellers in Kiribati.

The research for the CCCF was reviewed by experts on ESD and Education for All (EFA), including UNESCO (Paris ESD team), South Pacific Regional Environmental Programmes (SPREP) Samoa, and the Universities of Washington and Hawai'i.

E for Empowerment

The authors met on two occasions with several village leaders, public servants, school leaders and students to listen to what they identified as being important factors to include in the CC and ESD elements of the school curriculum. This was important to ensure the inclusion of community voices, affirm community aspirations, and to ensure the decision making (present and future) would be led by the community.

Mapping of the Current Curriculum

The CCCF maps the curriculum to locate and assess CC-related topic coverage within and across the subjects. There were three ways that the CCCF team used to identify their findings and to suggest where it may be possible to insert CC topics into each subject. A tick was used to signal that an existing topic was definitely CC-related. The letter “p” (for possible) indicated a topic that could be CC-related in the different subjects. An “o” (for opportunity) was given to a point in a subject that could be an entry point for a CC-related topic. We have not discussed the mapping chart that revealed the “p” finding in this discussion as it has less significance to the topic of this chapter. The following represents the occurrence of CC topics accumulated for each existing subject area.

Distribution of CC Theme Topics in the Current Curriculum

It was found that the topics that may be related to CC were taught in environmental science only. Given that the pillars of ESD are economy, society, and culture as well as environment there was very little CC topics in developmental studies and social science which represent the ESD pillar of “Society”; very low CC topics in Agriculture, Science, Biology, Developmental science could represent the ESD pillar of “Economy.” Therefore there was a significant imbalance in the Kiribati curriculum if it was examined to assess its ESD and CC strength as seen in the following graph (Fig. 2).

Distribution of Four Climate Change Topics in the Curriculum

Using data from the mapping charts, the current CC-related topics in the curriculum were analyzed against the four Climate Change themes of Knowledge and Understanding, Adaptation, Mitigation, and Related issues. The following graph in Fig. 3 is the result.

What is very obvious from the above graph is the little attention that has been given to “Adaptation,” an area that is vital for the continuity and sustainability of the communities in Kiribati. It is an area that potentially could provide meaningful employment for the community. Under the theme of Related Issues, addressing migration and revitalization of culture that can lead to improved self-esteem and other sociopolitical benefits was also a strong consideration.

Possibility for the Future of I-Kiribati in Other Nations

A strong element of the many talanoa the CCCF team had with teachers, principals, parents, and young people was around the loss of tradition and culture due to urbanization and disconnection from home island or village. Anticipating that most of the current students may migrate to other nations in the near future, it

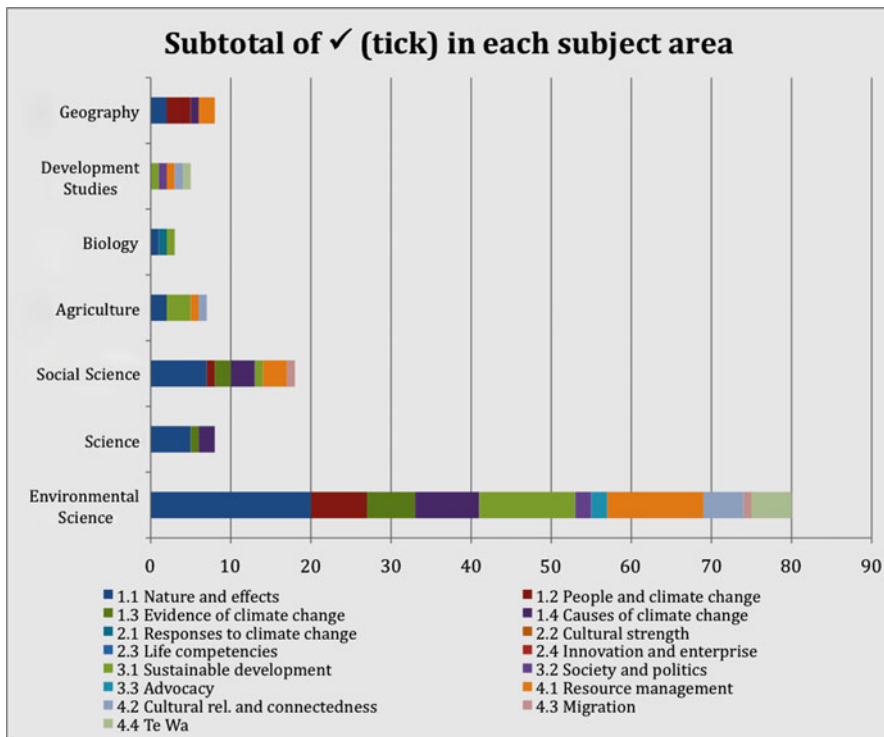


Fig. 2 Distribution of CC theme topics in the current curriculum (As adopted from Vaioleti et al. 2011, p. 42)

would be important to increase CCE across the four themes but mainly in the Related Issues theme to specifically reinforce students’ cultural fortitude to ensure identity and community continuity.

Entry points were identified as “o” for opportunity to include CCE topics into different subjects. These “o” points of entry were sought by CCCF team to create a CCE system that is spread across the four themes to make the curriculum more balanced, more relevant, stronger, and more culturally robust than it currently was. The following graph in Fig. 4 is the visual representation of these efforts.

The Kiribati President, Anote Tong, says that for many I-Kiribati communities, migration is a strong probability (Chapman 2012, p. 1). The school curriculum then must help prepare the community for international citizenship and the foundation for such success is in cultural continuity. Kiribati is a Pacific nation that is endeavoring to fortify itself against many challenges such as the erosion of its language, identity, urbanization, and the global threat of CC. One of the approaches it has taken is through introducing CC formally into its schools. Other Pacific nations are preparing for similar issues at different levels.

The next part of this chapter discusses such a case in Samoa, only this case study and approach has a more informal education and community approach.

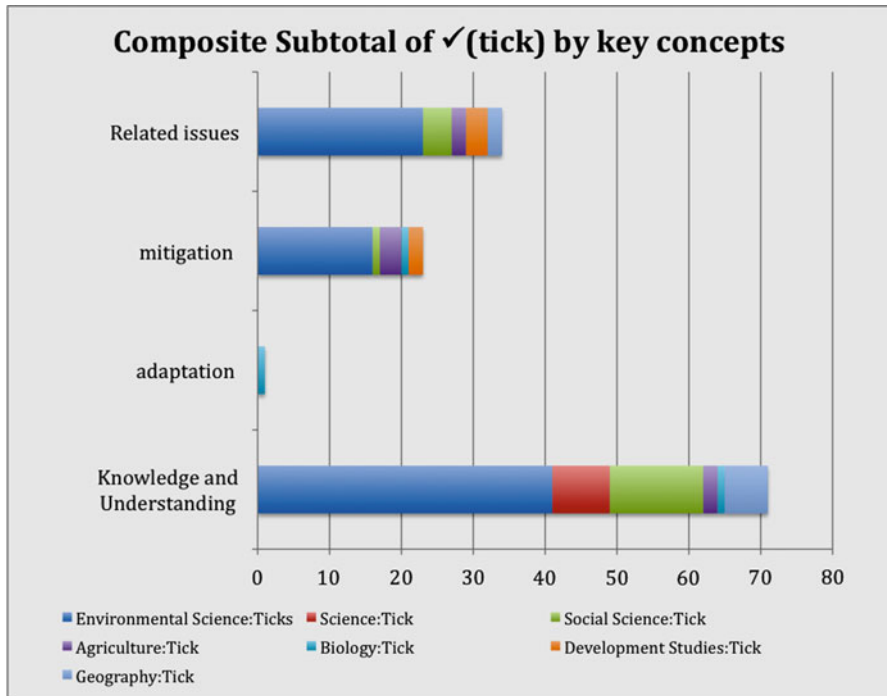


Fig. 3 Distribution of the Four Climate Change theme topics in the curriculum (Adopted from Vaioleti et al. 2011, p. 43)

Samoa and METI Taiala Program

A UNICEF report on the state of youth in the Pacific (2011, p. 11) shows that “young men not-in-education or work may be contributing little to their community. The issue is particularly serious in Kiribati, Marshall Islands and Samoa, where around half or more of young men aged 20–24 years are not engaged in productive activity (58 per cent of males 20–24 years in Kiribati, 44 per cent in Marshall Islands and 46 per cent in Samoa).”

In Samoa, over a quarter of the total population are in the wider youth-age group of 15–30 years (Curtain and Vakaoti 2011). Given high unemployment and under-employment (including in Kiribati), the particular challenges which young people in the Pacific area face include limited opportunities of decent and meaningful work. Meaningful work has a deep cultural and spiritual importance to the Indigenous cultures of the Pacific given their focus on being a subsistence economy.

Vaioleti (2011) wrote on the significance of a Tonga saying “Ko e faka'ilonga 'oe tangata ko 'ene ngaue” (the mark of a person is his/her work), contributing to the wellness of the group for the harmonious wellbeing of community living and existence in Tonga. His study also revealed that the aim of education for Tongan

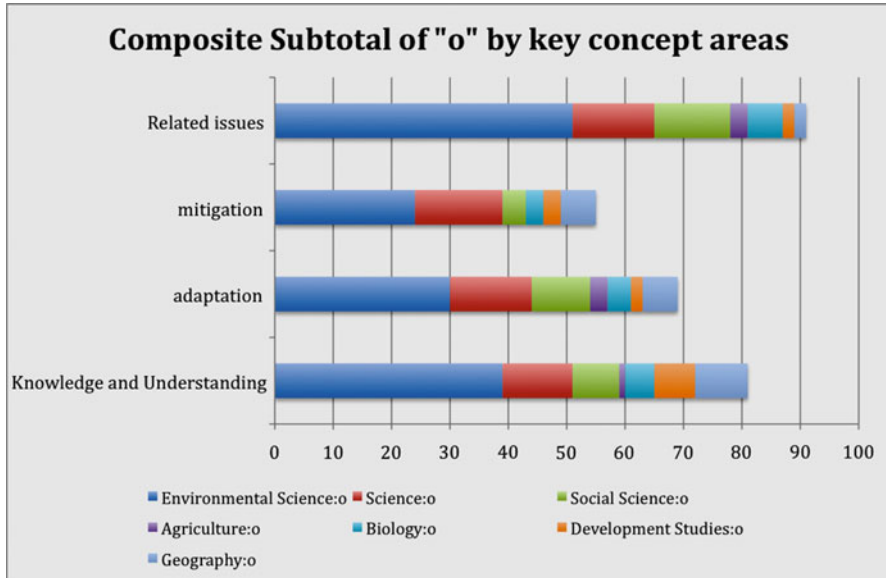


Fig. 4 Opportunity (“o”) points of entry for distribution of the four themes for CC topics and to also be an entry point to allow for enhancing cultural fortitude (Adopted from Vaoleti et al 2011, p.46)

people was to enable them to carry out their tofi’a (tofi, fatongia, roles) to their sisters, own families, and to the fonua in order to achieve and maintain harmony with each other and their god/s (ibid., pp. 184–186). One of the iconic poems to have come from the Pacific written by the paramount chief and current Head of State of Samoa Tuiatua Tamasese alluded to the importance of fatongia, tofi, or tofi’a (role, obligation, duty) of appropriate/meaningful work for the psychological, spiritual, and economic wellness of a Pacific person as below:

I am not an individual
 I share divinity with my ancestors, the land, the seas and the skies.
 I am not an individual, because I share a *tofi* with my family, my village and my nation.
 I belong to my family and my family belongs to me.
 I belong to my village and my village belongs to me.
 I belong to my nation and my nation belongs to me.
 This is the essence of my belonging. (Tui Atua 2009, p. 1)

One’s tofi is not only vital for the wellness of one’s family, village, and nation but it provides identity and self-worth to individuals. Meaningful work contributes to the cohesion of small villages where every person’s effective contribution is vital for the sustainability of their community, be it physical, economic, intellectual, emotional, or spiritual.

Given the consistent high unemployment in the Pacific, the Prime Minister of Samoa, the Hon. Tuilaepa Malielegaoi in his opening speech of the Pacific Region

Commonwealth Youth Ministers Meeting that Samoa hosted in 2015, declared that “we cannot keep doing the same things we did yesterday and hope for a different outcome” (Samoa Government 2015, p. 1). This statement then calls for different and innovative approaches and for both the formal sector and the informal and nonformal sectors to work collaboratively and in mutually beneficial ways to assist with meaningful work for the benefit of the fonua.

METI: A Case Study

Consonant with this thinking, METI, a well-established NGO, had already been aware of critical education gaps, of out-of-school youth, of health and educational issues that have a severe impact on the quality of livelihoods of the people with whom they were working in the villages. Thus, they were able to identify policy gaps and to provide education in order to effectively implement responses in the communities and villages of Samoa.

In 2002, METI worked with the authors to facilitate the training of trainers within a European Union-funded research and development project. This 2-week project was run in Fiji as well as in Samoa; it helped to establish METI’s capability of working in a participatory mode with grassroots communities, and it allowed METI’s staff to become familiar with adult education techniques. The authors promoted the application of Indigenous knowledge systems to crucial problems and for sustainability.

METI has as its mission “to provide a service to the people of Samoa that promotes simultaneously the preservation of their environment and the sustainable development of their natural resources and in addition helps them to develop into individuals living in harmony with nature” (METI 2016). Its vision continues along the same philosophy, namely “to provide participatory non-formal training of the necessary management skills and promote capacity building to achieve sustainable living in Samoa through self-reliance, particular of grassroots communities” (METI 2016).

When METI realized that the Government had identified major obstacles to sustainable development and poverty reduction at the community level, such as lack of education, of awareness, and of capacity on the part of the communities, and realized the need to collaborate, METI started to address these issues (Talanoa 2015). Over the years, METI has developed a wide-ranging project portfolio and has acquired a lot of expertise. Its current programs include the METI’s Non-communicable Diseases Programme (2013–2014), funded by a grant from the US Embassy; the grant allowed METI to expand its programs of health promotion (situated at the Samoa Sleep Clinic/Healthy Living Clinic in Apia) and to use its existing multisectoral outreach program (the Taiala programme) for conducting health surveys in ten villages around Samoa, raising awareness about obesity and a variety of noncommunicable diseases, their prevention and control.

METI has been accepted by the Samoa Qualifications Authority (SQA) as a “Non-Formal Learning Provider” and in 2013, its “Life Skills” training course was officially certified by the SQA. METI has now been invited to formally apply for recognition as

a “Post-Secondary Education Training (PSET) Provider” and to have its courses certified and credited, including “Permaculture Training,” “Basic English for Development,” and training courses for “Life Skills” coaches. In this way, graduates will receive credits that may help them to access additional courses at the Technical Colleges or the National University of Samoa.

METI also provides “Healthy Living” seminars on whole-food plant-based (WFPB) diet to reverse the effects of chronic diseases, and it offers health monitoring for those individuals who are willing to adopt the WFPB nutrition program. These seminars are changing the way Samoans think about food and nutrition, in addition to reversing the effects of chronic diseases like diabetes, high blood pressure, and obesity.

The release of the 2007 report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) came as a “wake-up call” to METI. It realized that the climate change is destined to have a far more destructive and far earlier impact than previously estimated; significant rises of global temperatures could well be experienced by the end of this century, bringing irreversible and devastating changes to the planet. As a result, METI decided to mainstream climate change action in all its projects and programs, and to deepen its involvement at the local level, in the villages, in the effort to promote improved and sustainable livelihoods for villagers, through climate change education (CCE) and education for sustainable development (ESD), as well as through the promotion of good health.

The Taiala Program

In 2010 METI officially created its Taiala program. This had been a mutual vision of the cofounder of METI, the late senior matai (chief) Matatumua Vermeulen and of the current director Dr. Walter Vermeulen. In a way the designation “Pathbreaker” signifies that the environment and social systems that have led to so much destruction and to the marginalization of so many (including women and youth) must be discontinued.

METI’s request – in the year 2000 – for assistance with Taiala training gained seeding funding from the Samoan Government. As a pilot scheme, a basic Life Skills Course (LSC) development program was held in 13 villages around Samoa. From among the 182 graduates of this course, 24 individuals were chosen for additional training that would lay the foundation of METI’s Taiala Programme.

The Taiala needed to be chosen from villages where the chiefs had a long-standing relationship and trust in the work of METI. The chosen village member would be expected to work collaboratively and cooperatively as members of a larger collective. Responsibility, reciprocity, as well as leadership skills were key values in their selection.

Those who were selected were ordinary men and women; some were chiefs (male and female) or orators, others married and single men and women, retired public servants, others were trusted taulelea or untitled men. What they all had in common is that they were sons and daughters of the villages in which they lived and worked.

Thanks to the respect and trust they command, the Taiala are individuals whom the other villagers will listen to and from whom they learn. The Taiala remain living in their respective villages and are the front-line health workers, education workers, and workers for sustainable development. Their experience has its source in their village communities and is shaped by their village; their acquired skills are then returned to the village. This is in line with the “aiga” (kinship) responsibility that is innate to them.

On 1 May 2015, having successfully obtained funding, METI’s 3-year Climate Change Action project started with the Taiala. The action, through a two-tier arrangement, consists of METI’s Central Training Team providing training, monitoring, and mentoring to the Taiala, who, in turn, implement several streams of interlinked activities in the target villages. The overall objective of the action is to attain – for a significant proportion of the adult population in 50 villages around Samoa, via culture sensitive participatory training and development – balanced, self-directed behavior, a more ecologically attuned world view, and the wisdom to engage in cooperative action. These are essential components of the spirit of collective and individual self-reliance which is needed for the communities’ sustainable wellbeing.

In June 2014, the authors conducted a weeklong “Facilitators and Leadership Training for the Taiala.” The format of the workshop was similar to the format successfully facilitated in 2002 under the CROPPRO, and drew on its success. The workshop had the following objectives:

1. To nurture a culture of harmony in homes and communities
2. To firmly embrace sustainable development
3. To engage with the meaningful mitigation of climate change and in actions of adaptation
4. To raise the Taiala’s level of awareness of the task to promote a spirit of self-reliance
5. To increase the capacity of the Taiala to engage with ease in the cultural, socioeconomic, and political lives of villages, of the country, and the world community

The theoretical basis of the workshop drew on the work of Rahman, who believes in grassroots mobilization for the promotion of the collective intellectual capacities of people (Rahman 1993): People conduct their own inquiries into their living conditions and their environment, and arrive at their own solutions. Moreover, the work of Freire, specifically his “problem-posing education” through the creation of “teacher-students” and “student-teachers” (Freire 1972), was regarded as an important tool in working towards empowerment.

The facilitators (also the authors) referenced the Pacific concept of “ako” (Vaiolleti 2011, 2013) to guide their learning relationship with the Taiala. Intrinsic to ako is the importance of learning Indigenous concepts such as compassion, respect, serving others and aiga (kainga or extended kin) important to maintaining harmonious living. One of the pillars of “ako” is empowerment. This is particularly vital, given the highly stratified societies of the Pacific, such as the societies of Tonga and Samoa (Vaiolleti 2011).

In the “ako” approach, the participants became teachers, helping the facilitators to conceptualize the relational structures of their villages and the needs of their clients, raising the facilitators to a level where they were able to align their own teaching with that of the participants; as a result, learning from the sessions became more relevant as discussed by Vaioleti (2011) as the “founga ako.” The building of relationships and sharing of power are integral to the philosophy of METI and are important factors for the success of “ako.”

The training strategy was to conduct a theoretical and practical workshop on integrated participatory actions; the topics of the workshop included methods and principles of adult learning and teaching, capacity-building and leadership-development, building resilience in order to achieve self-reliance, awareness of climate change and its impacts, and the concepts of sustainable development. METI’s leadership team were present during the workshop, enriching the approaches used. Through this partnership, the Taiala were able to bring in their traditional knowledge and customs, and to make sense of their wisdom at the interface of current ESD and scientific and academic discourses thus taking the learning back to their respective communities.

Given the considerable level of skill which METI had already started to develop in past training programs by working at ground or village level, the Taiala concept was considered by many of the participants capable of developing into an even more dynamic and successful initiative, as well as able to provide the leadership required for positive village transformations. While this would be subject to appropriate resources and ongoing training opportunities, it was noted also that ongoing mentoring was important as well as maintaining the relationships in the village, particularly with village chiefs.

Paramount in the minds of Samoans is “vā,” which is a broad Polynesian notion of the relational space between people and the environment, between people and their god/s (Thaman 2003, 2009; Vaioleti 2011). The needs connected to these basic coordinates dominate the thinking of the peoples of the Pacific, especially of the peoples of Samoa and Tonga, because, if those needs are satisfied, this leads to good relationships between people, and to good relationships between people and their environment and their god/s.

The workshop evaluation was testimony to the fact that the Taiala were willing and appreciative learners, wishing to immediately apply their new skills in the villages in which they worked. By the end of the workshops and professional development, the Taiala were each able to:

1. Display three examples of how they will contribute to harmonious relationships within family, community, and the global family
2. Communicate three practical applications of an ecologically attuned world view
3. Share one example of a political, economic, or cultural issue in the village they will engage in, in order to make things better
4. Display three examples of how they can use learning from the workshops to promote self-reliance and sustainability (for example, regarding food security)

5. Display three examples of cooperative action and how it can be adapted to different villages and communities and possibly be made a part of national policy
6. Show three examples of action adaptive to climate change in their villages (involving awareness, relocation, planting, with an eye on economic, nutritional, and health security)
7. Demonstrate three examples of behavior mitigating climate change in their villages and country (involving internal and international policies, as well as technical procedures)

However, the importance of the Taiala programme extends beyond a successful activity and a short period of training. The building of capacities focussed primarily on developing the skills of, and imparting the required knowledge to, the Taiala trainees in order to make them effective internal animators. This must be embedded in further developments, in order to continue their beneficial effects even after the project period and in order to strengthen METI's role in promoting lifelong learning.

The innovativeness of METI's approach to creating self-reliant communities which are capable of mitigating climate change and adapting to it consists in the integrated use of a variety of approaches. METI also displays a clear gender focus by ensuring that women are integral to its sustainable development activities. METI sees a real opportunity for a new role of the women's committee, a traditional institution in the Samoan village, especially as the crucial driving force for the acceptance, by the households, of WFPB nutrition as an antidote to obesity and NCD. Efforts will be made for a close working relationship between the women's committees and the cooperatives in the target villages. Within the METI Health programme, health seminars are now being held in village settings, using the Taiala. For the convenience of the public, these seminars are offered both during the day and in the evening.

In order to increase further peer support for sustainable development action, METI has encouraged individuals who have completed the nonformal trainings to set up cooperatives for farmers and producers in their respective villages. From a social point of view, cooperatives foster participation in decision-making: decisions are made inclusively and democratically. In this way the cooperatives offer their members peer support for continued permaculture (planting and food production using the patterns observed in the Samoan natural ecosystems) practice and sustainable development initiatives. The Taiala are also being trained to facilitate training workshops for farmers who wish to become eligible to join the participatory guarantee scheme of organic certification; this scheme is promoted by the Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC).

Looking to the Future

The Prime Minister of Samoa stated that education is the key to sustainable development.

As a consequence, the Government is committed to ensuring that Samoa achieves the UN Education Goal through the strategies outlined in the UNESCO's Framework for Action Education 2030 (Samoa Government 2015). METI is operating within a favorable political climate of sympathy towards the SDGs. The Government has a clear policy, encouraging "a new partnership" between the public sector and the private, and also between these sectors and the academic sector; it has welcomed METI's efforts in life skills training and permaculture promotion. Hopefully, this political goodwill is going to be strengthened when the results of the ongoing and intended actions become manifest.

With the implementation of the Taiala program in the target villages – introducing the Taiala as internal animators and active participants in cooperative activities – it is expected that the Taiala will make sure that "ownership" of decision-making remains at the level of the cooperatives, which will guarantee the sustainability of sustainable development action to underpin the mitigation of CC and the adaptation to climate change.

It is anticipated that a more enlightened village leadership will emerge following the sustained efforts at the village level to promote a new mind-set which reflects a more peaceful, inquisitive, and ecologically attuned world view. These efforts, it is expected, will lead to an increase in the ability of village leaders to make rational decisions and lead to vibrant communities, capable of carrying out self-reliant initiatives which will bolster their resilience.

Conclusion

Two case studies have been reviewed in this paper which focus on educational responses to ESD and CC in the Pacific. One case study occurs in the formal sector and the second case study occurs in the nonformal sector. Underpinning the educational response is the importance and the role of Indigenous knowledge systems which while contextual relate to the importance of fakafonua, the practices or ways of the land and through the concept of tofi or tofi'a to maintain balance and harmony with each other, nature, and the god/s (fonua). This then forms a Pacific Indigenous baseline for ESD and CC education, a philosophy that underpinned both the Kiribati CC curriculum development and Taiala program.

Pacific culture and knowledge has always been traditionally conceived, produced, applied, and critiqued by Pacific peoples, and therefore there exists a long-standing tradition of developing complex yet self-sustaining systems. The respect, reciprocity, and the enduring endeavor to maintain the vā, in turn, will continue to be an immensely significant and invaluable component of the cultural capital of the Pacific. However, as the boundaries of many Pacific nations have been challenged with growing globalization and the cash economy assuming greater centrality in the lives of Pacific peoples, the traditional skills and Indigenous knowledge are being gradually sidelined to the peripheries. Cultural concepts have a role in developing relevant skills, values, attitudes, identity, a sense of self-worth, a sense of belonging, knowledge, empathy all necessary to develop people's ability to engage effectively

and productively in everyday life even if they leave their home nations to seek opportunity elsewhere. Such a contribution is vital as the world seeks to explore solutions to the imposing problems of environmental challenges and climate change. Every person's contribution is vital for the sustainability of their community, be it physical, economic, intellectual, emotional, or spiritual; this all adds to a strong sense of belonging to a village, a community, a nation, and a global community whose survival depends on a collective momentum forward.

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Reclaiming Our People Following Imprisonment

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Abstract

Mass incarceration needs to be seen as part of the complex historical picture of the development of settler states, a picture that is located within the dispossession of land and identities. Most analysis locates mass incarceration as a school to prison pipeline, a poverty to prison pipeline, and a victimization to prison

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pipeline. These factors while extremely significant and relevant fail to grapple with the Indigenous factor. The Indigenous factor means that if you are Indigenous in colonized countries, you are likely to be among the most highly imprisoned peoples in the world. For Maori in Aotearoa (New Zealand), despite being 17% of the population, women make up 60% of the prison population and Maori men make up over 50%. Current analyses fail to grapple fully with the disproportionately high rate of Indigenous incarceration in settler states. Very often these factors are examined in isolation to the mass dispossession of Indigenous identity, lands, language, and culture over relatively few generations.

Maori community workers have long recognized that a key to turning around the imprisonment rates of Maori is twofold, it is a battle to change state systems which have shaped and enacted historical and contemporary injustice, and it is simultaneously a battle waged in restoring the hearts and minds of those impacted by imprisonment. Our researchers worked with Maori community workers and a group of 35 Maori men and women coming out of prison. Over 2 years we interviewed them and we attempted to reconnect them to their iwi history and iwi support. The initiative that we ran with iwi support was enormously successful. We worked with 35 Maori men and Maori women post release and although statistically 18 should have returned to prison within the first year, only four returned to prison. This article will look at what Maori researchers alongside of community workers and researchers did that enabled Maori men and women to successfully strengthen their lives, increase their understanding of their world, build support systems, and stay out of prison.

Keywords

Maori · Prison · Iwi · Hapu · Historical trauma · Imprisonment · Indigenous · Intergenerational trauma · Indigenous models of intervention · Whanganui · Waikato

Introduction

Mass incarceration needs to be seen as part of the complex historical picture of the development of settler states, a picture that is located within the dispossession of land and identities. Most analysis locates mass incarceration as a school to prison pipeline (Pane and Rocco 2014), a poverty to prison pipeline (Jenkins 2017), a victimization to prison pipeline (Rook and Sexsmith 2017). These factors, while extremely significant and relevant, fail to grapple with the Indigenous factor. The Indigenous factor means that if you are Indigenous in colonized countries, you are likely to be among the most highly imprisoned peoples in the world. For Maori in Aotearoa, despite being 17% of the population, Maori women make up 60% of the prison population and Maori men make up over 50% (Department of Corrections [Corrections] 2016). Current analyses (Ministry of Justice 2000; Newbold 2007; Department of Corrections 2008a; Sensible Sentencing Trust 2011) fail to grapple fully with the disproportionately high rate of Indigenous incarceration in settler states.

Very often these factors are examined in isolation to the mass dispossession of Indigenous identity, lands, language, and culture over relatively few generations (Jackson 1988; Durie 2007; Quince 2007; Bull 2009; Mulholland and McIntosh 2011; Workman 2011; JustSpeak 2012; Tauri and Webb 2012; Mihaere 2015). In the last few years within New Zealand the prison population has gone from 6,000 to over 10,000 (Corrections 2016). The percentages of Maori have continued to increase in that time.

Maori community workers have long recognized that a key to turning around the imprisonment rates of Maori is twofold, it is a battle to change state systems which have shaped and enacted historical and contemporary injustice, and it is simultaneously a battle waged in restoring the hearts and minds of those impacted by imprisonment. Our researchers worked with Maori community workers and a group of 35 Maori men and women coming out of prison. Over 2 years we interviewed them and we attempted to reconnect them to their iwi (tribal) history and iwi support. The initiative that we ran with iwi support was enormously successful. We worked with 35 Maori men and Maori women post release and although statistically 18 should have returned to prison within the first year, only four returned to prison. This article will look at what Maori researchers alongside of community workers and researchers did that enabled Maori men and women to successfully strengthen their lives, increase their understanding of their world, build support systems, and stay out of prison.

Kaupapa Maori Research

Te Atawhai o te Ao is a Whanganui-based Kaupapa Maori Research Institute. The research we undertook was undertaken from people from iwi that we belonged to. We are a Research Institute that is based within our own iwi (tribal) region, in our case within the Whanganui city. Within the broader district there are three main iwi groups with dozens of hapu or sub-iwi. These three main iwi groupings can, at times, work collaboratively. Staff within the Institute come from these three iwi groupings.

Kaupapa Maori research is centered in Maori views and understandings of the world. Maori values underpin all aspects of the research approach and links to the importance that Indigenous peoples place on relationships, reciprocity, and trust. Kaupapa Maori research is political research as it analyzes relations of power and seeks to benefit Maori communities.

For this project we worked with iwi-based community researchers both in the Whanganui district and in Waikato. This gave the research a particular kaupapa Maori (Kaupapa Maori is a Maori approach, a Maori way of doing something.) lens. Community researchers were highly knowledgeable about the different families, connections, tensions and at times could negotiate complex situations that could be completely overlooked by outsiders. They were also highly mobile and diverse in their contacts and able to work innovatively with often few resources but very good connections.

Underpinning the research was the question, what could we do to intervene in the current picture from our place in the world? When it comes to the question of prisons and imprisonment, unlike policy makers that tend to read the criminal justice system as being about bad people from bad families, we were seeing our own families, cousins, siblings, uncles, and aunties who in the ordinary world are for most of their lives doing good but who commit crimes. We are also seeing our relations being failed when their health needs such as addictions and mental health are not being adequately or appropriately dealt with. At times we are also seeing relations go to prison because of lack of support in the legal system and racial profiling. Where the crimes are extreme they are being disconnected from whanau (family) or are isolating themselves, but this group is relatively small. Clearly there are also allied issues that we are seeing such as literacy, addictions, mental health issues, early life and historical trauma (Walters et al. 2011; Wirihana and Smith 2014) that need to be addressed. As a result of the dislocation from iwi connections there are many families living in towns who have lost the connection to their own hapu (Hapu is a sub-tribe.). The participants discussed that freely in their discussions.

Why Are our People in Prison

There is an extensive literature that seeks to explain who goes to prison and why. The literature falls into two broad categories and it is important to understand the focus of this literature. One area examines the pathology of the individual and examines areas such as attachment theory, adverse childhood experiences literature, genetics, brain and development research, childhood trauma research, fetal alcohol research, and traumatic brain injury. This literature looks at the individual's life chances and tends to look at a lifeline of exposures to victimization and research that helps to address this. There is also literature that seeks to explain the social, economic, and environmental factors that impact on who goes to prison and why. This includes poverty research, state systems research such as state child care and protection research, victimization research, sexuality research, criminal justice system research, racism and inequalities research, and industrial complex research.

Indigenous research has intersected with all of the above because none of that research explains fully why the highest rates of imprisonment are for Indigenous Peoples. Indigenous researchers and writers are currently attempting to analyze the above writing as well as to emphasize the critical role of history in shaping Maori imprisonment rates and outcomes. Maori researchers have been focused on examining the criminal justice system, the reconstruction and institutionalization of whanau, the inequities and inequalities, constitutional and Treaty issues, and racism, particularly institutional racism. Institutional racism has long been challenged by Maori across many sectors (Jackson 1988). Ministry of Justice figures in 2015 show that when it comes to assault, 26.3% of Maori will be sentenced to imprisonment while only 13% of Europeans will be imprisoned for the same crime. Racial profiling of youth has been acknowledged even by Police Commissioner Mike Bush through

the acceptance of “unconscious bias” as a problem that needs to be addressed by police (2015).

Researchers have also made the links to the high numbers of Maori who have been abused in state institutions as children. Between the 1950s and 1980s over 100,000 New Zealand children were removed from families and placed into state care, and most of them were Maori. Many of them suffered abuse (Mulholland and McIntosh 2011). What is clearly shown in Indigenous critique is that Indigenous peoples are being criminalized in particular ways, that particular way is tied to the development of settler states.

The current population in the country shows that Maori make up 17% of the total population, 712,000 identify themselves as Maori (Statistics NZ 2015). One in three are under 15 years old. The Maori youth rate is growing and the numbers of Maori youth can be up to 50% in some primary schools. In 2015 only 69.8% of Maori remained in school to the age of 17 compared to 83.9% of the overall school population (Ministry of Education 2017).

Within New Zealand the Treaty of Waitangi signed with Maori tribes in 1840 has placed clear obligations in New Zealand to honor “tino rangatiratanga” (Maori sovereignty or chieftainship). Under current legislation Ministries are compelled to respond to Maori inequities. Because of the alarmingly high Maori incarceration rate a Treaty claim was taken to the judicial body, the Waitangi Tribunal, in 2016. The Treaty of Waitangi Tribunal claim led by Tom Hemopo, a former Maori probation officer collectively with three iwi, brought together the key Maori prison researchers in 2016 to present evidence against the Crown regarding inaction by governments to reduce the disproportionate number of Maori returning to prison. In 2017 the Tribunal released its findings:

We have therefore found that the Crown has breached the principle of active protection by not sufficiently prioritising the protection of Māori interests in the context of persistently disproportionate Māori reoffending rates.

... We have also found that the Crown has breached the principle of equity by not sufficiently prioritising the reduction of Māori reoffending rates.

... We have found that the Crown has not, at this point, breached the principle of partnership... We have found, however, that if the Crown does not live up to its stated commitment to develop these partnerships, it risks breaching its partnership obligations.

In the meantime, recent research by non-governmental social organizations show clear patterns of an entrenchment of poverty, which again Maori are highly represented in. Patterns of inadequate resourcing across critical support services creates a falling tower impact. Without adequate basic state benefit incomes, without adequate resourcing for children with physical health problems, without adequate resourcing for all mental health services, without adequate services for women’s shelters and domestic violence services, without adequate funding for schools to deal with high energy children or critical learning assistance or adequate training, with high class number sizes, with assessment regimes taking over teachers’ lives, without critical supports available for victims of sexual violence and many other key areas, key supports get taken away and pressure goes on families. In Aotearoa

these services have been hit hard in the last 5 years. Pressure on state services that daily deal with those in poverty are noting a rise in anger among their clients and in recent years, security guards are highly visible and regulate entry into government social security offices.

Higher rates of imprisonment are all known to be linked to changes in these sectors. This is set against a withdrawal of funding and adequate funding of services across many fronts, for example, counselling supports in schools, learning and behavioral supports in schools, pastoral care supports in schools, employment training opportunities, employment, adult literacy support, addiction support, mental health identification and support, crisis intervention support, and a multiple range of ways that supports need to happen. Furthermore, while services may be available, are they Maori services that can make the cultural connect to our people and their histories? There is advancement of whanau ora programs, developed and advocated for Maori that work with whole families proactively, and provide critical Maori community support services, but these services are underfunded.

There is also a massive literature on the failure of prisons. The people we interviewed were clear that prisons are a school for learning how to be a better criminal and they provide people with criminal networks. There are some rehabilitation type programs in prisons but the focus remains on punishment not restoration. Mental health problems are not treated in prisons except to contain and ensure safety. Prisons are not equipped to deal with the problems. We found high rates of Traumatic Brain Injury with resultant behaviors and emotional behaviors among the tangata ora but no treatment had ever happened. We also found high rates of sexual violence victimization, again with no treatment or support provided. Addictions research clearly points to underlying trauma as key to working with addictions, another issue that is only sparsely considered in prisons.

Early Prisons, a Military History

Public records do not acknowledge the history of the justice systems in settler states. Early prisons in Aotearoa were established predominantly for Maori. The first prisons were inside military stockades during land wars of the nineteenth century. Mass incarceration of Maori and photos of Maori prisoners were published throughout the country. As Maori subjection to the Crown and the removal of land progressed so too did the growth of prisons.

Incarceration of Maori is an area of history that is being revived through Treaty settlements. As each tribe compiles their own historical records, there is a reminder of the significant leaders and people who were captured and transported away from iwi regions. The first capital punishments, death by hanging, were Maori and these were public deaths, born of the need to publically punish, humiliate, and to subdue Maori who fought against the alienation of lands and the attempts to maintain self-rule. In iwi considered to be in rebellion, there are cases where Maori filled up the jails and were interred in caves, exiled on islands, and transported to other areas.

These early disparities on who was locked up in prison has not changed throughout time.

Maori lives and experiences are diverse and historically and inter-generationally the majority have been displaced from traditional lives, living, and knowledge. Historical trauma research shows that significant impacts accrue when you have a history of land dispossession, wars and its aftermath, being exiled, becoming refugees, widespread death through epidemics, language dispossession, racist treatment by institutions and for Maori families that has been sustained within the relatively short period of about six generations. The agency, resilience, coping strategies, fighting back, and the determination of Maori to survive as distinct people has also been ongoing.

The work of decolonizing and telling histories that account for Maori lives and ancestry will continue to be struggled over for many decades. Many Maori and Pakeha allies are challenging the ways that histories are told also but this is ongoing work to decolonize official telling and honoring of history.

While large numbers of Maori have had their connections to their lands disrupted, we have retained both knowledge of traditional lands and have retained our stake in iwi areas particularly through marae. We have remembered and do retell our own stories and basis of our beliefs through many forms of cultural expression such as kapa haka and art. But we also tell of the destruction and consequences on the people through the generations. If Maori have a hidden curriculum it has been sustained, fostered, and celebrated in the Maori language and in all forms of Maori expression, sometimes coded, sometimes overt for example in activism.

Introduction to the Project

This research project focused on the question, if you reconnected Maori men and women coming out of prison with their intergenerational connection to hapu (extended families) knowledge, the land, and the people, would that stop them returning to prison? We knew that once Maori are imprisoned, 60% are currently returning. So prison is a deterrent for only 40% (Department of Corrections 2008b).

Early on in the project we discussed naming our participants. We did not want to use the reductionist term “ex-prisoners.” We wanted an identity that affirmed them. Instead we used the name that a local health provider, Te Oranganui, was using – “tangata ora” which means people who are well or who are healing. The name recognized both humanness and their health. As we proceeded with the project we had to retrain others to relinquish the other terms they were using also such as “clients,” “ex-offenders.”

The Tangata Ora project informed a wider program of research, He Kokonga Whare which was funded by the Health Research Council of New Zealand, and examined Maori intergenerational trauma and wellbeing. In the Tangata Ora project we had gathered brief intergenerational biographies. We also sought to determine whether reconnecting tangata ora with their hapu through a series of interviews and wananga would reduce the likelihood that they would return to prison, and although

the small sample size used in this research means it is not possible to generalize the findings of this study to wider populations, there does appear to be a connection between tangata ora participation in the project and an absence of their return to prison. Where no connection existed, the project sought to establish whether reconnecting them with their Iwi roots could serve as a cultural protective factor in preventing their return to prison.

Using structured interviews and a series of wananga (gatherings) that included an exercise in visual ethnography, the research team initially interviewed 35 tangata ora and then conducted a series of wananga called hapu wananga. When a participant was identified a meeting was held with them to establish their circumstances, to talk to them about the research, to identify any issues with interviewing. For example, where it should take place, transport issues, timing, and other logistical issues. Early on in the contact we identified whether the person was connected to health and social services and if they were not we gave them the opportunity to receive that support.

We sought to identify those who had been released from prison who were from iwi in the central and lower North Island. We worked with hapu specifically because hapu is where the generational and land-based knowledge still resides, especially if your whanau is disconnected from the tribe. The reason for this was that on previous research projects we had found that it was common for there to be a breakdown in trust and communications with certain members of whanau. Restoring these relationships was important work that was long term and best done by local community workers. To that end we identified key health and social workers who would support the tangata ora long term at the beginning of the project.

Our goal was to connect the tangata ora with key hapu knowledge holders who would know the family name and could provide the generational and land history of the person. This was done through wananga and visits to different sites. Tangata ora would be able to share what they learnt with their whanau.

Recognizing the Differences Between Hapu and Iwi

Hapu are the land-based connected groupings that involve a collection of families. The Treaty of Waitangi was signed with the collective hapu of Aotearoa. Hapu are where marae and land interests and shared histories meet. The knowledge of sacred sites, the care of these sites, the care of marae and rivers and land sites, food gathering, and major decision-making about caring for land and the people occurs at hapu. It is hapu that keep the home fires burning, it is hapu that do the work to maintain customary history, knowledge, and daily practise. It is hapu and whanau that maintain marae.

Iwi are traditional entities that operated in a different way to hapu. Generally, they are the larger confederations, which shared dialect, iwi boundaries, and origins and knowledge. Jointly sharing iwi boundaries, iwi identifiers and in times of conflict iwi would become predominant for collective action. The Treaty of Waitangi settlement process has prioritized iwi governance entities. As a result this has brought together

hapu to work as iwi, whose work focuses on ensuring iwi rights and responding to the state.

Through Treaty of Waitangi claims within the country, most iwi are either currently fighting for land claim settlements or have moved through this process. Claims and settlements are currently engaging a great deal of iwi governance time and energy. Claims have completely changed iwi landscapes through reclamation of some lands, compensations, and knowledge bases. However the Claims process remains controversial because they cannot address the width and breadth of social and historical injustice. The parameters for settlement have been set by political expediency and perceived affordability.

Iwi Resurgence

Most research with Maori ignores iwi identification. We worked in three iwi districts. All three of these districts are in post settlement except for Whanganui. Iwi are increasingly pushing to get tribe-specific data from government agencies across a range of sectors. We were unable to get permission to work with the Department of Corrections in the research project and were unable to identify who was being released from prison that was connected to our particular tribe. We are not the only Maori researchers denied permission for research by Corrections. Corrections do not identify iwi affiliation, but Maori staff working inside the prisons commonly do ascertain this information. Although many iwi have Treaty of Waitangi settlement arrangements that entitle iwi to particular rights with Ministries and government departments, very few iwi have currently established clear relationships with Corrections. Within the regions that we worked, we found that iwi were struggling to have any sort of relationship with the local prisons or the relationship only extended to the occasional program being run by a iwi health or social service provider. This changed later in Waikato with the appointment of a iwi liaison worker.

The Practical Reality of Reconnecting People to their Ancestry

Within Aotearoa, we have knowledgeable people within each hapu and tribe who know the main families and descent lines of those families. If a person knows the names of their grandparents, from our hapu knowledge base we can often track and connect people. Some iwi, for example, Ngai Tahu, have gathered extensive records on their iwi people and assist people to find their ancestral links. Mostly this reconnecting is done through contacting key people within hapu. Maori services often work with these key hapu people but it is a very under-recognized network. In urban centers there can be several generations of disconnection. Many urban and iwi services assist clients to identify their tribe and hapu, if they are able to. Many services already recognize that whakapapa, where it can be tracked, is an important component to healing.

It took us over a year to find, meet, and recruit tangata ora into the project. We had to find a group who generally were lying low in the community and even within wider whanau it was not always known that they had been in prison. But further to this we had to identify and only recruit people who had particular iwi affiliations. Our community researchers used their extensive knowledge of networks, families, services, and a wide range of creative ways to identify and recruit participants into the study. Social media networks, gang networks, iwi radio, community workers were all activated to assist us to encourage people to contact us if they would be interested in participating in the study. If we did not have our community research networks this study could not have happened. In the end we had 35 that fitted the criteria. We worked for 2–3 years with each tangata ora.

Preliminary Interviews

In order to work with tangata ora we had to build trust, which took not just an initial meeting but several meetings and discussions with the community researchers. Community researchers remained flexible to be able to meet in homes, finding spaces for children, and organizing food so that they did not drain family resources. First interviews were over one and a half hours long and covered a range of topics. Interviews provided a rich and descriptive narrative of tangata ora lives; their connection to their history, culture, and language; their pathways into prison; and what they thought would improve their lives.

During these interviews we identified their knowledge of iwi connections. We also used screening tools for early life trauma and traumatic brain injury and a micro-aggression screen. We also had key health or social workers available to us throughout all stages of connecting with tangata ora so that we could ensure they had support and any follow-up that was needed. The screening tools were particularly revealing in identifying early and lifetime trauma. In the open-ended questioning of interviews, the women and men tended to normalize or underplay their own victimization experiences but the screening tools which asked for estimates of the numbers of times that they had been knocked unconscious, for example, and asked more specific questions, gave us more accurate information of the victimization rates. The screening often even surprised interviewees themselves when they had to count the number of incidents they had been exposed to. Most of the tangata ora that we interviewed scored highly on the traumatic brain injury screening tool that we used. As a result we gave copies of the results to the tangata ora and worked in collaboration with health workers to assist in any follow-up.

These interviews were particularly hard on the community researchers as they listened to tough stories. Although our community researchers were often knowledgeable community workers, they were hit hard by the stories they were told. The tangata ora whose early lives and treatment was poor as children was particularly difficult for the researchers. The exposures to physical and sexual violence at young ages and the attempts by children to cope and be resilient, only to have critical supports taken away, was heart-breaking to listen to. Stories abounded of children

who just wanted a safe home, who just wanted to stop being moved around and used as pawns, who just wanted to remain with that one loving person, who just wanted to stay with that one school teacher. We debriefed and reflected often.

What Tangata Ora Told us from their Preliminary Interviews

For all of the tangata ora, coming out of prison was a difficult transition unless there was supportive family waiting for them and a job that had been kept for them. Following release from prison, the majority of tangata ora were one step away from crisis. They struggled to make ends meet financially and could accumulate debt, they struggled to find housing or had tenuous housing, they had conditions that were difficult to fulfil with community probation or state benefits, they could be surrounded with unstable and volatile relationships. All of these types of issues left tangata ora living precariously, with the real possibility of a quick return to prison.

For the majority they came out of prison and went into a type of seclusion. With little money coming in and waiting for state benefits, they struggled. Daily life for many tangata ora after their release from prison consisted of long hours of being at home, fulfilling probation requirements, domestic duties, socializing, and other various activities to keep themselves occupied. Many reported difficulties in securing gainful and sustainable employment, and there was a sense of diminished worthiness arising from their inability to provide financially and materially for their families.

Some enjoyed the domestic routines, but almost all said they would have preferred to be in employment, making financial contributions to the running of their homes, and meeting the needs and desires of their partners and family.

They said prisons just helped them to be better criminals. Most tangata ora held their position that prison did not deter crime, and reiterated comments regarding prison as a “holiday camp” for some prisoners. Having said that however, when asked about violence in prison, they said that they were exposed and subjected to violence and in some cases needed to form alliances to stay safe. Also they commonly said they could access drugs and alcohol which enabled them to continue addictions. Most tangata ora told us that imprisonment did not help them to stop offending. Instead they said that while in prison, opportunities were there to be able to build criminal networks, and gather criminal intelligence for utilization in further offending when released from prison.

The importance of the right type of support. Tangata ora also told us that what helped them most upon release was support that remained consistent and long term, particularly supportive partners and family members. When it came to talking about what they thought would help them, they did say that spending time with people who had a stronger and more positive effect on deterring criminal offending made more sense.

They also felt they needed more connection and understanding of themselves as well as their cultural and ancestral roots. They needed good quality and culturally competent and considerate programs and services.

Barriers to their successful reintegration included the challenges of relearning how to maintain routine in their daily lives, discrimination, abstaining from negative influences, and the difficulty of changing old habits and associations. Some were also unable to identify and desist from poor decision-making that often led to criminal behavior, nor had the ability to make alternative decisions. These factors prevailed as a result of a lack of learning to make better choices and behave in socially acceptable ways when younger. Tangata ora also told us that the barriers to successful reintegration included lack of connection to their inner selves and their cultural and ancestral roots, the challenges they faced in meeting their release conditions, or their attitudes to doing so.

How they saw their identity. From the initial interview, we found that there was a range of connectedness to their Maori identity. We asked them how much they knew about their grandparents and further back in their own history. We also asked them about fluency in Maori language.

Several tangata ora were confidently able to recall back several generations of their family on both their mother's and father's side, but over half were only able to recall back as far as their grandparents, and sometimes only on one side of their family, as highlighted by this tangata ora:

Q: Just going back to your grandparents, do you know or did you hear anything about the generation before your grandparents.

A: Nah not really. See Mum's a South Island Maori, so she's from the South Island. The old man he was born in Taihape and they met down south, the old man was a Pakeha.

For some tangata ora they could not access information through their own immediate family:

In our family, you don't ask.

There were clearly areas of the past that tangata ora also preferred to cover over, and to not speak about or pass on to the next generations:

In my whanau, asking about the past is not ok.

This meant that they would have to actively go against their family in order to find out information and seek it from other sources.

Maori language connectedness. The responses provided by tangata ora illuminated significant diversity in cultural and ancestral knowledge and experience. There were those who reported growing up on marae and around fluent speakers of te reo, and who had been taught about their iwi ancestry from a very early age.

There were others who had very little knowledge:

Q: Have you learned any Maori language or do you know much about your Tribe?

A: Oh I picked it up. A little at a time. The Maori language you know, but I can't speak it fluently, I can't really translate it either, but I understand the basics. I know my tribe and my hapu.

There were also those who were interested in furthering their knowledge of their history:

Q: Do you have any interest or desire to engage with your tribe or do something for them?

A: I sure do. I want to take my boy back and yeah. . . .

Q: What does that mean to take your boy back?

A: To take him and show him around. I want to learn it first, so that I can take him and pass it down.

Did they have a connection to hapu? Only one tangata ora reported an active connection with their hapu and marae. The other tangata ora had little knowledge regarding their tribe, hapu, and marae connections, nor had they pursued further learning in te reo Maori. For some they signaled that it was a matter of confidence and knowledge:

Q: Have you made attempts to learn about your iwi (tribe)?

A: I have but not really.

Q: What would it mean to you if you did, or why haven't you?

A: I haven't just 'cos, I know where to start, it's just the means of getting there and the transport and time and who to go to, it could make a difference and you could meet whanau that I hadn't met before you know, some story that might resolve something.

What they told us about schooling. While many of those we spoke to had high rates of adverse childhood experiences, schools tended to operate imposing further punitive approaches. Schools lacked the ability to recognize or support these children whose home lives were fraught. When they did encounter a teacher who they felt they could relate to, they got moved on. Services were seen as punitive and blunt, in other words – the answer was removal of children, from classroom activities, from classes, from schools. Schools were unable to see the learning difficulties that some of these children had.

An allied survey that we undertook in the research looked at traumatic brain injury which for these children could be common, as could other learning challenges. Bright children tried to apply themselves in schools but failed through lack of support and consistency, through inability to get basic support to keep them afloat. Girls who withdrew into themselves were ignored, and boys were identified as discipline problems and were treated accordingly. Teachers did not inquire into the background of children, so hunger, the care of other siblings, lack of adequate clothing, stress, and other contributing factors that lead to inattention in class were ignored.

What they told us about racism and discrimination. Tangata ora reported discrimination as a daily impact. They reported common occurrences of being followed in shops, being targeted by police. Evidence released by police reports (Ministry of Justice 2011) shows the disproportionate numbers of Maori that are apprehended, disproportionate numbers on remand, charged and higher numbers receiving a sentence of imprisonment. Maori are more likely to be reliant on legal aid and to go to court with no lawyer. They are more likely to plead guilty to just get it

over with. They are less likely to have the literacy to deal with accumulated debt or fines. They also told us that they can struggle to fulfil complex bail, home detention, curfew, and probation conditions. They are considered to be less likely to “show remorse” in the court in the ways that non-Maori judges assume they should.

Wananga

Following the initial interviews, we worked to identify key hapu knowledge holders within the iwi that we were working with. That sentence sounds so easy but this was a big effort that could only be undertaken because we were already located inside iwi and knew how to do such a thing. We had to firstly identify the primary iwi and hapu that we were dealing with and activate our own networks to find the key people to talk to. This really involved knowing the people whose knowledge extended back through all the generations of a sub-tribe and in some cases to a whole tribe. Community researchers were invaluable in carrying out this work and the Institute used a wide and varied iwi knowledge base. All community researchers are involved within their own whanau, hapu groupings and several have held senior iwi positions so they were able to activate their own kumara vines.

Within the project, the hapu knowledge holders would need to have two meetings with researchers and hold two wananga for the tangata ora. Lastly the tangata ora were interviewed to ascertain their thoughts on whether reconnecting them with their hapu was an effective intervention in preventing their return to prison, their experiences of the Tangata Ora Project, their treatment by the research team, and any suggestions on what they think might improve future iterations of the project.

In the initial meeting we had with hapu knowledge holders we outlined the purposes of the project and also outlined the work they would be required to do. All of them were very keen to work with the tangata ora. We emphasized the need to pass on whakapapa (genealogical) knowledge as well as their own connect- edness. None of the hapu workers that we identified were commonly working with these particular whanau, although in some areas they are.

The primary role of hapu facilitators was to think about men and women coming out of prison to consider how they would reconnect them to their hapu knowledge. Because they were often facilitating reconnection in informal ways, we left it up to the hapu facilitators to decide how they would do this. We asked the hapu facilitators to identify the key historical events for the tribe and for the hapu before meeting with tangata ora. What was discussed was the ways in which the tangata ora connected to the hapu and what key historical events that happened within their hapu, and also stories connected to the land and people.

Unfortunately two of the tangata ora were returned to prison before they had gotten to the workshop.

The activities with the hapu facilitators definitely caused tangata ora to reframe their world. Hapu facilitators in wananga tended to seat people in a circle and always did karakia or whakamoemiti (prayer), mihi whakatau (welcome), waiata tautoko (song) to set the scene for the wananga. The wananga focused on connection and reducing

isolation by filling in knowledge of connectedness to the lands, rivers, and places they lived on as well as specifically showing them where they fitted in a much bigger and proud history. It also highlighted connection to each other and encouraged participation with marae and tribe, which was not there at the beginning of the wananga. Hapu facilitators could choose how they imparted knowledge, in some cases site visits and in others discussion, use of whakapapa charts, and a range of tools. Tikanga processes (correct iwi protocols) and hui (meeting) processes emphasize connection, sanctity, and a bigger picture to peoples lives which the hapu facilitators knew how to deal with. The ways in which the hapu facilitators gave information was diverse, from one to one games, to site visits, to more formal type discussions and meetings.

Wananga had a deep impact at a number of levels:

During wananga they were exposed to their deeper history, generations of connection to the seen and unseen connections to the lands, mountains, rivers all around them. Hapu facilitators gave them the understanding that their tupuna (ancestors) that they didn't know existed gave them the right to stand as tangata whenua tuturu not just as the self proclaimed urban-hard (Hapu facilitator).

Food was supplied in abundance at all wananga and leftovers were packaged for tangata ora to take home. In the aftermath of wananga during the cleanup time, the health worker was able to talk and offer support on a range of needs. It was at this more personal time that issues arose about seeking help and counselling.

We also found that hapu facilitators were often clarifying derogatory stories that tangata ora had heard about their own people, as well as clarifying the names of the places and stories of the ancestors.

This Town Is our Tribe

At the beginning of wananga, tangata ora were seeing themselves as strongly connected to towns or streets, "This town is our tribe."

As researchers, who were largely aware of their own iwi affiliations, we tended to view iwi identity quite simply, you are either Maori with a good knowledge of your tribe or you are not. This simplistic approach was challenged by our tangata ora. We assumed that they had "lost" knowledge of their hapu and they were living more as Pakeha. But we underestimated their existing knowledge. As one of the hapu facilitators noted after one wananga:

There was no doubt in my mind that they were more knowledgeable about Maori and connections than first appeared with their discourse on belonging and their application of tikanga in regards to that. A random discussion on the origin of carving was posed, with a contribution from all bar one to that discussion, demonstrating their knowledge of iwi variations to the origin (Hapu facilitator).

The difference in their knowledge was that it was not connected to their place of origin, their tribe. It brought a new found appreciation for those of us who are

connected to seeing the strength of our own people to hold on to our ways of being and snippets of knowledge under external pressure. As one hapu facilitator noted:

Self-descriptions were Maori but not tribe or hapu connected. The tangata ora stated themselves as ‘insert name of town – hard’. This meant that they knew their town, their relationship with the people in the town and how they fitted in their behaviour with each other. They had no doubts that they were born and bred from their town. They strongly asserted their Maori identity but in a form that they created. They held tangihanga (traditional funerals) in homes; they would lay down hangi (traditional cooking) for important occasions, operating semi marae in garages and at their homes (Hapu facilitator).

They were also clear that there were some things they were not going to change and hapu facilitators did not challenge that aspect of their identities but rather built on their knowledge and corrected misinformation:

They were clear that no one was going to take away from them the modern sense of their belonging. But they would learn missing layers of history that they should think about as being there too as an expression of belonging now that they know (Hapu facilitator).

Within towns they could be all meeting at tangihanga (funerals), for example, and not understanding that they were related or how. Maori families created support networks in town but also did not know they were actually related, even when they were living within their own traditional iwi areas.

The biggest impression was made on tangata ora when site visits were made to places of historical significance, and they could hear the stories of their ancestors at those places. Several disclosed having visited these places before, and were not aware of their cultural connection to the sites visited:

A: Yeah up to the maunga (mountain); yeah that’s the first time. In my childhood we used to go up to that hill every day because it was the school bus run. But the mountain I have never known and never seen it because we had never gone that far. It was only like only another 500 metres away.

Q: From where you went every day?

A: Yeah and so the historical significance of that area, now that I’m 40 it’s like. . . and look what I can see with my eyes; you saw everything – east, north, south and west. It was a buzz.

Another tangata ora:

Yes. That was the first time I’ve ever been there and heard about that kaupapa and about that rangatira (chief). Then you’re looking over and then ‘churrrr’. Mean!

Q: So you’re saying you would travel along that road and not even be aware of the history until then?

A: Yeah, cause I always go out there to fish. Plus my brother died up the road from there.

Tangata ora also felt that the topics discussed during the wananga provided new insights to their culture and ancestral roots for those with little or none prior, and for others, built upon knowledge they already had, with this increase in knowledge manifesting as improved self-esteem and confidence, gained through knowing more about who they were, and where they came from (Quince 2007).

Most tangata ora reported that they had found the wananga useful as it improved knowledge of cultural and ancestral origins and they felt it would be helpful for others coming out of prison to learn. They also felt that hapu and marae would provide tangata ora with more support upon release and a wider network of support.

Wananga issues that arose. The holding of wananga with tangata ora was not without challenges. While Maori protocols and environments can mediate potential conflict, we knew that some tangata ora had affiliations to opposing gangs. Processes were undertaken prior to the wananga to ensure that these matters were not the primary issue on the day. In some cases, mediation was done prior to the wananga or addressed openly in the wananga and explanations given of what the kaupapa was. What did happen, however, was that new understanding of connections emerged across the lines, that while gang affiliations and rivalry might be there, a deeper longer connection was revealed in the wananga, of many generations and a common shared history. Tangata ora set aside most of their differences when participating in the project, and some still talk since the project has ended. This is an extremely positive development arising from this research, and demonstrates the possibility that when it comes to culture, gang affiliations do not need to inhibit progress (Desmond 2011). Also one of the hapu facilitators found out that her home had been burgled by one of the tangata ora of the wananga. This was known prior to the wananga, and was addressed in a Maori way by discussing clearly what the learning space was about. The tangata ora and the hapu facilitator mediated, and this cleared the way for the wananga to proceed.

Second Wananga

At Wananga two, reconnection went to another level as tangata ora were each individually shown their own connections through whakapapa charts and discussions about their whanau. One participant spent most of his time reading a Manawhenua report (<http://www.ngatiapa.iwi.nz/downloads/manawhenua/Ngati%20Apa%20Manawhenua%20Report%201998.pdf>), and as a result he was gifted the report. This report had his whanau names in it, and this was his first time discovering his whakapapa.

Their hapu was identified and all but one were connected to the land they were currently living on. They were given the hapu name and shown how through whakapapa they connected so well:

You are on your land, here through this hapu, you are a descendant of this hapu.

This land is my land.

You belong here in a modern sense.

You belong here in an ancient sense.

In ancient times we lived here, and we still live here. You are the Ahi Kaa.

Marae aren't in here in this town any-more, but our stories are (Hapu facilitator).

Hapu facilitators emphasized ancestry, but also the sanctity and importance of people. The sanctity of women as connectors to the land, and men as connectors to the sky. They explained how these ancient stories give us guides for living today, and that this pathway for correct living was created for them and is ancestrally created.

Tangata ora enjoyed meeting others from their hapu, some of whom they had known previously, but had not realized they were connected through hapu as well. There were also reports regarding the positive benefits of participating and sharing in the hapu wananga as a group, indicating the group-based nature of the hapu wananga made the experience much easier to engage in and, for most, more enjoyable. In the main, most tangata ora reported participating in the Tangata Ora Project because they were asked to, but two tangata ora reported participating as they felt they had knowledge and experiences to share that they hoped would benefit the project.

Tangata Ora Voices

Q: What went well for you during that wananga?

A: They pulled out all of the whakapapa and put it on the table. Because I hadn't really tried to delve into my father's side of whakapapa. I know my dad and his dad and then my koro's dad, and then my koro's dad's dad. I know as far back as there.

Introduced into this Wananga was photovoice. Each tangata ora was given a camera to record their perspectives and observations of hapu. They were asked to bring 10 photos that they had taken to the next gathering. They could choose any topic they liked.

How Tangata Ora Responded to Wananga

Most tangata ora reported that working in groups during the wananga was helpful, as some were not confident engaging with or speaking in front of others, so being a part of a group helped them build their confidence watching others engage and speak, until they were ready to do so themselves. One tangata ora spoke of how the project connected her with people she would have never spoken to in the past, and how she had continued to speak with those people after the wananga.

Most tangata ora expressed appreciation for opportunities to talk about and share their experiences and stories with others, with one reporting how liberating talking about her past had been for her, and was helping her come to terms with a few things, and begin to move on from them. They also expressed appreciation for the koha they received from the project team for their participation in the project.

Some tangata ora felt that their priorities had changed since participating in the project, with one disclosing a significant reduction in domestic violence in her home, and others reporting they considered their families as treasures, with one spending

more time with her children, and another dedicating all their spare time to working on regaining custody of their children who were in the care of others.

Effectiveness of Tangata Ora Project and Wananga in Reconnecting Tangata Ora with their Hapu

There is obviously an interest in learning about one's cultural self, perhaps this is something that should be considered by hapu themselves to develop and deliver, as it is them after all, who are the rightful teachers of this knowledge (Bishop 1998).

Impact of Increased Knowledge Regarding Hapu on Rates of Reimprisonment

Since participating in the project and the Wananga, none of the tangata ora involved in the post-wananga interviews had returned to prison. When queried about why they thought this was, some tangata ora felt that their involvement in the project had made them stop and think about the way they were living their lives, and the things that were really important to them, with some deciding crime and going to jail again was not important, but being around for their children, grandchildren, and families was.

Q: So do you think you will go back to jail?

A: Nah

Q: What do you think the main reason for that would be?

A: Knowing there's someone there I can turn to and treasure my family more and my grandson; cause we got him before and I didn't know who to turn to or who to talk to. I was just like in four walls, and either you take it or I didn't know what to do. I'd been going to jail since 2009 till last year and I haven't been back

And this from another tangata ora:

Q: Why do you think it's not useful to learn about your ancestral roots?

A: You should learn; you should learn it actually, your ancestral roots so you can pass it on to your kids and to their kids

Despite the significant advances made regarding a sense of connection to their tribe and hapu, and despite the reported effect their involvement in the Tangata Ora Project had on their views of themselves and the things in their lives that were worth staying out of prison for, some tangata ora remained uncertain about their ability to desist offending in future, and others were even less certain about their possible reimprisonment, as reported by this tangata ora:

Q: Do you think you will go back to jail?

A: That's the million dollar question. I don't want to go back and I have said this like a million times that I don't want to go back. I have changed my thinking and I have changed

some of my lifestyle options. I have stopped addictions and some bad behaviours, so I have got a very high chance of not going back to jail

All of the tangata ora disclosed aspirations not to return to prison, but the sense this was not always in their control remained.

Conclusion

This project focused on the wisdom that exists within our own communities. What do our people say helps to strengthen our own people? Whether we are teachers, health workers, probation officers, prison workers, social workers, business owners, we are often engaged in connecting and reconnecting our people. Does that notion help to intervene in the growing tide of Maori imprisonment? This project worked with those people who had the knowledge base and could reconnect tangata ora with a deeper sense of themselves and their place in the world. At a practical level it gave the potential for new support systems to be there for tangata ora as well.

While we found a population that was one step away from crisis on a daily basis, the project did change these men's and women's expected outcomes. The parallel work of providing hapu, iwi health, and social services support alongside of wananga about hapu worked in this situation.

From an iwi perspective, iwi are attempting to increase participation by their own people. But sometimes this work needs to be actively facilitated. We also found that disconnection from iwi can happen within the traditional iwi land areas, but this disconnection can also be remedied if groups who are bound by shared history and connection are brought together.

When it comes to health and social services delivery, policy makers need to understand that reconnecting to a service that is tribe- or hapu-based is a lifelong connection that is made, not a connection for the term of a contract. Iwi membership is bigger than a service provider and will endure and continue.

We also learnt that our strength and resilience to hold on to identity is fought for fiercely in urban contexts and this creates new identities. New formations for Maori identity are created, and these need to be understood from the iwi perspective in order for connections to remain.

For tangata ora the hapu facilitators reminded them of the importance of knowledge and that they were all a part of a large and powerful interconnected network of iwi tangata, with strong family bonds to each other, and to the land from which their people came. Their involvement in the Tangata Ora Project reconnected them to each other and gave them an opportunity to reflect on what was really important to them, in ways many of them may not have had the opportunity to do so for some time. It was very clear by the end of the project, what was important was their families and their culture, demonstrated both through the absence of a return to prison for those tangata ora interviewed, and their reports of positive and useful experiences from their involvement in the project.

This project reaffirms that while the prison system remains in its current form, providing the right type of support post release is critical and can intervene in recidivism. That support needs to be consistent and long term, with people who have a strong and positive effect in their lives. This project met those two needs by providing iwi-based health and social service support, combined with key hapu facilitators. Both these supports mean that tangata ora have potential lifetime support that goes beyond the life of a service contract. Both these supports provide culturally solid, potential lifetime support which do enrich the lives of the tangata ora.

This project caused changes not only for tangata ora but to everyone involved. Everyone on the project was related to one another, these relationships have just been reactivated and remain a potential lifetime network. We remain deeply indebted to all those who agreed to participate in the project. You will never be forgotten.

Glossary

Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori term for New Zealand.

Hangi Earth oven to cook food with steam and heat from heated stones.

Hapu Kinship group, clan, tribe, sub-tribe, section of a large kinship group and the primary political unit in traditional Māori society. It consisted of a number of *whānau* sharing descent from a common ancestor, usually being named after the ancestor, but sometimes from an important event in the group's history. A number of related *hapu* usually shared adjacent territories forming a looser tribal federation (*iwi*).

Iwi Extended kinship group, tribe, nation, people, nationality, race, often refers to a large group of people descended from a common ancestor and associated with a distinct territory.

Kai Food, to eat, to consume, feed (oneself), partakes, devour.

Kapahaka Māori Performing Arts, performance, Māori song/dance.

Karakia/Whakamoemiti Prayer, to recite, or chant.

Kaupapa Topic, policy, matter for discussion, plan, purpose, scheme, proposal, agenda, subject, program, theme, issue, initiative.

Koha Gift, present, offering, donation, contribution, especially one maintaining social relationships and has connotations of reciprocity.

Koro Elderly man, grandfather, grandad, grandpa, term of address to an older man.

Kumara vines Maori lines of networking.

Manawhenua Report This report has been commissioned by Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Apa as part of their preparation for presentation of Wai 265, the Ngāti Apa land claim before the Waitangi Tribunal. The purpose of this report is to provide a definition of the nature and extent of Ngāti Apa manawhenua. This report is a component of the overall research and reporting project currently underway as part of Wai 265.

Māori Indigenous New Zealander, indigenous person of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

- Marae** Village, communal village, courtyard. The open area in front of the *wharenuī*, where formal greetings and discussions take place. Often also used to include the complex of buildings around the *marae*.
- Maunga** Mountain, mount, peak, sacred hill.
- Mihi Whakatau** Speech of greeting, official welcome speech, speech acknowledging those present at a gathering.
- Ngai Tahu** A tribal group in the South Island of New Zealand.
- Pakeha** New Zealander of European descent, English, foreign.
- Rangatira** High ranking, chiefly, noble, esteemed.
- Taihape** A town located near the middle of the North Island of New Zealand.
- Tangata Ora** People of wellness (literal translation). People who are well or who are healing. Term used for men and women who have been released from prison.
- Tangata Whenua Tuturu** Original People of the Land.
- Tangihanga** Traditional Māori Funeral.
- Te Reo** The Māori language.
- Tikanga** Māori traditions and protocols, correct procedures, customs.
- Treaty of Waitangi** A treaty first signed on 6 February 1840 by representatives of the British Crown and various Māori chiefs from the North Island of New Zealand.
- Treaty Settlements** The settlement of historical Treaty of Waitangi claims.
- Tūpuna** Ancestors, grandparent(s).
- Waikato** Region in the upper North Island of New Zealand.
- Wānanga** To meet and discuss, deliberate, consider, seminar, conference, or forum.
- Whakapapa** Genealogy, genealogical table, lineage, descent.
- Whānau** Family, extended family, family group.
- Whānau Ora (Programmes)** A key cross-government work program jointly implemented by the Ministry of Health, Te Puni Kōkiri, and the Ministry of Social Development.
- Whanganui** City in the lower North Island of New Zealand.

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Indigenous Educational Movements in Thailand

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Prasit Leepreecha and Meixi

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Abstract

This chapter celebrates Indigenous education movements in Thailand. Despite state attempts to homogenize its citizenry historically and today, Indigenous communities in Thailand have always been active in strengthening their family, cultural, and linguistic practices. Through connections to other Indigenous movements regionally and globally, Indigenous educators in Thailand are organizing what we call “moves to resurgence” in communities, in schools, and particularly in the in-between spaces across schools and their local communities. In this chapter, we provide an overview of (1) the history and construction of indigeneity and ethnicity in Asia that complicates a “white-other” binary, (2) the long-term impacts of schooling for Indigenous youth as it relates to the formation of nation-states in Southeast Asia, and (3) how Indigenous communities in Thailand have skillfully navigated across worlds to create coherent identities for themselves. We provide three cases that intentionally build innovative “both-and” constructions of identity and resist binary state narratives that attempt to place Indigeneity in contradiction to statehood. To resist the continued erasure of Indigenous peoples in Asia, we highlight case examples of Indigenous resurgence and celebrate Indigeneity in Thailand.

Keywords

Thailand · Education · Indigeneity · Indigenous movements · Indigenous identity · Indigeneity in Asia

Introduction

Distinct linguistic and cultural groups in Thailand have existed long before the formation of the nation-state. Since the 2000s, these communities have been advocating for the rights to play a larger role in the education of their children and mediate long-term impacts of national compulsory education. Until recently, Indigenous highland communities have not been allowed to engage in a process of self-identification and self-determination. This was exacerbated by a system of national compulsory education that left little room to value and celebrate non-Thai practices, languages, and identities. The long-term impact of schooling initiatives that are implemented in the rural mountain villages or initiatives to bring highland youth to lowland schools continue to be felt today through the devaluation of Indigenous practices and the loss of their own culture and languages. While schooling has “reshaped local worlds” (Keyes 1991), this often ignores the agency of Indigenous people who have been setting up systems of learning to shape their own worlds.

This chapter explores how Indigenous communities are moving beyond state constructions of identity, ethnicity, and borderlands to build networks of learning movements for Indigenous education in Thailand. For those that call Thailand’s borderlands home, highland communities have built and led movements of Indigenous people that are purposely collaborative and necessarily transborder. Despite not

being officially recognized as Indigenous by the Thai government, highland leaders have been engaging in a process of self-definition to recognize themselves and their national movement as Indigenous peoples of Thailand. As scholars who have been active in these movements, our chapter outlines first, the political nature of self-definition in relation to state policies. Second, we explore the long-term impacts that schools have had on Indigenous highland identity and knowledge systems; participation in national compulsory education has often resulted in the erasure and devaluation of Indigenous knowledge and identity. Finally, we focus on Indigenous moves to resurgence and how Indigenous people have been acting to promote their own systems of knowledge and languages that bridge the formal school system and the larger community.

The concept of indigeneity is only just being recognized in Asia and is thus complex for schools and communities (Erni 2008; Baird et al. 2017). This chapter highlights how Indigenous communities navigate this complexity to build coherent identities for themselves despite ongoing state efforts to essentialize and place national and Indigenous identities in opposition to each other. We provide cases of Indigenous resurgence that creatively connect and advance state and community learning systems to build Indigenous power in the context of state nationalism in an increasingly globalized world. This chapter expands current notions of indigeneity by resisting the erasure of Indigenous communities in Thailand and highlighting interracial, national, and global dynamics that are common to Indigenous communities in Asia.

PART I: Ethnic Diversity of the Indigenous Peoples in Thailand

Who Are the Indigenous People of Thailand?: Names and Meanings

Unlike the new settlement and former colonized countries, Thailand had never been colonized by European forces. However, as a modern nation-state, the geo-body of Thailand was created by the influence of European colonies and the modern technology of cartography (Thongchai 1994). Initially, the country's name was "Siam" and this was changed to "Thailand" in 1939, due to the mainstream of Tai speaking groups. Other non-Tai speaking groups who are Indigenous groups in Thailand then became ethnic minorities, or the "others within" (Thongchai 2000a). Among those were more than 60 dialect groups throughout the country and 10 highland ethnic groups were labeled "hill tribes" or ชนกระเหรี่ยง (*chao khao*) in Thai, the Karen, Lua, Hmong, Mien, Lisu, Lahu, Akha, Khamu, Htin, and Mlabri (McCaskill et al. 2008). In a survey by Mahidol University's Institute of Languages and Culture for Rural Development that continued from 1993 to 2001, 62 languages were identified throughout the country – 24 Tai languages, 22 Austroasiatic languages, 11 Sino-Tibetan languages, 3 Austronesian dialects, and 2 Mien-Hmong (Leepreecha in press). The state government then set up specific socioeconomic development projects directly toward developing these "hill tribes" (McCaskill and Kampe 1997); the mountain borderlands of Thailand were problematic, a site of intervention

(McKinnon 2004). Since the mid-2000s, young leaders from these groups joined the international movement of Indigenous peoples in other continents and set up the Network of Indigenous Peoples in Thailand (NIPT). Despite there were national movement and adoption of United Nation Declaration on Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) in 2008, the term “Indigenous people” has been rejected by the Thai government who state that the highland people of Thailand are “not considered to be minorities or Indigenous peoples but as Thais who are able to enjoy fundamental rights and are protected by the laws of the Kingdom as any other Thai citizen” (Erni 2008, p. 444).

In the Thai context, labels are often ascribed to Indigenous highland communities without them having much say in their own identity or the process of self-definition. These ethnic groups are referred to by many other names instead. Most commonly, the highland communities are labeled hill tribes or ชาวเขา (*chao khao*) – literally translating to people of the hills (Laungaramsri 2003). The label “hill tribe” did not come from a process of self-definition, but from a way for the Thai officials and foreigners to contrast those who lived at 10,000 ft over sea level to those commonly classified “Thai” or lowlanders (Theerawhekhin 1978, p. 68, as cited by Laungaramsri 2003). *Chao khao* can also mean “the other people” as opposed to ชาวราบ (*chao rao*) or “the us-people” referring to the central Thai people as “us” (Laungaramsri 2003). The term “ethnic minority” ชนกลุ่มน้อย (*chon gloom noi*) is another label used to distinguish this group in opposition to the Thai majority in the country (Burutphat 2518). Another term is “ethnic group” กลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ (*gloom chat ti phan*), which has been used by scholars to refer to groups of people who are not part of the mainstream. This term is broader and has more positive associations than the “hill tribe” or *chao khao* label, since it includes every cultural group throughout the country, regardless of the length of time they have settled in Thailand.

Ethnic Diversity in Thailand

The Indigenous community has been classified by linguists, historians, and anthropologists (See Fig. 1a, b for maps of Southeast Asia). However, according to the National Council of Indigenous Peoples in Thailand, there are 42 different non-Tai Indigenous groups with a total population of 4,282,702 people have united under this movement (Samnakngan Chonphao Phuenmuang Haeng Prathet Thai 2558, as cited in Leepreecha [in press](#)). In addition to the Thai speaking groups, other native groups in Thailand include the Mon, Karen, Lua, Shan, Lao, Kui, Khmère, Chong, Munnì, Malayu, etc. Ancestors of these groups have lived in Thailand for generations. Meanwhile, there are many groups whose ancestors moved into Thailand before the emergence of the modern Thai state between late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. These include the Chinese, Phuan, Lue, Laos (from Laos), Hmong, Mien, Khamu, etc. There are also groups who have migrated into Thailand a couple of decades ago – the Lisu, Lahu, Akha, Dara-ang, Vietnamese,

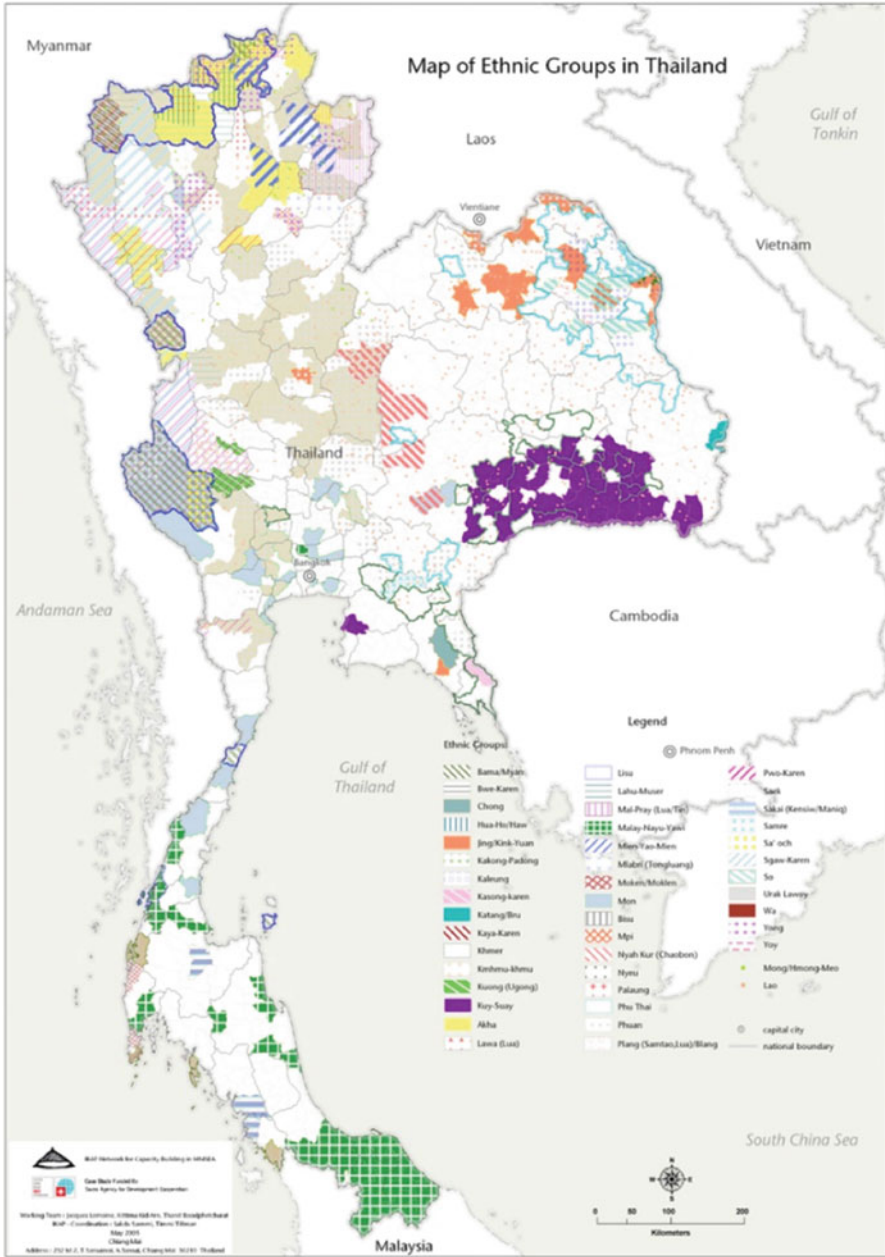


Fig. 1 Distribution of ethnic groups in Thailand (Indigenous Knowledge and Peoples Foundation (IKAP), Chiang Mai)

among others. There is a variety of ethnic groups who have settled in Thailand from different time periods. However, unlike other neighboring countries, the Thai government never surveyed or recognized these ethnic groups but only attempted to assimilate them and make them become Thai. Only in the past decades did the state government register and classify peoples who lacked Thai citizenship into 19 groups and issue different temporary colored cards for them (Laungaramsri 2014). These classifications, however, were based on citizenship concerns and ethnic diversity was never seen as part of the Thai state.

Among those ethnic groups, the “hill tribes” which comprises of ten highland ethnic groups in Northern Thailand became the prominent, due to increasing national security fears that the Thai government believed the “hill tribes” caused. This fear oriented, around 1.2 million peoples much of the government’s policies toward highland groups during 1960–2000s. As stated above, while some groups are native to the land, and while others settled in Thailand for one to two centuries, and yet other groups have migrated into Thailand decades ago, these 10 groups were categorized “hill tribes” and portrayed as recent immigrants (Young 1961) (Fig. 2).

Despite these labels, through the creation of Indigenous networks and after external and internal debates, this group has chosen to call themselves Indigenous people, *ชนพื้นเมือง* (*chon pheun mueang*) or *ชนเผ่าพื้นเมือง* (*chon pao pheun mueang*) or literally “people of the land.” The term *chon pao phuen muang* (*ชนเผ่าพื้นเมือง*) was agreed upon and adopted by the committee members of the National Council of Indigenous Peoples in Thailand (NCIPT, *สภาชนเผ่าพื้นเมืองในประเทศไทย* in Thai) during the October 31, 2558 (2015) workshop at Inter-Mountains Peoples Education and Culture in Thailand Association (IMPECT) in Chiang Mai, Thailand (Leepreecha [in press](#)). The NCIPT states in a proposal that was submitted together with the act for the National Legislative Assembly, that,

Indigenous communities, peoples, and nations are those which, having a historical and social continuity before the establishment of present nation-states, consider themselves distinct from the main society. They are not the dominating group in the nation-state and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit their ancestral territories, their ethnic identity, and their language for future generations. These are basic of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions, and legal system for living peacefully with other groups in the nation-state society (Samnakngan Chonphao Phuenmuang Haeng Prathet Thai 2558, p. 1, as translated by Prasit Leepreecha)

This shift in words and who decides its terms of use is central to contemporary Indigenous movements. Ethnic categorization and identification in Thailand have historically been an outsider’s one. Indigenous leaders thus responded to the need to self-define and self-identify. They began a transition from using the label of “hill tribe,” which has been a term used by outsiders during the 1950–2000s, to “Indigenous peoples” (Leepreecha [in press](#); Morton and Baird [in press](#)). Choosing to claim Indigenous status for themselves allowed Indigenous leaders in Thailand to connect with Indigenous people’s movements globally and find solidarity with other communities who share similar struggles (Morton and Baird [in press](#)). Laungaramsri

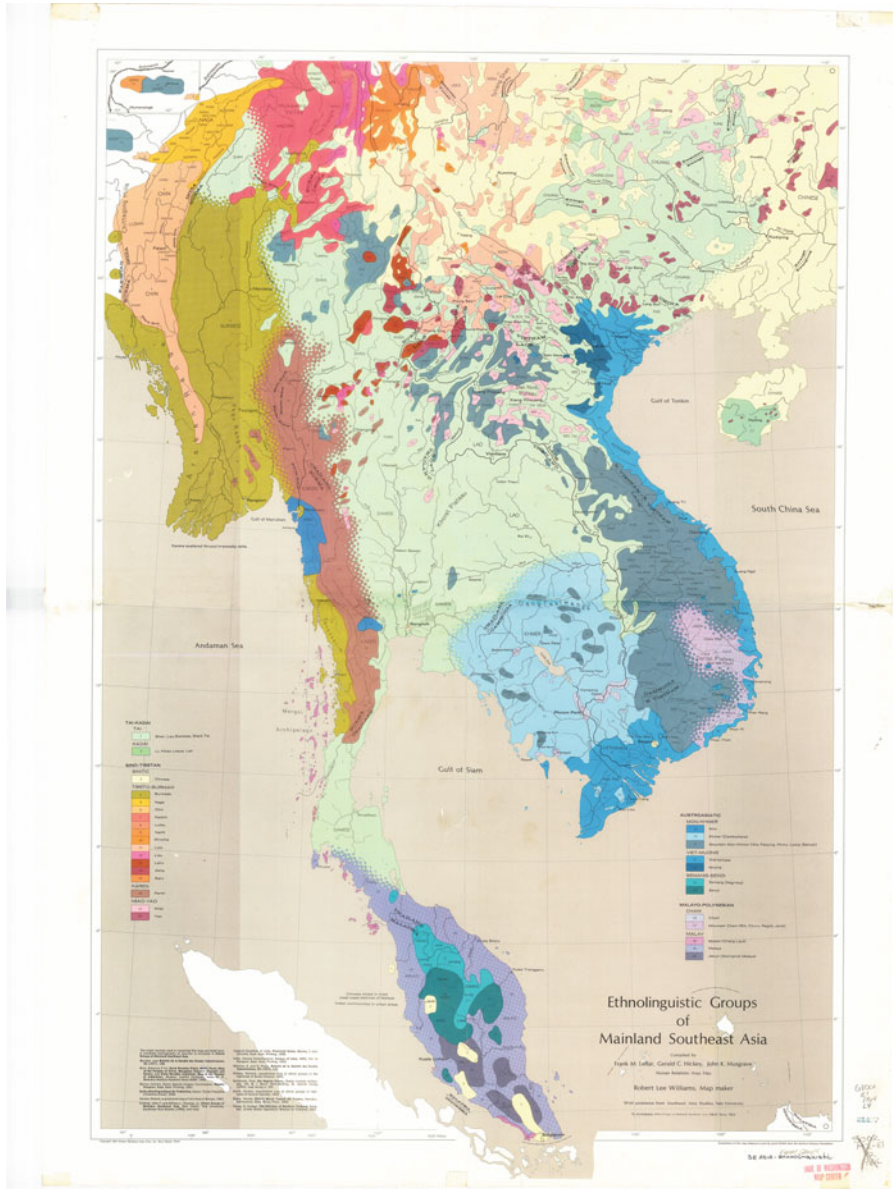


Fig. 2 Map of Ethnolinguistic Groups of Mainland Southeast Asia 1964, Human Relations Area Files

(2003) writes that “Ethnic categories in the modern Thai nation are, therefore, not simply constituted by shared/common identity but represent a powerful instrument or confinement and control by the modern state. At the same time, ethnicity is by no means an immediate given but is constantly achieved/ created through a process of

negotiation” (p. 157). This process of negotiation is at the center of debates over Indigenous rights in Thailand.

Even though Indigenous communities in Thailand have participated in Indigenous rights movements internationally, they are not allowed to claim Indigenous status, nor have claimed to such a status translated to authentic meaning for their peoples (Network of Indigenous Peoples in Thailand 2010). Central Thais also claim indigeneity to Thailand, and the positionality of the Indigenous peoples in relation to Thai society is still contested (Erni 2008). The use of the label “Indigenous peoples” lies at the heart of the politicized citizenship debate for highland communities in Thailand and their rights to control their educational experience.

Thailand boasts of its distinct linguistic and cultural groups, but outside of tourism, diversity is often seen as a threat to a monocultural Thai national identity and thus the unity of the country. This next section explores how highland leaders created an Indigenous network to garner strength as a “community of becoming” (Leepreecha *in press*) – a community that is constantly making and remaking itself and what it means to be Indigenous in Thailand today.

Indigenous Movements in Thailand

Indigenous people in Thailand have always been engaged in the process of self-definition and in 2007, a transIndigenous movement in Thailand solidified. The global flow of ideas and connections to international Indigenous alliances promoted leaders to form the Network of Indigenous Peoples in Thailand (NIPT) to give voice to Indigenous issues in Thailand (Leepreecha *in press*). Through this network, Thailand celebrated Indigenous Peoples’ Day for the first time in 2007 (Rattanakrajang Sri 2014) and this public event has been organized every year since. From 18 groups in its inception, the network now has 35–57 active groups from across the country (Leepreecha *in press*). This network (originally made up of mainly highland communities) has steadily grown in strength to include lowland minority groups as well. The Network of Indigenous People in Thailand is organized loosely with an internal coordinating body, IMPECT, as its secretary office to serve as a liaison between Indigenous representatives throughout Thailand, and an external arm, the National Council of Indigenous Peoples of Thailand (NCIPT) that was founded in 2010 to aid with external coordination to NGOs, government offices, and international organizations (Leepreecha *in press*). NIPT has led legal reform initiatives in the National Legislative Assembly and also the nation’s participation in the UN permanent forum on Indigenous issues (Leepreecha *in press*). NIPT is slowly gaining voice and power in civic society. The NIPT has created media, statements, books, and increased public awareness of Indigenous issues in broader Southeast Asia.

However, representations of Indigenous highland people as dangerous or in conflict with the nation-state continue to make it hard for many to be fully participating members of Thai civil society or for Indigenous communities to control their own education (Hyun 2014; Keyes 2008). Even though Thailand voted in favor of

and ratified the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2008, they argue that every group in Thailand, including the Thai, is Indigenous. Today, there is still no clear policy regarding Indigenous people in Thailand or definition of Indigenous people, and it is mostly the work of scholars and nongovernmental organization (NGOs) that try to define the terms and meanings. The Network of Indigenous Peoples in Thailand has joined and now alliances such as the Asia Indigenous Peoples' Pact, Network of Indigenous Peoples in Thailand, and the International Working Group for Indigenous Affairs have come together to advocate for the rights of Indigenous peoples across borders. Comprising villagers, elders, Indigenous scholars, and NGOs, the NIPT works on the issues of Indigenous rights to land through community land titles, access to forests homelands and natural resources for food sovereignty, and protest the lack of citizenship for undocumented Indigenous people who were not counted as part of the national census in the early twentieth century and remain stateless. According to a 2008 UNESCO survey, 38% or 380,000 highland Indigenous people still lacked citizenship and only had a "hill tribe" status card (Calderbank 2008).

Initiatives to actively build and strengthen Indigenous identity and knowledge systems through education have also been at the forefront of NIPT and IMPECT's work. Groups such as the Indigenous Education Network, Pestalozzi Children's Foundation, IMPECT, Ton Kla Youth Network (TKN) and Foundation for Applied Linguistics have organized events and projects to protect Indigenous languages. For example, Foundation for Applied Linguistics is embarking on a 4-year project from 2559–2562 (2016–2020), to include of Indigenous studies as part of their strategic plan (Indigenous Education Network, 2559). To engage the public, these groups and scholars also use media and literature to circulate Indigenous perspectives on identity that shift public opinion on highland communities.

Educational initiatives that safeguard Indigenous identity are deeply political in nature as the purposes and practices of schooling for highland communities in Thailand have often limited the ways that Indigenous youth can define themselves. Schools are tangible and powerful forces that have often devalued and erased Indigenous identity through the state-disseminated texts and assessments (Keyes 2008; Goodman 2013). We now turn to how colonial mapping and school as a technology for nation-state building have framed how Indigenous youth and communities imagine who they can be.

PART II State Education to Build a Nation – The Impact of Thai Government Policy Toward Indigenous Youth and Communities

In Siam, the negotiation of kingdom boundaries made school an important tool in the formation of the nation-state. The Kingdom of Siam was a multiethnic kingdom where diverse groups lived and worked (Thaweessit and Napaumporn 2011). In order to maintain the sovereignty of their lands during the height of colonialism, central Siamese leaders were pressured by the French and British to map undefined and porous borders of the kingdom in the quest to create a nation (Thongchai 1994).

Furthermore, in an effort to unite the newly imagined geo-body and prevent the fragmentation common to the premodern states, Siamese leaders undertook nation-building projects to demarcate both a territory and a specific population that would belong to the newly forming nation-state (Thongchai 1994).

After the British waged war with the Burmese in the 1850s, they began to negotiate borders with the Siamese to distinguish British and Siamese domains. In response to the threat of colonization, Bangkok troops were tasked with mapping officials under King Chulalongkorn's instructions to "know all the localities under his sovereignty" (Thongchai 1994, p. 121). For the Siamese leaders, modern geography was "the only language the West would hear and only a modern map could make an argument" that would establish the geo-body of Siam. For the first time ever in Southeast Asia, mapping was used as the technology to establish this new geo-body. As Thongchai says, "the geo-body of Siam was being created literally on paper" (p. 127).

Socioeconomic projects to "civilize" highland communities along the Thai border rapidly intensified during the Cold War (Hyun 2014; Keyes 2008). The international conflict played out in larger Southeast Asia as other nations (Myanmar, Laos, Vietnam) were gaining independence around Thailand (Keyes 1997). Large-scale state educational initiatives for highland communities thus began when Thailand's porous borders were of heightened state interest and highland communities were in the government spotlight (Vaddhanaphuti 2005). During this period, Indigenous highland people began to be stereotyped as dangerous and problematic to the security of the Thai state. National media and textbooks showed Indigenous communities as communist sympathizers and forest destroyers (Hongladarom 1999; Vandergeest 2003); there was a "hill tribe problem" along the borders of Thailand that needed to be dealt with (Keyes 1997; Laungaramsri 2003). The creation of this "other within" served to justify the political and social control of the borders and people into the twentieth century (Thongchai 1994; Hyun 2014). Schooling was thus a tool to ensure central state legitimacy, cultural assimilation, and ideological control of people and the ground the central state had claimed through the process of mapping (Vaddanaphuti 1991, 2005).

Mapping, Borders, and Indigenous Identity as a Threat to Nation Building

According to Thongchai (1994), before European colonialism, the Kingdom of Siam, Burma, and Vietnam were all overlords of the region, with overlapping kingdom limits. The Siamese kingdom was centered around Bangkok (See Fig. 1 above for a map). Smaller kingdoms (e.g., Lanna, Luang Phrabang, and Vientiane) and tinier chiefdoms (Karen, Lao, Phuan, Phuthai, and other ethnic groups) were interspersed along most of Siam's frontiers. These smaller kingdoms paid submission to multiple overlords for protection, where the chiefdom's limits of control also overlapped with others. Chiefdoms were more fragmented but had autonomy in the ruling of their community. As the British and French began establishing their

colonies around Siam, the Siamese were forced to modernize in order to maintain its sovereignty and prevent further losses of territory through the European technology of mapping. By the end of European expansion in 1909, the Siamese geo-body included various kingdoms that were culturally distinct from those living in Bangkok (about 30–35% of people of the Siamese empire) and that also recently had belonged to other political entities (Keyes 1997).

Mapping led to a territorialization of state power; it defined and organized people and place (Vaddhanaphuti 2005). First, the creation of fixed national boundaries prompted the establishment of state departments such as the Royal Forestry Department and the Ministry of Education. These institutions responsible for natural and human resources such as “unoccupied” forests and “unschooled” communities led to a “paradigm shift in the relationship between the Thai state and resources, people, and space insofar as the state had for the first time accepted responsibility to use all resources for the purposes of national development” (Vaddhanaphuti 2005, p. 153). In *Seeing Like A State* (Scott 1998), “contemporary development schemes. . . require the creation of state spaces where the government can reconfigure the society and economy of those who are to be ‘developed’” (p. 187). Thus there was a need to “transform peripheral nonstate spaces into state spaces,” which was often traumatic and racialized for the inhabitants of highland forest communities (Scott 1998, p. 187, also cited in Vaddhanaphuti 2005).

Second, boundaries constructed ethnospatial taxonomies of the “Other Within” as opposed to the We-Self of “Thainess” (Thongchai 1994, 2000a). Since the border of “Thainess” was more limited than the geo-body of the nation state, the Siamese elite embarked on a project to define the “Others within” that “reaffirmed their superiority, hence justifying their rule, over the rest of the country within the emerging territorial state” (Thongchai 2000a, p. 41). To be civilized, was to thus be “Thai,” and to be modern was to be the West (See Fig. 3 below). This taxonomy of “civility” was a product of both nationalism and globalization and drove Siamese elite to embark on projects along this ethno-spatial-temporal trajectory.

Compulsory state education was a tool to assimilate all ethnic groups under the blanket of “Thai-ness” or *ความเป็นไทย* (*kwarm pen tai*) (Keyes 1991). “Thai-ness” is a collective identity that also reflects the importance of ethnic homogenization as fundamental to nation-building and modernization, where conversely, heterogeneity is a threat to national security and nationhood (Laungaramsri 2003). “Thai-ness” was defined as three things: (1) *chat* or nation (where speaking Tai is a symbol of

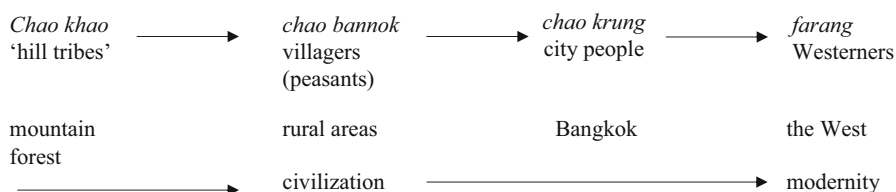


Fig. 3 Table adapted from Thongchai (2000a), The others within: travel and ethnospatial differentiation of Siamese subjects 1885–1910

membership), (2) *satsana* or religion (being Thai is also to be Buddhist), and (3) *phra mahakrasat* or the King (which implied loyalty to the monarchy) (Keyes 1997; Laungaramsri 2003), and schooling was a way to make Thai citizens.

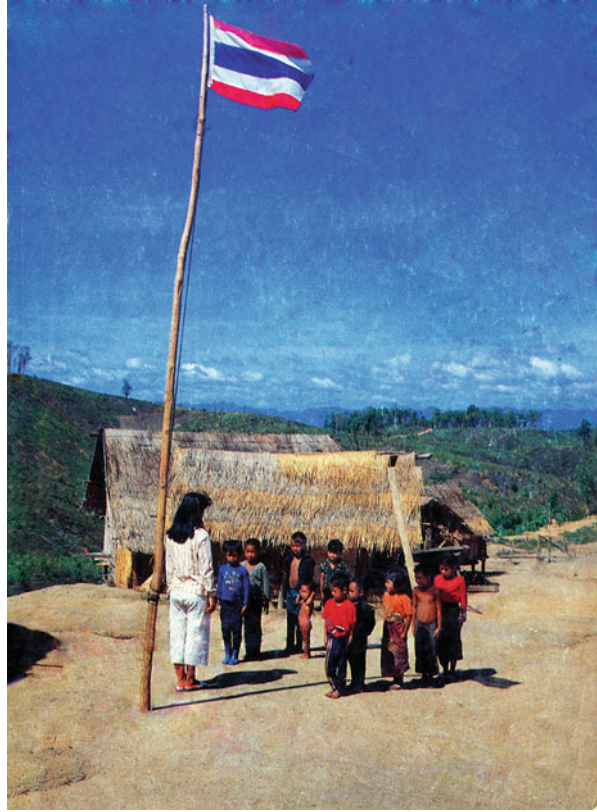
Under King Vajiravudh (King Rama VI), the Compulsory Education Act was created in 1921 to provide “equal” education for all. This act allowed the central government to dominate and control education in Thailand instead of letting ethnic minority groups like the Muslim and Chinese communities run their own schools. Central Thai became the language of instruction; until 2010, teaching languages other than Thai was forbidden in schools (Coalition on Racial Discrimination Watch 2012). In 2010 former Prime Minister Aphisit Vejajiva approved the National Language Policy to allow the teaching of other mother tongue languages and bilingual education in schools for non-Thai speaking children (Coalition on Racial Discrimination Watch, 2012). However, till this day, native languages are still prohibited at all times in highland schools run by the Border Patrol Police to continue to inculcate the idea of “Thai-ness” and loyalty (Hyun 2014). Curriculum and textbooks were also standardized to teach central Thai history, and teacher education programs mandated that all teachers are to be trained by government teachers’ college before they can teach in any school, including religious and private schools (Fig. 4).

Increasing centralized control at the height of Thai nationalism under King Vajiravudh fed emerging ethnic conflict in Thailand, strengthening regional identities (Keyes 1997). The 1930s and 1940s saw the rise of ethnoregionalism in north and especially in the northeast region of Isan (Keyes 1997). Central Thai leaders deemed ethnoregionalism a variation of “Tai-ness” based on geography and language. For these regional groups, Thai leaders began an “inclusivist” national integration policy to “accommodate diversity within a national community” (Keyes 2008, p. 14).

Herein lies the important distinction between “ethnoregional” identities and “ethnic minorities” classification, where “ethnoregional” groups refer to those within the nation’s borders are differences “taken to be characteristic of a particular part of the country rather of a distinctive people” (Keyes 1997, p. 213). Highland communities are seen to never be “Thai enough” and thus a problematic people (Morton and Baird *in press*). The “ชาวเขา (*chao khao*)” term highlights and accentuates a hill-valley dichotomy at odds with the *chao rao*, the us-people (Laungaramsri 2003). Highland dwellers, who once had an interdependent relationship with lowland dwellers, were now seen as dangerous and non-Thai. They were stigmatized, labelled as intruders to Thai territory, destroyers of the forests, opium cultivators, and a threat to national security (Laungaramsri 2003; Keyes 2008; Thongchai 2000a).

Thailand prides itself on never being formally colonized, but Siam’s escape from Western colonialism was legitimized and maintained ironically by their quest for modernity based on drawing knowledge and skills from the West, so much so that scholars have labelled Thailand as having undergone a process internal colonialism or “autocolonizing quest for *siwilai* (civilization)” (Thongchai 2000b; Loos 2006; Harrison and Jackson 2010, p. 18). As a response to growing pressures from EuroAmerican imperial forces during the colonial and postcolonial periods, the Siamese elite’s internal colonization as they built the nation-state makes Thailand

Fig. 4 Photo of highland ethnic students lining up in front of their school and listening to their teacher after singing the Thai national anthem, chanting in Buddhism, and paying respects to Thai national flag (Cover of textbook on Thai Peoples), highland village of Northern Thailand, in early 1980s (Non-formal Education Center, Lampang, 1985)



“semicolonial” or “cryptocolonial” (Harrison and Jackson 2010). Education was thus an important tool for the consolidation of state power driven by EuroAmerican frames of modernity. For with it, political and national purposes could be realized.

Education for Indigenous Highland Communities as Complex and Contradictory

It is difficult to identify a single comprehensive policy for the education for Indigenous communities in Thailand. Often, there were many organizations with overlapping or even conflicting agendas (McNabb 1993). The first state government schools in the highland community were in 1935 in Tak Province. Then in the 1950s, Border Patrol Police schools and Chao Pho Luang Uppatham (His Majesty the King’s Patronage) schools were set up in Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai Provinces. Later on, schools under regular and specific educational agencies were built in highland villages.

Today, there are a few key players providing education to highland communities. First, the Office of Basic Education Commission is responsible for all schools. This

office sets up school branches in highland villages. Second, the Non-Formal Education Office is in charge of setting up learning centers and bilingual programs in villages where schools could not be set up. A third player is the Special Education Administrative Office, and its two branches, the Welfare Education Schools and the Royal-People Welfare School, build schools in mainly remote areas for children “at-risk.” Fourth, the Border Patrol Police Command Office is also a key player in highland Indigenous education and has set up schools-cum-surveillance centers supported by Thai Royal projects. Finally, the National Buddhism Office also educates ordained highland boys and provides vocational education to girls (Buadaeng and Leepreecha 2009).

These governmental programs ranged from defense concerns to deal with the “hill tribe” problem, tourist development, opium crop replacement initiatives, nation-state objectives, and even unresolved issues such as land ownership and citizenship debates. Educational policies also tend to stretch a monocultural-multicultural continuum, with debates surrounding what “level of cultural diversity is appropriate in the curriculum, the amount of resources that can be allocated to minority schools, and the extent to which higher educational achievement should be encouraged” (McNabb 1993, p. 18). Mobility for Indigenous youth is thus often “one piece of a larger, more complex set of relations, strategies, and negotiation” (McNabb 1993, p. 25).

Indigenous education policies are not only complex but also often contradictory and based on a kind of “selective integration” (Vaddhanaphuti 2005). On the one hand, Indigenous communities are seen to live in harmony with nature and are often used as a symbol of Thailand’s diversity. Indigenous art and culture is often appropriated for tourism and marketed as part of Thailand’s exotic attractions. At the same time, Indigenous communities are seen as uncivilized protestors that oppose the government’s forest policies, fighting for the right to solve their own challenges (Vaddhanaphuti 2005).

Cold War Pressures: Assimilative Education Policies

For the state, schools are important “technologies of power” that are part of ongoing efforts to create, modernize, and secure the Thai nation (Foucault 1977 as cited in Keyes 2008, Jukping 2008; Kampe 1997). Schools were designed to instill a “development orientation” in villagers so that they will “come to accept the domination of the Thai state as an unquestioned given in their social life” (Keyes 1991, p. 89). For the “hill tribes” in northern Thailand, it is clearly stated

Education for tribal people should be implemented in a distinctive way, which differs from general lowland primary schools. Specific educational curriculum should be developed. Teachers [who will be sent to teach tribal children] should be trained in an extraordinary course. It is not only for tribal people to be able to read and write, but also to have them loyal to the government.” (Kachadpai 2518 [1975], p. 226, translated by Prasit Leepreecha)

The first large-scale state educational initiative for Indigenous children began with the creation of Border Patrol Police schools-cum-surveillance centers in

highland villages (Hyun 2014). This included the training and deployment of Border Patrol Police to teach central Thai language and history to highland communities. During the Cold War era (1956–early 1980), 721 Border Patrol Police schools were set up to build a “human border” along the territorial border” (Hyun 2014, p. 344) so that the border of “Thainess” would coincide with the defined geo-body boundary of Thailand (Hyun 2014). There are currently about 61 Border Patrol Police schools in northern Thailand with about 507 teachers and 30% being heritage teachers – teachers who had previously attended Border Patrol Police schools and came back to teach (Hyun 2014). National security was equated to strong Thai nationalism and the Border Patrol Police schools administered government presence and ideological control to fashion Thai citizens (Gillooly 2004). Second, government programs and Christian missionaries also brought Indigenous youth to city centers to study (Keyes 1997; McNabb 1993). Buddhist missionaries then followed suit to begin similar assimilation projects (Keyes 1997). This practice is especially common for students who want to continue onto secondary school in villages without one.

In school, the teaching of nation-state traditions, symbols, and songs, along with the use of official calendars, state-sanctioned textbooks, and learning materials based in the Thai language and history “re-shaped local worlds” (Keyes 1991) and also created imaginary ones. Through school, disperse populations would thus feel like part of an “imagined community” based on Thainess (Anderson 1983/2006). Schools enacted a “spatial culture” with a temporal order where uncultured, rural citizens learn how to appropriately interact with government officials and organizations (Keyes 1991, p. 90). Teachers are “cultural brokers” (Keyes 1991) that “ha [ve] leaned less toward brokering knowledge relevant to the villagers’ world than to establishing the authority of a particular form of knowledge” (Keyes 1991, p. 109) – in this case, the superiority of Thai knowledge and the Thai way of being.

Moreover, textbooks and curriculum produced and distributed in Bangkok seldom mention ethnic minorities, unless in ways that characterize highland Indigenous people as problematic. Schools perpetuate ethnic stereotypes through such deeply troubling practices while Indigenous history, knowledge, or traditions of highland communities are not represented in state-disseminated educational materials. Such projects to “civilize the margins” that were based on “ethnocide” and “cultural imperialism” (Duncan 2004, p. 108). In fact, these assimilation and erasure projects were deemed so effective that the Tribal Research Institute focused closed in 2004 stating that “there was no need for the further study of the hill tribes as they were now considered to have become Thai” (The Nation April 15, 2004; Buadaeng 2006).

Global Pressures: Testing and Other Global Trends in Education

Moreover, in standardized testing, Thailand’s Ordinary National Educational Test or (O-Net) reveals the “myth of meritocracy” by using testing as an evaluation tool (Goodman 2013). Goodman (2013) argues O-Net promotes a kind of “policing” and a “normalizing gaze” of the Thai education system (citing Foucault 1977). This normalizing gaze “molds society in nearly invisible ways and encourages

self-censorship” so that students are “methodically socialized” to accept the true knowledge of the test and not question the central knowledge of the O-Net exam. For example, a multiple choice question (See below) asks “The kind of terrain in which humans chose to settle from ancient times until today is: (a) river basins, (b) plateaux, (c) mountains, or (d) valleys” (Goodman 2013, p. 11).

Question on the O-Net Thai National Test (Goodman 2013, p. 11)

The kind of terrain in which humans chose to settle from ancient times until today is:

1. River basins
2. Plateaux
3. Mountains
4. Valleys

The question privileges lowland communities over highland ones as they are the “humans” that chose to settle in river basins (only one answer is allowed) – as real humans live in the river basin, not the mountains. Similar questions privilege urban knowledge over rural knowledge and the use of central Thai as the official language. As this test that can deny or admit students to university, O-Net seems to privilege only knowledge from the center and is another tool to consolidate central power for nationalistic purposes. Goodman’s (2013) analysis of the Thai standardized test shows the educational hegemony that has begun to shape education initiatives and to determine the lived opportunities for students in Thailand. Thus the longer Indigenous students participate in the dominant national state schools, the more often they accept Thai hegemony and their second-class status in Thailand.

Nondominant communities that do not align with these goals, nor perform according to this one measure are then deemed deficient and are seen in need of remediation. An added layer of pressures includes global education reform movements that promote only one “ideal” way of being – one congruent with human capital theory that supports consumption, individualistic competition, and economic production (Tatto 2006; Tabulawa 2003; Meyer and Benavot 2013). In the 1990s, with increasing globalization, Thai education systems were worried about building a “knowledge economy” (Baron-Gutty and Chupradit 2009). For example, “global languages” like English and Chinese are offered in every school and are valued more highly than local languages. The interconnectedness of the globe and by extension, education systems, has had an unprecedented effect on teachers and their work and lives (Paine and Zeichner 2012).

Long-Term Impacts of State-Led Educational Initiatives for Indigenous People

In a study of Indigenous students studying at university or vocational schools, McNabb (1993) still questions the effects of educational “achievement” on Indigenous families and communities – mobility at what costs? While the Thai government is mainly designed to socialize Indigenous youth as inferior to their Thai

counterparts, the government, along with NGOs and missionary groups, has provided financial resources to support Indigenous youth to pursue higher education (McNabb 1993). Even so, the “development” of “hill tribe” communities has often come at the expense of “environmental degradation, loss of cultural identity, and the enhancement of conflict between the hill tribes [sic] on the one hand and the state agencies and lowland farmers on the other” (Vaddhanaphuti 2005, p. 164).

Still today, Indigenous youth in urban areas are constantly framed as being deficient in contrast to norms of Thai-ness. Similar to how the label “English-language learners” often reinforces “deficit-oriented, uncomplicated, and uneven narratives about students” from non-dominant communities (Gutiérrez and Orellana 2006, p. 503), Indigenous youth are “Thai-language learners” that need to be “made Thai” in order survive function in Thai society (Kampe 1997). Furthermore, such a label essentializes such a group trait and with it, comes assumptions about academic deficits or disadvantages (Moll 2000; Nasir et al. 2006; Rogoff 2003). Often in Indigenous education, instead of seeing multiple cultural practices within the school as an asset to the construction of a rich learning environment, heterogeneity or “otherness” is often seen as a deviation from the established dominant norm.

Furthermore, due to the lack of representation of highland communities in state-disseminated curricula, Indigenous youth often regard local languages, traditions, ways of knowing, and even the elders themselves to be “backward” or “old-fashioned” (Chandraprasert 1997). They often aspire to be like the *khon muang*, the “city people” (Wallace and Athamesara 2004). This is particularly true for urban Indigenous populations that frequently interact with Thais. They aspire to speak Thai without an accent and may try to hide their tribal identity when operating in lowland Thai society. Thai identities are assumed over tribal ones, and ethnic inferiority and erasure are systematically organized in younger generations (McCaskill 1997; Chandraprasert 1997; Chotichaipiboon 1997; Hyun 2014).

While some highland youth can speak Thai fluently, they often experience conflict between their cultural identity and their Thai national identity. For example, in the Border Patrol Police schools that currently exist in the highlands, there has been a *heritage teachers* program to encourage those from the various Indigenous groups to return to their villages and teach. These heritage teachers who return to the village were proud to assist in their village’s development but simultaneously also felt that they were outsiders to their own village. They did not feel respected by the villagers because as Thai government officials, they were perceived to have “become fully Thai” (Hyun 2014, p. 349). At the same time, these teachers are often never “Thai enough” when participating in Thai society. They *both* want to send their children to Thai schools for a chance at a “better life” and even move into the dominant spaces to acquire membership in that group (Toyota 2005, as cited in Hyun 2014) and also want to be able to teach their own language and traditions to their children.

While the state has set up an Indigenous and Thai identity to be in conflict with each other, we now turn to how Indigenous youth and communities have in fact dextrally navigated through seemingly opposing home-school worlds to build coherent identities for themselves and their communities. In the next section, we

outline moves to resurgence as youth and communities participate in the protection and expansion of Indigenous identity in Thailand today.

PART III Building Coherent Communities – Movements Toward Expanding Indigenous Identity Through Education

Indigenous people of the Greater Mekong Subregion have always “challenged the limits” of such control and asserted their identity and culture (Leepreecha et al. 2008a). This movement has become even stronger since 2007 with the creation of community and youth networks of Indigenous activists to ensure the well-being and educational justice of local communities in Thailand. Moreover, there have also been more transnational efforts that purposely work to refuse national boundaries as limits to collaboration. In this third section, we explore why education is a community right for Indigenous communities. We do so by outlining three moves to Indigenous resurgence. First, we provide a case study of how families in highland villages are collaborating to design local curriculum and implement Mother Tongue education in their schools. Second, we highlight an urban Indigenous school and how they have designed pathways home by deeply engaging students in a learning network that builds from family knowledge. Last, we explore other ways that Indigenous communities are reinventing what it means to be Indigenous within and beyond Thailand today. They are expanding ideas of literacy and development and creatively leveraging globalization and technology to strengthen Indigenous identity in their own communities locally and across borders (McCaskill et al. 2008).

Education as a Community Right

In 2005, the Thai government passed the Education for All Cabinet Resolution that mandated public education be expanded to all children regardless of nationality and legal status up to Grade 12. However, despite state efforts and pressures to broaden access to education, a central question here is education by whom and for whom?

One guiding basis of movements in Indigenous education in Thailand today is that families and communities have the right to play a part in the education of their children. While rights frameworks often still follow nationalist agendas and EuroAmerican frameworks, it also affords a certain kind of consciousness about ones’ rights to culture and education (Barry 2013). In the 1990s, grassroots organizations, like Prawase Wasi and the Assembly of the Poor, criticized the centralized military-based administration, particularly the Ministry of Education, calling for more power to be given to local communities in order to mitigate corruption (Baron-Gutty and Chupradit 2009). During the revision of the constitution of 2540 (1997), villagers throughout the country contributed their thoughts and perspectives to what would be called, the “Constitution of the People” (Baron-Gutty and Chupradit 2009). Community rights in this new constitution included rights to natural resources management, rights to protect their own culture and local wisdom,

and rights to education – that is, the right to teach about their own knowledge for their children in the regular state-sponsored school system (Barry 2013).

In line with the 2540 (1997) Constitution, the National Education Act (NEA) of 2542 (1999) was passed as the largest education reform to promote the decentralization of national curriculum. This act mandated that 30% of all school content should be provided and developed by the local community, driven by local participation in the education of their children, while the remaining 70% of courses taught in K-12 education would come from the national curriculum (NEA 1999 Section 23; Minister of Education 2003 as cited in Baron-Gutty and Chupradit 2009). Legally, each community has not only right to, but obliged to decide what knowledge and practices their children should learn at school.

This 30–70 composition of the local-national curriculum is not actualized in most urban and rural schools. Teachers and school administrations continue to teach without collaborative community participation. They do not invite local community leaders to design and teach local wisdom or languages. Indigenous networks and NGOs have tried to mediate the school-community relationship by working with school leaders and teachers first, to open up space their curriculum for local knowledge systems, and second, train the local experts in the development their own courses that can be taught in local schools.

Indigenous communities have become increasingly aware of the need to build coherent narratives and make meaning of seemingly separate modern knowledge and local wisdom systems (Fujioka 2002). One important example of this is school-village collaboration in Mother Tongue education, particularly for preschool and elementary students. The most successful cases are when local elders and teachers collaborate to create mother tongue and local curriculum that are cotaught during the school day. Furthermore, due to increasing numbers of students leaving their home villages to study in the cities, there also have been initiatives to work with welfare schools in the cities with high populations of Indigenous youth. To illustrate how Indigenous resurgence has begun in across rural and urban schools, we provide two case studies of Indigenous education movements in the following sections. These two examples offer varied ways of how families and communities are centering their dreams and claiming their right to shape the educational experiences of their children (Fig. 5).

Moves to Resurgence I: Collaborations for Mother Tongue Education in Highland Communities

Thai language is intimately linked to Thai nationalism and nation building. The teaching and use of Indigenous languages in public schools is still deemed suspect and contrary to national interests. We provide a case study from the Inter-Mountain Peoples Education and Culture in Thailand Association (IMPECT) and their longstanding work in protecting Indigenous mother tongue languages. This case is important because of the nature of collaboration between various actors – elders, families, and local Thai school teachers – to create locally designed curriculum and



Fig. 5 Indigenous students demonstrate their ability on reading and telling story in both indigenous and Thai languages at the annual mother-tongue conference in Chiang Mai Province of Northern Thailand (Taken by Prasit Leepreecha in 2015)

mother tongue language instruction. We discuss their work in a primary school in the Mowakhi village in Chiang Mai to show that when community participation is truly valued and sustained, education with community members actually helps to build a bridge to students' sociocultural heritage, while also advancing local and modern knowledge (IMPECT 2012).

The multigenerational Mowakhi school involves local leaders, parents, and teachers intimately in the village to design materials and course content for their children (IMPECT 2012). The school curriculum emphasizes learning both Thai and the Pgazk' Nyau systems of knowledge as essential to prepare their children for civic and economic participation both in Thai society and village life. For over 20 years, this school has been kept alive by its community, just as it, too, advances local ways of knowing and being. This has even sparked a growing movement in neighboring villages to also celebrate and uphold their people, language, and ways of knowing. This is similar to Wallace and Athamesara's (2004) work that provides a case study of a community-centered curriculum that involved and honored local community member's histories and knowledge in a rural highland community.

Through this school, the Pgazk' Nyau have prepared their children and their community to expand their identity through a connection to community stories and practices, and in so doing, strengthen their agency for active civic participation in Pgazk' Nyau community life and larger Thai society (IMPECT 2012). In the Mowakhi community, community members are deeply involved as teachers, curriculum designers, and key decision-makers at school. It is only with this heterogeneous expertise based in multiple epistemologies and practices that communities move closer to self-determination in Thailand (IMPECT 2012; Wallace and Athamesara 2004).

This kind of village-school collaboration is difficult to sustain at times. For example, the Hmong village of Mae Sa Mai in Chiang Mai highlights some of the challenges in implementing locally designed curriculum. Even though there were a variety of program offerings that ranged from local plant medicines, working with silverware and tree

plantation and reforestation, cooperation between teachers and elders was unclear (Buadaeng and Leepreecha 2009). Furthermore, teachers' definition of local knowledge often narrowly focuses on vocational skills training and the sale of products, not so much for the learning of school-based subjects (Baron-Gutty and Chupradit 2009). Indigenous home practices and knowledge systems are still largely ignored and not considered productive nor important for school. In other instances, local teachers might be reluctant to collaborate with villagers or are too focused on completing the national syllabus, viewing integrating local knowledge systems as less important. Integration of curriculum might require fellow native educators and NGOs allies to negotiate strategies to make local curriculum an enacted everyday practice in the formal school systems in the villages (Buadaeng and Leepreecha 2009). Since developing local curriculum is not funded by the state, lack of funding for communities to design and teach this curriculum to the youth make might such a project fall through.

However, knowing that cases like the Mowakhi school are possible, more communities are exercising their agency to embark on similar collaboration efforts projects that leverage the National Education Act of 2542 to teach their Indigenous languages and knowledge systems. In 2007, various schools came together to share their locally developed curriculum "Education Systems and the Preservation of Local Wisdom and Ethnic Culture" research program at Chiang Mai University (Buadaeng 2008b). Elders and teachers continue to work through such challenges so that imagining education for self-determination does not have to be a distant reality. In the next section, we highlight another way to create connections between home and school knowledge, and how this might be possible for more communities.

Moves to Resurgence II: Designing Pathways Home from Urban Indigenous Schools

Told that the city offers "better" educational opportunities for their children and that advancement means children must leave behind their community and family in the mountain and adopt urban nation-state forms of life, there is an increasing trend of parents sending their children to stay and study in boarding schools in the city (Morton and Baird *in press*; Buadaeng and Leepreecha 2009). Furthermore, some village schools only go up to Grade 6 and attending secondary school means that students must leave their home villages to study in the lowland cities. This is also driven by financial incentives from a variety of donors and missionaries to provide free room and board for Indigenous highland students while they study (Buadaeng 2008a). While this may create layers of complications between the goals of the donors and state schooling, continuing education after the elementary grades in schools in the city have opened pathways to higher education, but students who have migrated to lowland areas also often lose connection to their homelands and feel inferior to their Thai counterparts (McNabb 1993).

Recently, the largest urban government-supported welfare school in Chiang Rai has undertaken strategies to create connections between school and home. Founded by two Karen educators, Sahasatsuksa school has a student population of over 2700

students from 12–15 different tribes. Almost all their students live in hostel facilities run by Christian or Buddhist missionaries or other international aid groups. While most of the teachers are not Indigenous, there are a significant number of Indigenous teachers who have graduated from Sahasat, then returned to teach there. Sahasat teachers already visit the villages of their students each year to meet with families and here we present initiatives from this urban Indigenous school to describe a new effort to design pathways home for the increasing number of students coming to live and study in the city.

In February 2015, Sahasat began designing learning in tutorial relationships (Tutoría), where students learn to engage in dialogue with their teachers and with each other as a way to learn. Originating from México, Tutoría attempts to transform alienating vertical relationships of power between teachers and students to build a horizontal learning network where students are part of the teaching community in class (Cámara 2003). This was a way to deeply engage heterogeneity in the classroom as this learning network called for student and family participation in a teaching and learning network and more youth and family designed curriculum (Meixi 2017). The data in this paper comes from a community-based design research study that initially involved school leadership, teachers, and students in 2015, and then expanded to include families in 2017 (Bang et al. 2010). In the following section, we highlight some reflections from students, teachers, and families from this work to design pathways home from school.

The first shift that we saw in Sahasat was that students felt that they had value and could contribute to the work of teaching and learning at school. This also resulted in changes in the way students also advocated for new forms of teaching and learning. Using a collection of 40 student reflections, we highlighted typical student responses after they have participated in the Tutoría learning network.

Student 1: I have fun. I can learn in an easy going way and I can have my own thinking because it's easy going activity and I have fun. I dare to think and take action.

Student 2: I am glad that I have learned new things and I have become brave because I have brought what I have known to teach my friends. Normally, I am not a brave one. After I have taught others, I have become brave.

The idea of “dare” was coded on 15 student responses. These students use the Thai word “กล้า,” meaning “to have courage” or “overcome fear to do something.” Importantly, it was the relational nature of learning that made it “fun” and “easy going” so that students felt the responsibility and desire to contribute to the learning network. One other student wrote, “Everyone can help teaching, every classroom should be equal.” This student recognized an individual’s own abilities to be a part of teaching, but also saw that the classroom was full of other actors too.

Classroom is often governed by fear and students in small ways are finding their voice and gaining confidence that their opinion matters, that they could own and be agents of learning at school. Students understood their new role as assets to the class and now considered themselves mediators and designers of learning where normatively, teachers are seen as the main mediators of learning in the classroom.

Furthermore, as more students “dared” to be brave and take up agency in learning, teachers also began to question their own perceptions about students’ ability to participate in the work of teaching and learning at school. In a collective reflection session a teacher, Teacher O recognized she was engaging in the suppression of the use of the Akha language in her students in contrast to Thai, which is constantly insisted on as the language of use in school. Akha is an Indigenous language, spoken by around 1000 Akha students in Sahasat school and is one of the commonly spoken languages at school. She said, “I told them, you can’t use Akha to explain it to each other because tomorrow morning, students from (another school) are coming and you can’t use Akha with them! But actually now that I think about it, they actually should speak any language, like Akha.”

Indigenous youth are often asked to not use their language in order to integrate and interact with their Thai counterparts. Speaking Thai is to orient oneself outward, for communicability and translation. While this is true, native languages are often subordinated to the use of Thai. Teacher O makes public her shift from a curriculum-centered framing to a child-centered frame; she began to orient in, toward the child, not what the curriculum externally demanded of her. This is a powerful move of resistance to the required subordination and it is also a standing up to common notions of what is valued by the state. Ultimately it worked against the devaluation of Indigenous peoples and their ways of knowing, speaking, and being.

Furthermore, during our family interviews at students’ home villages, families shared skills and practices that were important to their family and community. While there was a shyness about the knowledge that the family held, there was also pride in intergenerational knowledge of bamboo for the creation of their home and in the expertise in recognizing patterns when harvesting mangoes. In one family, a student, Beu heard about the practice of his grandmother who was an expert at spinning cotton into thread but also that his mother could not do so anymore. When asked what learning he wanted to design at school, Beu spoke of his desire to learn the practice of cotton spinning and prevent its potential loss of such a valuable family practice. When asked why he wanted to focus his curriculum on this practice, Beu said, “I want to create lessons on practices that we had before but are not really seen in everyday life today. . . what people did in the past, like how we can turn cotton into thread.” Beu is currently working with his grandmother to create and teach this practice to his teachers and classmates at Sahasat. Indigenous youth in urban areas can be conduits that actively build school-village connections for continued family involvement in the practices of school.

These are some examples of how urban Indigenous youth and their school are opening up spaces to design pathways back home to strengthen relations between knowledge systems that schools and society has otherwise have tried to erase. This, however, just involved 6 students out of the 2700 at Sahasat and more work needs to be done to open up these spaces at school. Designing participation structures and curriculum at school was a potential pathway to a resurgence of these community practices and as Beu shared, for such practices to take on contemporary forms.

Instead of allowing the state to run and determine educational pathways for their children, Indigenous peoples have solidified and expanded their role to set goals,

negotiate curriculum, and participate in school, both in highland villages and in the lowland areas where they send their children to school. In light of the history of state education as a means to remediate deficits, designing for legitimate student and family participation in the work of learning and teaching at school opens up new possibilities for strengthening both school and home practices by creating coherence between them.

Moves to Resurgence III: Expanding New Terms and Identities to Build Indigenous Power

Until today, Indigenous peoples have developed a variety of strategies to defend their rights to define “development,” define “language,” and to define who they are. Particularly when their world is highly globalized and international borders are increasingly porous, “nation-states continue to exercise substantial control over Indigenous people and their territories” (Leepreecha et al. 2008b, p. 2). However as schooling attempted to forget who we are to reshape local worlds, Indigenous communities have always been shaping their own worlds and reconstituting space and possibility. Indigenous communities are always in processes of “internalizing aspects of globalization and nationalism, while at the same time attempting to externalize aspects of their Indigenous cultural beliefs and practices” (Leepreecha et al. 2008b, p. 2). In the book *Challenging the Limits* (2008a), Leepreecha et al. synthesize five strategic response of various Indigenous groups in the Greater Mekong Subregion to the forces of globalization and nationalism. The first tactic is direct mobilization and organization in the case of the Karen in Burma. Second, groups have been taking control to defining their own identities as a way to counter dominant negative stereotypes and gain recognition and influence in the social, economic, and political spheres. Third, Indigenous groups have been reconstructing social relations and traditional knowledge in order to maximize influence and benefits from existing government structures. Fourth, other groups have taken a more subversive stance involving nonconfrontation but the “rejection/withdrawal/escape/hiding” in response to expanding power and control by government and nongovernment authorities (Leepreecha et al. 2008b, p. 7). Last, others have challenged the notion of boundaries to form cross-border projects through “the use of available social and cultural spaces” to take advantage of the opening of more economic and diplomatic relations between states. These movements take place in a context of collaboration and learning and building upon the tactics and strategies of each other.

For example, Hmong communities have collaborated to create a transnational identity with the aid of technology (Leepreecha 2008). Nationalism and globalization which were meant to shape and erode Hmong ethnic identity can and has been reappropriated. In a study of Hmong identity, Leepreecha examines how Hmong communities in Thailand and the USA transcend state borders to create artifacts of globalization for a shrinking world. These include audiovisual media, publications, and cultural artifacts such as story cloths for circulation. Hmong communities have also expanded global networks of kinship to cyberspace, churches, and businesses

for increased connections across time-space to strengthen and reproduce Hmong identity (Leepreecha 2008).

Similarly, Lahu communities work between a tension of opposing forces of homogenization, erasing difference among various practices that exist in an imaginary space, and heterogenization, maintaining and creating difference at local levels (Pine 2008, citing Appadurai). Using the case of literacy, Pine (2008) examines how the Lahu have been “desettling” ideas of literacy through being aliterate. While writing is a technology of power, “the possession of writing identifies the group in question as modern, while the absence of writing is an important aspect of a “traditional” identity,” as in the case of the Lahu (Pine 2008, p. 220). While the highland-lowland divide has categorized hill tribe peoples as being uncivilized and less developed because they possess no writing system, Pine offers that the Lahu challenges common notions of literacy that supposedly is at the pinnacle of a “civilized” culture and the classification of “developed” people based on orthography. Instead, being Lahu is a practice and *speaking* Lahu is at the heart of it. Lahu “loss-of-writing myths” problematizes literacy as a homogenous discourse today and the ways which we understand development and civilizing projects (Pine 2008). In a world where being with-writing grants access to the “civilized” and “global currents intent on eliminating difference” (p. 232), Lahu people are negotiating what it would be to be with-writing, just as those with-writing cannot place Lahu and other minoritized groups at the margins of literacy practices.

Finally, while the Karen were more readily accepted into Thai society, they too undergo the “dual process of defining one’s own group and being defined by others to establish meaningful ethnic group boundaries” (Leepreecha et al. 2008b, p. 2). Their strategy has been a “process of converting modernity into tradition and inscribing part of their knowledge tradition into modernity” (Gravers 2008, p. 150). They have participated in official governmental capacities across borders, while mobilizing their own communities, protecting their Indigenous knowledge systems and cosmology, and using “communalization within/against nationalization and globalization” (Gravers 2008, p. 174).

Compulsory state schooling steeped in Thai nationalism and global orientations to education mandate that Indigenous youth constantly negotiate being essentialized in their individual and collective processes of becoming. In this section, we have tried to show various ways the expansion of connections between school and home can help Indigenous youth navigate and move between the worlds of home and school to find coherence in the making of who they are. In response to efforts to define, reduce, and simplify, Indigenous identity in Thailand, youth and families hold the complexity of what it means to be Indigenous today. They hold onto their histories, languages, practices, and culture while simultaneously invent and expand the definitions of what it means to be Indigenous. They have creatively used globalization to strengthen their own movements and identities (Leepreecha *in press*; Leepreecha 2008). They have used the school to facilitate increased connections to their language, practices, and culture, *and* learned the skills and tools to allow them to navigate Thai society with incredible dexterity. The move to see themselves as “both” “and” are Indigenous moves to resurgence.

Conclusion Building a Fire: Bridges of Power Toward a “Both–And”

ສິ່ງ ມ້າ າ່-ມີ ຫໍ, ຫໍ ມ້າ ີ່-ຮ້າ ັ.

When there is lots of wood the fire is strong; when there are many people their strength is great.

– Lahu Proverb

(Using transcription by Matisoff 2011)

In the years ahead, the Network of Indigenous Peoples in Thailand continues to build a stronger network to negotiate pathways to Indigenous education with the state government so that parents and community leaders can determine the learning of their young. We are collectively creating bridges of power that both ground our young people in their own language and culture and provide them the skills to participate in Thai society. Unlike Indigenous movements in the Americas, Indigenous people in Thailand often have to prove they are “Thai enough” to have their claims translate into actual provisions and rights (Morton and Baird *in press*). Like in the Lahu proverb above, this makes a transIndigenous, transborder network is key to sustaining its development and strength to understand and grow from how others navigated the complexity of state policies and provisions.

For Thai educators and policy makers, they should understand that Indigenous identity is not in conflict with a national one; youth should not need to choose between being Thai or “not Thai enough.” Schools must support Indigenous youth to be proud of *both* their history and culture *and* also be “Thai-enough.” Indigenous youth and peoples always have and continue to build a complex yet coherent identity of what it means to operate and thrive in the space in-between school and home, from highland to lowland, from home wisdom to Thai ones. They do so with amazing resourcefulness and grace. Our schools need to allow for and accept the navigation of complex, multilayered identities that our Indigenous youth bring to school.

Finally, there is much more research to be done in the academy to highlight and the ongoing strength and struggles of Indigenous people in Thailand and in Asia. This will help people understand and resist the erasure of Indigenous communities in Asia and expand the conversation of settler-colonialism that is conflated with inter-race dynamics. The concept of indigeneity is beginning to be recognized in Asia and has been officially adopted by governments in Japan, Taiwan, Nepal, the Philippines, and Cambodia (Erni 2008). Many Asian governments, however, continue to reject the concept of “indigeneity” (Erni 2008). Increased research in this area will help shift and expand public opinion and policy on indigeneity in Asia where much more work and research need to be done to resist the continued erasure of Indigenous people in the region. Being Indigenous in Asia is deeply political and the more voices we have centering Indigenous voices on this complex issue, the stronger our fire.

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Yachayninchis (Our Knowledge): Environment, Cultural Practices, and Human Rights Education in the Peruvian Andes

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Abstract

Increasingly, over the past decade, environmental problems have forced Indigenous farmers to rethink broader impacts to their self-reliance where exogenous environmental destruction represents another shift for Andean Indigenous

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ontologies – demanding multiple and innovative interventions and strategies. This chapter argues that conceptions, practices, and spaces of Indigenous education based in Indigenous knowledge systems constitute the central arena from which to consider these problems. Thus, in order to advance notions and practices of Quechua education, this chapter first traces ideologies of conquest to projects of development and their social, cultural, economic, and political impacts in the highlands of Peru. This chapter then draws from archival and Quechua narratives in order to highlight Indigenous epistemologies, specifically Quechua knowledge systems that situate the Andean world as an ecology of balance and struggle. Lastly, international discourses of environmental rights and human rights education in Indigenous educational design and practice are discussed.

Keywords

Quechua and Indigenous knowledge systems · Quechua land, language, and education · Indigenous rights and environmental education

Introduction

At first, everything was empty and dark. The creator Con Ticsi Viracocha created the sky, the earth, and the first beings that would inhabit the earth.

The earth was populated with immense animals and people who lived in disorder and without harmony in the darkness. Because of this, they say that from the lake of Collasuyu swelled once again Con Ticsi Viracocha accompanied by other deities. Because the people he had created at first had acted poorly, he turned them to large stones. Suddenly, he made the Sun and the Day and commanded that the Sun walk the course that he takes. Then he formed the Stars and the Moon. From the same stones, he forged certain people: a leader to govern and rule and pregnant women and others with children. He said to his companions: “These people will be called such and will emerge from such spring, in such province; there they will populate and there they will grow; these others will emerge from such cave, they will be called this, and they will populate these provinces; and like this, according to these models, they will emerge from springs, rivers, caves, and other places that I say.” (Taken from Quechua oral tradition by Gutierrez Verastegui 1986, translated by the author)

Despite the expansion of European empires through vicious colonial strategies that left lasting imprints on Indigenous homelands across the globe, extant Indigenous epistemologies and cultural practices have been exceptionally resilient. From vibrant origin stories to local Indigenous scientific knowledge, many Indigenous communities worldwide maintain connections between peoples and with their environments, evident through daily practices and special ceremonial observances. Quechua peoples encompass thousands of Andean highland communities, and their stories, language (Quechua and its many local varieties), and agricultural ways of life exemplify this indelible spirit. Quechua children are taught through lectures and stories like the one translated by Gutierrez Verastegui (1986) that this life is a rich full life, *sumaqa kawsay*, to be lived honoring the beings that facilitate all life on earth, like *Tayta Inti* (Father Sun), *Mama Killa* (Grandmother Moon), and the *Apus* (deities). (In this chapter, I do not italicize Quechua words in order to make the

statement through the writing that these words are on par with English. This was taught to me by Maori colleagues Huia Jahnke-Tomlins and Margaret Forster in 2015 through a writing collaboration project.). Quechua community members are also taught values associated with life – that things in creation must be appreciated, taken care of, and most importantly, respected, admired, and loved (Bolin 2006; Ames 2013a; Sumida Huaman 2014). These values cultivated by a life in the chakra, the farm fields, of the Andes are exercised through respectful interaction and acknowledgment through prayers and regard for the life force that flows through everything, pacha. Such ancestral protocols are key elements of Indigenous knowledge systems and Indigenous ways of knowing, which embody the philosophies and values-based actions that define the relationships that Indigenous peoples hold to their worlds (local environment, living and nonliving beings), the universe (beyond the local environment, stars, planets, constellations), and to each other (human interactions within community and with other, even distant peoples) (Barnhardt and Kawagley 2005; Alfred and Cornassel 2005; Sumida Huaman 2014). Moreover, these Indigenous systems are innovative; that is, they are based in ancestral beliefs and practices, as well as considering other useful forms of knowledge, including Western knowledge.

At the same time, despite value to the sociocultural identity development of Quechua children and the ideals of harmonious balance of the Andean world, Quechua knowledge systems, if acknowledged at all, were negated starting in the sixteenth-century colonial period as demonstrated by Spanish accounts (Cieza de Leon 2011). Today, Quechua knowledges and associated cultural practices are actively demeaned in mainstream Peruvian discourse as either deterrents to national goals of modernization – especially when related to natural resource extraction on Indigenous lands – or as irrelevant and insignificant towards “real” or valid advancement in science, technology, and education in the name of national progress (Sumida Huaman and Valdiviezo 2012). Complicating the dominant construction of Quechua peoples and the valuation of their knowledges are specific and increasing environmental shifts and events, some beyond Quechua and local community control, which produce consequences for those living an already publicly disparaged rural or agricultural lifestyle (Ames 2013b). For example, in 2016, local media reports emerged from various regions around Peru linking extensive damage to agricultural harvests with environmental issues, including climate change. In some regions, over 90% of Indigenous crops were lost due to new forceful weather patterns, forcing regional governments to declare states of emergency and Indigenous farmers to rethink broader impacts to their self-reliance.

As the impacts of development and globalization are debated in Peru and more widely in Latin American, how Indigenous communities will envision and drive their own futures are critical questions, and central to this discussion is the role of education at all levels, which is perhaps the most important arena from which to consider Peru’s most persistent environmental, social, political, and economic strengths and weaknesses. Indigenous education (conceptions, practices, and spaces) based in Indigenous knowledge systems and efforts to explore the richness of Quechua knowledge systems and what yachayninchis (our knowledge) has to contribute to local and global solutions are at the heart of this chapter. At the same time, due to tenacious processes

of colonization in the Americas beginning in the late 1400s and subsequent projects of development that have created environmental, social, political, and economic turmoil, this chapter is also concerned with power and the impacts of colonial subjugation of Indigenous peoples and its current manifestations evident in various forms in the twenty-first century. Thus, this chapter first traces ideologies of conquest, imperialism, and development and their social, cultural, economic, and political impacts in the Peruvian highlands. The chapter then draws from archival and Quechua narratives in order to highlight Indigenous epistemologies, specifically in Quechua knowledge systems, that situate the Andean world as ecology of balance and struggle. Lastly, international discourses of environmental rights and human rights education in Indigenous education design and practice are discussed.

Due to increasing environmental problems, more evident than ever is the fact that human action is not isolated within the global ecosystem. While Indigenous populations in Peru are disproportionately impacted by exogenous-driven environmental exploits because of the ongoing colonialist desire for natural resources in their homelands, there are resounding effects on all populations – for example, climate change is diminishing subtropical glaciers, threatening water sources for agricultural production that feeds local and national populations. As a result, the links between development, environment and land, local peoples and epistemologies, and education and social justice could be explored towards solutions. This chapter addresses this in three sections: *I. The remaking of the Andean world: Colonial dominion over Quechua place, body, and thought* – focusing on ideologies of conquest, European-Catholic supremacy, and its persistence in current dominant Peruvian political discourse, which directly impacts how the identities of Indigenous peoples have been constructed by the European other for explicit purposes; *II. The dominant pathway to development* – discussing responses to Indigenous subjugation and marginalization through the language of social justice and Indigenous participation; and outlining Peru's participation in the development project and its discourses of modernization and progress, which require control over decision-making regarding Indigenous lands; and *III. Hawallaqtamanta (from the rural community): Land, memory, and Quechua education* – highlighting Quechua knowledge systems that originate from the rural community and that are complemented by Indigenous social movements, the language of Indigenous rights, environmental rights, and human rights education. Critical of colonial European ideologies and development spurred by *el occidente* (the West) and thrust upon Indigenous populations, the ultimate goal of this chapter is to demonstrate hope through distinct interpretations of Indigenous knowledges as vital undercurrents in education.

The Remaking of the Andean World: Colonial Dominion Over Quechua Place, Body, and Thought

Indigenous peoples in Peru remain the most historically marginalized, isolated, and exploited populations in the country. Further, Indigenous lands are threatened by discourses of progress, translated on the ground as development. As a result,

understanding Indigenous oppression is a unique task, especially if education-as-intervention is linked with social justice imperatives – meaning, understanding the current status of Indigenous peoples in Peru requires a deep interrogation of historical and colonial processes and current policies. Such analysis is a critical undertaking to any authentic dialogue of contemporary Indigenous peoples and education. Thus, this section examines three primary themes of colonial dominion in Peru, beginning with context on the Spanish invasion, followed by discussion of attempted conquest over Quechua place, body, and thought.

The Spanish Invasion of Peru

Prior to the Spanish invasion of Peru in 1532, the Inca Empire governed the Andes, spanning the Tawantinsuyu, Land of the Four Quarters – Chinchasuyu to the northwest, Antisuyu to the northeast, Cuntisuyu to the southwest, and Collasuyu to the southeast, areas today known as Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, and Argentina. Quechua was the language of the Incas spoken throughout these regions and remains a majority Indigenous language with an estimated ten million speakers, roughly over four million in Peru alone (Hornberger and King 2001; Hornberger and Coronel-Molina 2004).

When the Spanish military and clergy, financed by the Catholic church and Spanish Crown, arrived in Peru, they encountered established civilizations with existing political, social, cultural, religious, and economic systems already in place. However, meaningful acknowledgment of this is rejected in Peruvian society other than in anthropological books and in the tourist industry where Indigenous peoples, histories, edifices, customs, and attires remain rigidly fixed in a stunning yet vanquished past. For centuries, Quechua and Indigenous peoples in Peru have been characterized by others: the “problem of the Indian” outlined in government language from the colonial era to the present has boxed Indigenous peoples into static caricatures of a primitive past who are deterrents to progress (Sumida Huaman and Valdiviezo 2012). However, Indigenous scholars and allies have long since responded by reframing this so-called problem as a social justice challenge for all members of society to rebuild a more equitable and humane world (Valdiviezo 2014).

Part of rebuilding the colonial “world turned upside down,” as Indigenous chronicler Guaman Poma de Ayala wrote, is accomplishing what he strived to do in 1615 – creating dialogue regarding injustices against Indigenous peoples (1980). Recognizing how deeply entrenched these injustices are is an important step towards deconstructing the conditions of Indigenous peoples in Peru. Through narratives written by Spanish and Indigenous chroniclers during the colonial era, testimonies of the horrific treatment of Indigenous peoples by the Spanish exhibit the beginnings of Peru’s unequal socioeconomic and political system, both as a viceroyalty and later, as an independent nation. Colonial subjugation of Indigenous peoples linked with abuses and corruption by Spanish administrators and church clergy figures prominently in texts written in the 1500s by Bartolome de las Casas and Guaman Poma de Ayala who sent their work to Spain. Based on their work, this era can be detailed by

at least three distinct realms of violent military and political conquest: conquest of Indigenous places, conquest of Indigenous bodies, and conquest of Indigenous thought.

Conquest of Indigenous Places

Conquest of Indigenous places was an essential task towards establishment of enduring Spanish power over land as territory and personal possession versus Quechua conceptualizations of land and its fruits as “that which gives to the people” (translated from Quechua). Starting with the *encomienda* system, large swaths of arable land and Indigenous peoples on that land were given to Spanish elites. Later, these land grants became *haciendas*, where Quechua people labored ironically on their ancestral homelands to serve the *hacendado*, the Spanish landowner and master. This system of Spanish extraction continued into the 1960s until the Peruvian agrarian reform movement under the Velasco administration. However, justification for the stripping of land and forced labor was already deeply rooted through the issuance of Papal Bulls starting in the 1400s, like the Dum Diversas of 1455 and Inter Caetera of 1493, which validated the expansion of European empires through the Catholic church. Linked with the Catholic fervor of the Spanish Inquisition and justification of the church’s persecution of other faiths (Griffiths 1996), “discovery” of the new territories of the Americas prompted further justifications, permissions, and mandates for acquisition of all territories, people, and resources by the Spanish and Portuguese. Such documents represent some of the earliest records of land-grabbing, natural resource extraction, and slavery policies in the Americas. As a powerful entity bound to and more influential than the Spanish Crown (because of its believed direct pipeline to God), the Catholic church had the power to justify Spanish conquest and encourage expansion of empire as a God-given directive. Translated into current realities, dominion over places has manifested into projects of development based on dominant notions of civilization, modernization, and Westernization.

In addition to seizing of Indigenous lands and extraction of gold and silver, for example, Spanish supremacy was also established through urbanization. Because of the preexisting cities of the great Indigenous civilizations of Mexico and Peru, the Spanish constructed their conquest and evangelization through urbanization (Spitta 2007). In Peru, colonial urbanization required the dismantling of grand Indigenous architectural structures, the rebuilding and new construction of Spanish structures over Indigenous foundations, and the negation of Indigenous abilities to have yielded “truly civilized” and advanced architectural and urban planning. Peruvian comparative literature scholar, Silvia Spitta also illustrated that the number of Spanish cities – 225 by 1580, 331 by 1680, and by the end of the seventeenth century, almost all of the urban sectors now in existence – “highlights the extent to which the conquistadors immediately understood colonization as a conquest of place and urbanization of history” (p. 294). She argued that the Spanish quickly became urban settlers within an “inflexibly reproducible grid” that placed elite Spanish

administrators at the center of cities and relegated the Indigenous people to the margins, so accelerating race, class, and geographic placement.

Spitta also drew from the work of Sebastian Salazar Bondy, a Peruvian journalist who critiqued the descendants of the Spanish now the Peruvian elite oligarchy. He argued that these *Limeños* had created a superficial culture and livelihood based on exploitation and marginalization of Peru's Indigenous peoples, and he wrote scathingly of Peru's urbanites and those who wished to belong to this "high society" at the expense of their own dignity (1964). His class-consciousness arguments focused on the lasting effects of colonization on place and cultural production, where Spitta pointed out his observations of Lima inextricably linked past injustices with the present:

in this telltale spatialization of race and power even the dead are assigned a place—buried above ground in rectangular buildings, each coffin in an individual slot. Significantly, then, the pre-Columbian past that underlies the city has long been paved over and is conveniently forgotten in the national imaginary. Bones do not mix with bones; colonial and postcolonial remains do not lie next to pre-Columbian indigenous remains. Even the dead have to be segregated so that the past can be smuggled out of the present. (2007, p. 295)

The results of Spanish colonization through urbanization and the development of elite upper-class Spanish and *Limeño* urban identities as the superior class in Peru remain visible. Asserting or claiming *serrano* (highlander), *cholo* (Indian) or *nativo* (Native) identity can be tremendously challenging for Indigenous people, particularly youth who receive messages largely from mainstream media and institutions, including school, that glorify urban and "professional" lifestyles in comparison with dominant Peruvian society characterizations of rural life as poor, backwards, and generally lacking and uneducated Indigenous farming livelihoods (Crivello 2011; Sumida Huaman 2015).

Conquest of Indigenous Bodies

They forced their way into native settlements, slaughtering everyone they found there, including small children, old men, pregnant women, and even women who had just given birth. They hacked them to pieces, slicing open their bellies with their swords as though they were so many sheep herded into a pen. They even laid wagers on whether they could manage to slice a man in two at a stroke, or cut an individual's head from his body, or disembowel him with a single blow of their axes. They grabbed suckling infants by the feet, and ripping them from their mother's breasts, dashed them headlong against the rocks. Others, laughing and joking all the while, threw them over their shoulders into a river, shouting, 'Wriggle, you little perisher.' (Bartolome de las Casas 1992, p. 15)

The violence of the Spanish conquest played out most horrifically in Latin America through the conquest of Indigenous bodies – literally the killing of men, women, and children, and the forced marriage, rape, and abuse of Indigenous women by Spanish colonizers. At the physical level, Indigenous bodies were reduced to "things" (Freire 1970), viewed as labor commodities and slaves. Spanish

Dominican priest and chronicler, Bartolome de las Casas, accompanied the Spanish during their invasion of the Americas and witnessed firsthand the methods by which the Spanish brutalized Indigenous communities. Chronicling the devastation in the early colonial period in his *Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies* in 1542 and sent to Phillip II, he advocated for humane treatment of Indigenous peoples. Based on de las Casas' belief that rationality bound all men of the world, he argued for the peaceful conversion of Indigenous peoples whom he believed were made in the image of God and held understanding, individual will, free choice.

Of the widespread European colonization on the African continent, Kikuyu postcolonial scholar, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o proposed *dismemberment* (2009). He argued that multiple colonial acts, from defacing Indigenous cultural symbols and demeaning sacred sites to literal beheadings and mutilations of African bodies, were acts of colonial triumph intended to humiliate colonial subjects. Beyond conquest and humiliation though, lay the enactment of dismemberment as "the central character of colonial practice" (p. 5), a forced and violent separation of African personhood, continent, and diaspora through slavery, removal of Indigenous peoples from their lands, and European parceling up of African lands most evident through colonial demarcation and mapping of African homelands. Furthermore, he argued that dismemberment as an "act of absolute social engineering" had a clear capitalist modernization agenda from which Europe only benefitted. In Peru, dismemberment is triumph and humiliation over Andean bodies, the severing of Indigenous access and stewardship of ancestral lands and natural resources, and the denial of Indigenous capabilities to live self-sufficiently with dignity, to nurture their Indigenous knowledge systems, and to know themselves as indispensable cultural beings connected to social memory valuable to them and others.

Conquest of Indigenous Thought

So tell me, how is it you have put your hopes in a stone as if it were the true God, do you not see that this stone cannot understand what you ask of it? . . . If it could speak it would tell you, Indian, you are mad and blind. . . Do you not see that I am a stone, that the birds and foxes dirty themselves upon me, if I am a stone as you can see, how can I be God? (de Avedaño in 1649 quoted in Griffiths 1996, p. 185)

That there exists any question of Indigenous thought or intellect as valid and essential to national development, particularly through education, is telltale of the dominant social and political climate in which Indigenous people find themselves. Crucial to acknowledge is that such attitudes are endemic to Peruvian dominant society. The words of Diego de Avedaño, a Spanish Jesuit in colonial Peru, exemplified not only incredulity regarding Quechua beliefs about the Andean world, but also currently serve to diminish those beliefs as impossible or ludicrous. Writing in reference to Quechua beliefs that stone, *rumi*, and standing stone, *wanka*, were living beings, relatives, and could be sacred deities enshrined and adored by Quechua people who placed offerings for them, he argued that these things could not speak,

could not reason, were inanimate objects and therefore could not be deities. What sets such Spanish colonial assertions apart is not theological difference but rather the purposeful and resolute insistence of Quechua minds as voids, consistently and forever lacking – lack of religion, lack of morality, lack of intellectual capacity, and sense believed essential to civilization. Postcolonial responses have since worked to debunk as lore colonial narratives that propagate Indigenous ineptitude as inherent undeniable characteristics and that justify colonial control and establishment of society.

the oppressors attempt to destroy in the oppressed their quality as “considerers” of the world. Since the oppressors cannot totally achieve this destruction, they must *mythicize* the world. In order to present for the consideration of the oppressed and subjugated a world of deceit designed to increase their alienation and passivity, the oppressors develop a series of methods precluding any presentation of the world as a problem and showing rather as a fixed entity, as something given—something to which people, as mere spectators, must adapt. (Freire 1970, p. 139, Freire’s emphasis)

In order to make sense of dominant assertions regarding Quechua thought or intellect, Freire’s theorization of conquest is useful: conquest is antidiological action, and antidiological action is always present in conquest. In order to know the Andean world as a place of dialogical relationships, understanding how they have been disrupted is an important part of maintaining and reclaiming Quechua knowledge systems. Dismembering Indigenous connections to their stories, cultural practices, and values – their knowledge systems – is a necessary act of conquest in order for the colonizer to legitimize power. In order to maintain this power, and because those connections cannot be totally destroyed, the colonizer must then mythicize the world. This “world of deceit” – one that Salazar Bondy (1964) argued was invented by the Peruvian oligarchy employing Indigenous marginalization – must remain fixed in order to shift the identities of the colonized from considerers of their own worlds and bearers of their own imaginations to spectators who, at best, must adapt.

While this process is in reality nonlinear and there is much to be said of Indigenous agency, the repercussions of Spanish and dominant national political mythicization of the Andean world are evident, notably in the construction of formal education for Quechua children. In the colonial period, Spanish education embodied an agenda of transculturation, designed to transform Quechua people by instructing nonassociation where Indigenous identity was separated from markers of high (Spanish) civilization (Wood 1986). Since that era, defining characteristics of formal education for Indigenous peoples in Peru have been acculturation, citizenship, and the production and maintenance of “good workers” (Carnoy 1974).

Collectively, what conquest of Quechua places, bodies, and thought represent is the endemic quality of ideologies of imperialism that are founded in European-Christian superiority (Miller 2011) and antidiological worldview (Freire 1970). These ideologies were enacted and expressed through colonial strategies of dismemberment (wa Thiong’o 2009), which resulted in the remaking of the Andean world – Quechua land became Spanish-owned territories defined by Spanish maps; Quechua bodies became things to exterminate, humiliate, and exploit; and Quechua minds

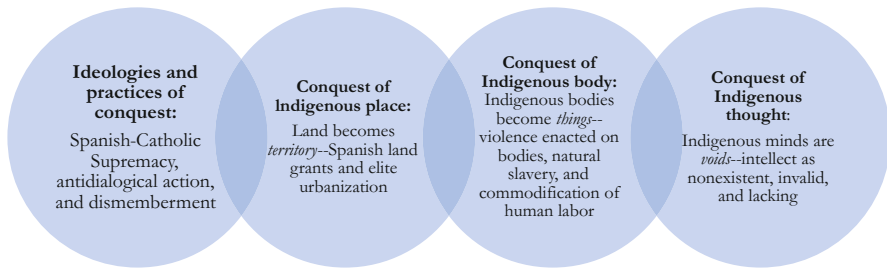


Fig. 1 Ideologies and practices of conquest

were reduced in colonial discourse to nothing more than simple, fillable vessels (see Fig. 1). As wa Thiong’o wrote, “Dismembered from the land, from labor, from power, and from memory, the result is the destruction of the base from which people launch themselves into the world” (p. 28). In the Andes, the attempted destruction of that base, which is at once sociocultural, political, economic, environmental, spiritual, physical, and intellectual, is not forgotten – and is evident at multiple levels, most obviously in public and political discourse and fixated on economic development.

The Dominant Pathway to Development

Peru’s colonial trajectory is not completed, and one of the underlying themes of this extension is the persistence of uneven power relations and dominant political reliance on exploitation of Indigenous lands and labor. One of the most seductive expressions of this dynamic is the discourse of national progress through development projects and towards modernization. However, because progress is largely defined by those in political power and the economic elite, modernization is seen as taking a singular path and projects of development as necessary, positive, and for the common good – ideas widely debated and globally refuted (McMichael 2010). Because Indigenous peoples have been historically fixed within a hierarchical social, racial, class, and economic structure in Peru, the need to deconstruct these discourses is long overdue, especially given that ideas of nationhood, progress, development, and modernization are never rigidly exercised.

This section attempts to contribute to dialogue by providing historical context of different perspectives of these ideas stemming from alternative imaginations (Chhetri and Chhetri 2015). Beginning with notions of resistance from the colonial period, *indigenismo* and its movements towards defining and achieving social justice are mentioned. Then, despite symbolic and intellectual shifts in resistance, persistent structural inequalities and dominant theories of economic growth are explored, followed by an example of a violent turn in recent Peruvian history. Lastly, exogenous projects of development through extractive industry and other environmental impacts are linked with the creation of poverty before

leading into the third section of this chapter, which explores why environmental devastation represents great loss for the world.

Indigenismo: Movements Towards Social Justice

Although injustice was widespread during colonization, there was resistance. Among the most visible was the armed Indigenous resistance in the eighteenth century through the military campaign of José Gabriel Condorcanqui, known as Túpac Amaru II, translated from Quechua as Fighting Serpent. In the Andes, the serpent is a deity representing Uqhu Pacha, the Inside World, and is responsible for cycles of creation and destruction. Starting in 1780, Túpac Amaru and his wife, Micaela Bastidas, led an Indigenous uprising against Spanish colonizers throughout the Andes. They encouraged Quechua people to take up arms against the Spanish and to fight for the return of their lands. Although he was captured and quartered in the Plaza of Cusco in 1781, the story of his resistance grew well into the twentieth century, and he has since become an iconic figure of rebellion against Spanish dominion, of the struggle for justice by the silenced and subjugated, and a symbol of Quechua political resistance.

Scholars have also offered that *indigenismo*, a Latin American political ideology, is the most recent in a spectrum of anticolonial resistances beginning in the colonial period. Indigenous peoples are at the center of a philosophical movement to value Indigenous ways of life and articulate their hopes for the future, to renounce exploitation of Indigenous peoples, to advocate for Indigenous rights, and to incorporate Indigenous peoples fully and fairly into national life economically, socially, and politically (Chang-Rodriguez 1984). Some of the most renowned proponents of twentieth century *indigenismo* were Peruvian journalists, novelists, and scholars. They were descendants of the Spanish elite who rejected class and racial discrimination, of mixed Indigenous-Spanish ancestry, from rural and urban roots, and primarily educated in some of the most elite universities, including the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos in Lima. Outspoken critics of racial and economic injustices against Quechua peoples, they publicly denounced descendants of the Spanish conquistadores and European immigrants who formed the capitalist elite class in Peru. Writing poetry on the Quechua peoples beginning in 1918 was César Vallejo; José Carlos Mariátegui wrote *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality* (1997) in the 1920s prior to his death at 35; and perhaps most moving was José María Arguedas, whose literary work in the 1930s until his suicide in 1969 focused on Quechua language and livelihood and their intersections with dominant society. Of those promoters of *indigenismo*, Arguedas's work not only provides some of the most compelling Quechua cultural elements using Quechua language (Arguedas 1972), but his work also has some of the clearest implications for education.

Arguedas produced some of Peru's greatest literary contributions in essays, novels, and poetry, including *Agua* (Water) in 1935; *Yawar Fiesta* (Blood Celebration) in 1941; *Los Ríos Profundos* (Deep Rivers) in 1958; *Todas las Sangres* (All the Blood) in 1964; and *El Zorro de Arriba y el Zorro de Abajo* (The Fox Above and the

Fox Below) published posthumously in 1971. Raised by Quechua, his writing is viewed by scholars as a hybrid of autobiography and class and racial commentary providing thick description of Quechua communities, people, language, and cultural practices. As a Quechua language speaker, his Quechua language phrases and poetry demonstrated his affiliation with Quechua people, admiration for the language, internalized pain at their oppressed social condition, and his belief in Quechua autonomy. He used his writing to describe Quechua isolation, resistance, and beauty in the Andes, and his work made clear that isolation on one's own terms and for the purposes of maintaining one's dignity represented possibilities in a dominant Peruvian society rigidly confined by its own unjust construction of the world. This construction had disrupted the Andean world to society's detriment through the denial and destruction of the cultural wealth of its original communities.

Arguedas was also a staunch proponent of recognizing Quechua peoples and lands as comprising Indigenous nationhood, which he believed had been subdued but not defeated due to their cultural wealth through folklore – Quechua songs and stories perpetuated in each Andean village. He advocated for appreciation of distinction of nations, which he believed could only benefit Peru. Based on his literary accomplishments recognized worldwide, before his death he was awarded the national Peruvian prize named for el Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, and in 1968, he accepted this award for contributions to the cultural arts. In his acceptance speech, he famously described his worldview with the hope that the “great nation of Andean lands” and the “humanized part of the oppressors” could unify:

And the path had no reason to exist, nor was it possible for it only to exist as an empire of victor plunderers; or that; the defeated nation relinquishes its soul, although not in appearance, formally, and takes from the victors, that is to say it acculturates. I am not acculturated; I am a Peruvian who proudly, like a happy demon speaks in Christian and in Indian, in Spanish and in Quechua. (Jose Maria Arguedas's “Inca Garcilaso de la Vega Award” acceptance speech, 1968)

“I am not acculturated; I am a Peruvian who proudly, like a happy demon speaks in Christian and in Indian, in Spanish and in Quechua” has been cited by those who support coexistence of Quechua and Spanish language and identities. The idea that one can strive to elevate the status of Quechua language and knowledge is one of Arguedas's most important contributions to education. Though lesser known, his work in education remains significant as philosophical inspiration and pedagogical motivation for Peruvian educational scholars and practitioners. As a teacher and teacher advocate, traveling through Andean communities in the 1920s, he observed national curricula in Quechua communities and its severe impacts on Quechua children in formal schools. In the 1930s, he worked with the Peruvian Ministry of Education as an expert on Peruvian folklore, which he argued was based in local knowledge and central to the education of Quechua children.

This isolated village, illiterate, however creates a very coherent conception of how actual man appeared and to explain who made the great works that exist in the pre-hispanic ruins, creates a different humanity. . . These people illiterate like this, isolated like this, humbled

like this, have an extraordinary capacity to make for themselves an image of this world, of its origin, and of its destiny. . . The teachers in each and every place where they are [should] inform themselves of all of these beliefs, because those beliefs are going to give them an approximate idea of what each individual of the community in which they work, of what each individual believes is this world, how it was created, for what it was created, and where it will end. (José María Arguedas, "The Importance of folklore in education," author translation)

Arguedas argued that education should not remain the same oppressive system, which he believed demonstrated dominant society's ignorance of Indigenous cultures, furthering the silencing of Indigenous peoples while preventing quality and effective schooling for Indigenous children. His ideas about education have since influenced scholars involved in rethinking culture and education in Peru, primarily by learning to valuing local folklore.

In terms of policy, through the 1940s and 1950s, attention was hoisted onto Indigenous communities, mainly Quechua villages where education became the focal point for greater inclusion of Quechua peoples into mainstream society. In 1945, Bolivia and Peru launched a joint country educational initiative, the Convening Project on Indigenous Education between the Governments of Bolivia and Peru. This was a plan to "incorporate the Indian into nationality as an active factor of production and consumption" and due to the urgent necessity for "immediate and complete cultural and moral rehabilitation" through education that would afford Indigenous people "the same opportunities in each country and recognize their equal rights and equal participation in civic responsibilities" (Giesecke Sara-Lafosse 2007, p. 180). Like subsequent national educational plans for Indigenous communities in Peru, the primary driver for formal education remained citizenship development and the production of workers and consumers to participate in the national economy and to ensure financial stability, which policymakers believed would prevent Indigenous civil unrest (Carnoy 1974). In addition, using *indigenista* recommendations to appreciate the cultural value of Quechua peoples, policies in formal education began to reflect suggestions for folklore in curriculum development (Giesecke Sara-Lafosse 2007). However, while recognition of Indigenous peoples through folklore was well intentioned, folklore was defined by evident cultural practices – Quechua songs, which contain themes about nature and values like love; Quechua stories, which tell of the origin of man, local places, and local elements; and Quechua dances, which are ceremonial and social and related to the seasons, the earth's cycles, and agricultural practices like farming and herding. Because of the way in which Quechua culture was interpreted by those in charge of designing educational policies and practices for Indigenous peoples, and because Quechua culture was essentially distilled to folklore, deeper understanding and value attached to the Quechua knowledge system could not permeate entrenched ideas of what constitutes knowledge, who Quechua people are, and what Quechua knowledge has to offer *within and beyond* songs, stories, and dances. Although Quechua songs, stories, and dances offer profound observations honed over millennia regarding the natural world and its cycles, because of their relegation to "mere folklore," the centrality of Quechua cultural practices and knowledge to formal education has since become difficult to

justify to educational policymakers and Quechua parents alike. Both groups ask why Peruvian children should go to school to learn stories and sing songs or to speak a language that has little value to a secure financial future in dominant society, which requires fluency in Spanish (and now English language acquisition) and rote learning to gain university entrance and preferably, an urban white-collar job (Valdiviezo 2009; Crivello 2011; Sumida Huaman 2015).

Persistent Structural Inequalities

Although *indigenismo* remains inspirational by addressing Indigenous equal participation and rights in Peru, cycles of domination are persistent. The example of folklore represents one of the most aesthetically pleasing aspects of Quechua cultural practice, yet incorporation of a song or story in a lesson is neither substantial nor significant recognition of the potential contributions of Quechua knowledges. In their work on American Indian boarding schools in the United States, K. Tsianina Lomawaima and Teresa McCarty developed the “safety-zone” theory (2006). Boarding schools for American Indians represented a federal government mandate for assimilation and civilization of Indian children, and while these schools did work towards these ends, they also allowed some tribal cultural practices and symbols to be incorporated into curricula and play. Lomawaima and McCarty argued that the federal government oscillated its policies towards Indian tribes, between restrictionism and permissiveness, reflecting deliberate mechanisms for control of Indian people: Some cultural practices are deemed “safe” to the mainstream, and some are not, and who decides is telling. Similarly, in Peruvian formal education policy, Quechua songs, stories, and dances are “safe” inasmuch as they maintain their aesthetic as markers of a quaint and colorful culture and nothing more. Quechua language is also “safe” as long as it is contained within superficial parameters, like names of streets or archaeological sites, which are useful to the Peruvian tourist industry. Quechua cultural practices and knowledges are safe as long as they remain symbols of an ancient past and a vivid present that can be used to promote authenticity and heritage to the world. Knowledge and cultural practices also remain safe as long as they do not threaten dominant mythicization of the world; that is, Quechua culture must not upset existing social and class hierarchies, and knowledge must not challenge dominant assumptions about the nature of the world and its resources as crafted by Western modern science, for example, and in the service of capitalism.

Resistance and dissent emerging from Quechua and Indigenous peoples in Peru has long since been a dominant national fear, particularly because those who comprise the ruling and European descendant classes in Peru are a population minority. Indigenous peoples and *mestizos*, the term for people of mixed Indigenous-Spanish ancestry, are estimated to form upwards of 80% of the national population. However, what should be noted regarding the classification of peoples in Peru is that the array of racial identities can be complex. The term *mestizo*, invented during the Spanish colonial era, is a widely accepted yet contentious categorization.

This is because Spanish domination of all things Indigenous was such a common trait of colonization in Peru that triumph over race represented an important victory for the Spanish colonizers – and they could claim that intermarriage with Quechua peoples was responsible for fathering an entirely new race. However, *mestizo* and the multiplicity of other racial categories that resulted from Spanish construction led to bipolarity of identity where a Quechua individual striving for upward social mobility might publicly claim more Spanish and European heritage, weighing the costs of Quechua ancestry, language expertise, family and community affiliation, and geography. Misconstrued as internalized shame towards heritage language, culture, people, and homeland, identity choices reflect racial discrimination and deep class and social stratification in Peru (Hornberger 1988).

The population of Quechua people throughout the Andean nations is so large that in fact, the need to cultivate diplomacy through cultivation of democratic principles in order to maintain national security and stability in Peru is also promoted by the United States federal government. Foreign Language Area Studies (FLAS) fellowships are provided to university students in the USA in order to study a less-commonly taught language that is spoken in regions of the world where the Department of State has interest. Quechua is a FLAS-funded language. Because of these agendas – national and foreign – Peru’s oscillation of education and language policies towards Indigenous peoples can be tracked, and for Indigenous peoples, there is little expectation that justice should be given by others. Also, the very nature of *indigenismo* and more contemporary calls for Indigenous justice are based on societal recognition of past injustices in order to collectively rectify wrongs and build a world of distinct nations who respect and need each other.

There was a brief historical period in Peru where manifestations of social justice did appear through top-down approaches. In 1968, General Juan Velasco Alvarado, a Peruvian military general, orchestrated a bloodless coup overthrowing then-President Belaúnde and taking power as the President of the New Revolutionary Government. Velasco remained in power until 1975 when he was overthrown by another military coup. Because of the laws and reforms he introduced, there are many critics of the Velasco administration, from the right wing to Velasco’s own left wing. However, at least three major laws he introduced created stirrings in dominant Peruvian society due to their intent to address inequalities towards Indigenous peoples: The first was land reform, which effectively ended *hacendado* rule over Indigenous lands and redistributed lands seized by the colonizers to Indigenous people; the second was bilingual education (which has since evolved into IBE, intercultural bilingual education) for Indigenous children; and the third was attempting to raise the status of Quechua through a law that made Quechua an official language of Peru.

Velasco’s political rhetoric appeared to usher in an era of reforms that would correct injustices of the colonial past. In his June 24, 1969, speech, he declared that from that time forward, the Peruvian peasant (i.e., Indigenous farm worker) would “truly be a free citizen, part of a nation that would recognize his right to the fruits of the earth that he works. . .no more as he has been until now. . .a man to be exploited by another man” (author translation). Through what he called his revolutionary

government, he instituted the Law of Agrarian Reform (Decree Law No. 17716), which re-appropriated some 15,000 properties totaling nine million hectares to Indigenous peoples. When he introduced the law, he appealed to a concept of national unity and spoke of the agrarian reform in defense of the humble peasants of the nation whose roots occupied shared national history and “whose image of justice emerges from our own and immemorial past.”

This is our greatest desire: To labor for our community and for its youth social legislation where man can live with dignity, knowing that he lives in a land that is his and in a nation where he is the owner of his destiny. . . . This is our greatest guarantee of true and just social peace in the future of our nation. . . . *To the man of the earth we can now say in the immortal and liberatory voice of Túpac Amaru: “Peasant, the master will no longer eat from your poverty!”* (excerpt from President Velasco’s Law of Agrarian Reform speech, Lima, 1969, author’s emphasis)

Velasco’s government, though short-lived, offered some critical ideas to Peruvian politics – that national development required justice for Indigenous peoples and that shared vision and actions towards social justice constitute nationhood. Such definitions of national development and nationhood linked with direct legislation and clear enactment are not evident in Peruvian public political discourse today.

There are also “realities” of the Velasco reforms that scholars have pointed out as failures of his administration. Critiques of the revolutionary government question whether or not its leaders, including Velasco, had a firmly defined vision of the future as well as a clear plan and strategies to achieve that future. Much of Velasco’s attention was focused on dismantling the Peruvian oligarchy and challenging those who would continue to exploit Peru’s natural resources and people. He gained the attention of the United States and foreign corporate interests by confiscating extractive industries and confronting multinational corporations (Walker 2014); he also drew from the imagery of Túpac Amaru in order to rally his movement around the symbolism of Indigenous resistance; and he produced political discourse that redefined concepts that had previously been used against Indigenous peoples by those in power. National development, modernization, and progress became goals that actually required the incorporation and direction of Indigenous peoples in society and to avoid further social injustice that Velasco believed would lead to civil unrest (Walker 2014). However, some scholars viewed a fatal flaw as the lack of unified vision within leadership that could sustain a socialist government beyond overthrowing the oligarchy (McClintock 1981). Participatory social democracy would easily be pitted against corporatism and capitalism, and this tension remains today.

The longevity of Peru’s oligarchy was not resolved during the Velasco administration. There remained strong critics of the land reform movement, and the emergence of research has helped to illuminate some of the tensions during this time period. Enrique Mayer’s work (2009) included, among other narratives, those of former *hacendados*. These and other explorations have acknowledged their research limitations while seeking to demonstrate the need for multiple stories to emerge from government-enforced policies. From a social research perspective, upper class elite stories

representative of Peru's oligarchy, which Velasco sought to overthrow, are a valid reminder to view policy and its immediate and historical impacts from different angles. However, the wealth inherited from Spanish colonialism and connections to current elitist ideologies and lifestyles must be made clear. At the same time, the lack of Indigenous perspectives and gendered and generational explorations regarding this time period is disturbing. Thus, as researchers we are cautious and aware that the history and legacies of Spanish colonialism told by Indigenous voices are made mutable when dominant narratives take center stage. The stories of Indigenous Andeans living in the *hacienda* system since the colonial period and well into the decade leading up to the Velasco administration are deserving of study and place in the greater social memory of all Peruvians. Further, in terms of driving research, the stories of *hacendados* and alternatively, the lack of Indigenous accounts, particularly using Quechua language and its varieties and based on participation and research direction from Indigenous community members offer us the question of how our inheritance defines our experiences. Whether we have inherited colonial wealth, status, and opportunity or poverty and denial of access born of foreign exploitation remind us that we alone do not create our destinies despite our best capacities or dreams.

Dominant Theories of Economic Growth

In Peru there remain significant tensions between those who believe that national development requires addressing inequalities and establishing social justice and those who believe that national development is based on capital gained through exploitation. The latter is aligned with Western ideas of economic growth and society, most notably W.W. Rostow's theory of economic "take-off." Take-off theory originated in the 1960s when Rostow proposed his economic growth model, since becoming development dogma. He argued that economic growth took place in stages: the first stage begins with what he referred to as a "traditional" society, typically agrarian (which he pitted against Western modernity) – "A traditional society is one whose structure is developed within limited production functions, based on pre-Newtonian science and technology, and on pre-Newtonian attitudes towards the physical world" (p. 4). The second stage requires preconditions for "take-off" where societies embrace the possibility of economic growth – an attitude that in many cases is exogenous through "intrusion by more advanced societies. These invasions—literal or figurative...set in motion ideas and sentiments which initiated the process by which a modern alternative to the traditional society was constructed out of the old culture" (p. 6) and where economic progress is qualified as good. Rostow viewed "take-off," as a watershed in modern human history – "The forces making for economic progress...expand and come to dominate the society. Growth becomes its normal condition. Compound interest becomes built, as it were, into its habits and institutional structure." (p. 7). During "take-off," investment and savings skyrocket. After take-off, there is a drive towards maturity and further self-sustained growth (p. 9), after which, the stages are completed through mass consumption beyond necessities. As a caveat, Rostow noted that final stage of economic

growth was not confined to static descriptors but contained deeper questions and choices that societies themselves would face. Reflecting on his theory 30 years later, he acknowledged that the stages of economic growth were not without global consequences, particularly with regards to strain on natural resources and pollution of the environment (1990).

While advocating for increased attention by governments towards international and public policy cooperation, Rostow nonetheless maintained his theory of a linear economic trajectory and definitions of societies therein. He believed some societies remained “trapped” in precondition stages that were neither traditional – due to the vast reach of technology in the modern age – nor capable of “take-off” without significant foreign intervention. These “late-comers,” as he referred to them, appeared to represent resistance/problems to economic development. Such rigid definitions of science and technology and compartmentalization of peoples without consideration of endogenous goals are problematic and limit possibilities of open and genuinely curious dialogue *with* Indigenous communities for whom science and technology may have different definitions, purposes, and applications.

Violent Turns

Beginning in the 1960s, *Sendero Luminoso*, Shining Path, propelled by Maoism planted seeds for what would become a violent guerrilla movement that escalated through the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s (Stern 1998). Leaders of *Sendero* claimed to be waging war against capitalism and the marginalization and resulting poverty of Indigenous and other Peruvians due to foreign and domestic corporate and government greed and increased Peruvian dependency. Civil conflict ensued with Peruvian police and military clashing with *Sendero* soldiers and civilians and leaving approximately 70,000 dead or missing according to Peru’s 2003 Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Universities became battlegrounds as antigovernment sentiment through student and faculty protest or mobilization resulted in torture, killing, or disappearances during what has become known as “the time of fear.” Amnesty granted to military personnel left the Peruvian public and human rights watchers around the world questioning accountability for the lost lives, many of which were Indigenous. *Sendero* was also viewed as problematic based on their methods of communist indoctrination in Andean villages involving public executions and abuses of girls and women that resulted in multiple traumas from which Andean Indigenous communities are in recovery (Degregori 2012).

In some ways, the rise of this violent movement represented profound frustration of Peru’s most economically impoverished communities. Consistently among the poorest regions in Peru, Ayacucho, where *Sendero* was cultivated by university intellectuals, was like many other regions in the Andes, seemingly desolate and forgotten. Although there is no doubt that Peruvian citizens, including Indigenous peoples, are engaged in rebuilding and building nationhood, Indigenous voices are consistently muted by those in power. Maintaining a peaceful society then is also at risk: Despite the efforts of those in the Velasco administration to build a definition of

nationhood that upheld social justice through full inclusion of Indigenous peoples in Peruvian society, Western-based economic ideologies appear victorious.

Exogenous Projects of Development and the Creation of Poverty

In Peru today, power is most clearly articulated through economic gain on a large-scale and global level in extractive industry and exploitation of natural resources. Moreover, because economic growth is touted as beneficial for *all* Peruvians, any consideration of Indigeneity or unique cultural or linguistic knowledge will be challenged with regards to its relevancy to progress for *all*. In this political climate, the transition of conquest into development is unflinching and strengthened by international, multinational, and private interests.

Starting in the late 1960s, anthropologist June Nash began studying the participation of Indigenous peoples in tin mining in the Bolivian Andes. Her work was among the earliest depictions of the intersection of Indigenous identities and their reformations with participation in industry. She was concerned with the relationship between interpretation of experience and creation of action through the ideology of miners. Nash viewed Indigenous peoples as in great transition, referring to this as “cholification” or “Indianization,” using derogatory terms for Quechua peoples that were being repurposed by Quechua themselves. She argued that “Indianization” revealed both resistance and selective acceptance of aspects of the dominant culture. As far as resistance and self-determination were concerned, she believed that at their core was Indigenous epistemology, primarily the notion of *pacha* – space and time, and the energy that flows through all things. She argued that unlike workers in other industrial centers, deeply entrenched precolumbian roots, exercised through articulation of beliefs and rituals, gave Quechua a distinct and strong identity that served as the basis for their self-determination in creating a “new class definition of their national status” (1993, pp. 2–3).

Like other theorists questioning dependency and extraction in Latin America (Escobar 1995; Esteva 2010), Nash was also critical of ideologies of development reliant upon capitalism, which she argued were unsustainable. She was also a proponent of Indigenous-based inquiry regarding development on Indigenous lands, where Indigenous peoples were at the center of decision-making despite exogenous influence: “Only a redefinition of the aim of the development process which will put people at the center of planning and reject the exploitation of natural riches for short-run gains will reverse the situation” (1993, p. 16). Since her fieldwork, there have been some political changes in Bolivia not necessarily representative of other Andean nations. However, explorations like these provide important cases and comparative lessons regarding how an area once unified under the Inca, the *Tawantinsuyu*, which remains geographically and culturally linked, is dealt with by the states that govern them today.

Writing of Indigenous mobilization and social movement linked with land development in Argentina, vom Hau and Wilde (2010) not only critiqued dominant notions of development as did Nash decades earlier, but also provided Indigenous perspectives on the construction of poverty that have been emerging from Indigenous

mobilization and activism. Due to displacement from ownership of Indigenous lands – leaving Indigenous people in their own words, living on “captive lands” – and colonial political and economic control, Indigenous peoples had become the most economically disadvantaged population. But as vom Hau and Wilde also argued, because of their activism and promotion of rights, the very origins of poverty, its definitions, and its metrics were being addressed by Indigenous peoples: “The focus on the nexus between territorial rights, resource governance and indigenous wellbeing points to the poverty-creating processes of recent capitalist transformations” (p. 1298). They criticized research on “Indigenous poverty” as containing significant gaps due to lack of analysis on Indigenous agency and political subjectivities, the narrow focus on poverty as income-based, and perhaps most importantly, the ignored tensions between dominant definitions of poverty and how Indigenous peoples view their own well-being (p. 1287). Instead, they proposed that poverty is not endogenous to Indigenous ways of life, but rather is a relational condition created by economic injustice due to colonial and corporate control over land that is further exacerbated by “adverse incorporation of local communities into . . . new land and labour markets that threatens their subsistence strategies and economic security” (p. 1298).

Bebbington’s work on extractive industry in the Andes forms much of the basis for deeper explorations of the causes of poverty and alternately, endogenous and Indigenous definitions of wealth (2010). He argued that poverty is an outcome of particular relations of power and that although social movements emerge in response to these relations, their scope is not limited to issues of poverty when poverty is defined (by others) as lacking something; instead, social movements, “emerge to challenge dominant ideas as to how society should be organized, to draw attention to needs not currently attended to under existing social arrangements, to argue that existing arrangements need protecting and deepening, and to make visible identities rendered invisible or abnormal by prevailing relationships of power” (2010, p. 1). Because of their rootedness in Indigenous identities and ability to reconsider power relationships and inequalities and to articulate visions of how and by whom society should be rebuilt, one of the greatest accomplishments of Indigenous social movements is their power to shift the nature of public debate. Through social movement, which is a mechanism of ideological production – identities, discourses, visions, strategies, and change – Indigenous peoples create their own opportunities to articulate new ways of thinking about problems. Part of the problem with public political discourse, aside from its fixation with progress through development, is the faulting of Indigenous peoples for what is viewed as a homogenous and traditional state of being, which includes primitiveness and poverty.

If we are to challenge the constructs of poverty, we will need to define how capital is measured (Bebbington 1999), by whom, and for what purposes. We will also need to challenge what McMichael (2010) referred to as the “epistemic privilege of the market calculus” whereby the market is the dominant lens for understanding development, resulting in casualties that persecute, marginalize, and silence Indigenous “misfits.” When local Indigenous communities mobilize around their own questions, they defy and transcend their categorization, and there is incredible potential for Indigenous social movements to draw attention to how nationhood and progress are defined and lived, including rethinking poverty and Indigeneity.

Such mobilization has yet to dissolve unequal power relations that involve development on Indigenous lands in the name of national progress. In recent years, Indigenous-state tensions escalated, most publicly through what became known as the Bagua standoff between Indigenous peoples in the Amazon region of Peru and Peruvian police and military in 2009. Leading up to this confrontation were a series of decrees set forth by then-President Alan García and directly related to the 2006 US Peru Free Trade Agreement (FTA), which would open up protected Indigenous lands to foreign investment in development that the national government considered to be under-utilized by Indigenous peoples. On June 5, 2009, at the *Curva del Diablo* (Devil's Curve), road near the town of Bagua, Awajun, and Wampis Indigenous peoples clashed with government forces. For the USA, special concessions for investment through exploitation of natural resources in other regions around the world provide benefit for corporate and government interests; as a result, accountability regarding who is impacted and what ultimately happens in other places is not a factor if any intended gain is compromised. For Peru, manifestations of conquest over Indigenous lands remain a reality and not just historical cases. Then-President García argued that land that could be used for national profit was laid to waste by Indigenous peoples – and for him, what was “national” and who stood to gain never included Indigenous consultations.

There are millions of hectares of idle timber, other millions of hectares that the communities and associations have not cultivated nor will they cultivate, in addition hundreds of mineral deposits that cannot be worked. . . The rivers that go down from each side of the mountain range are a fortune that go to the ocean without producing electric energy. There are, in addition, millions of workers that do not exist, even though they do labor, well their work does not serve them to have social security or a future pension, because they do not contribute what they could contribute multiplying the national savings. So, there are many unused resources that are non-returnable, that do not receive investment and that do not generate jobs. And all because of the taboo of surpassed ideologies, for idleness, for insolence or because of the “law of the dog of the garden” who recites: “If I do not do it, no one can do it.” (Alan García, *El Comercio*, October 28, 2007, author translation)

La ley del perro del hortelano, or the “law of the gardener’s dog,” is a saying that refers to a dog who guards a garden: The dog does not eat the products of the garden, nor does he let anyone else eat of the garden. García applied this comparison to Indigenous peoples living communally in their protected homelands – like the dog, they would neither use nor allow anyone else to use the natural resources. Aside from the racist nature of García’s discourse or his apparent lack of concern regarding any long-term social or environmental consequences of natural resource extraction and exploitation, what is clear from his commentaries is the belief that Indigenous lands are primed for the taking – not unlike the language of the early European colonizers who saw “virgin” and “abundant” land occupied by ignorant people.

In addition, no matter how compelling the idea that the entire Peruvian population (regardless of their socioeconomic class and ethnic identities) could benefit from development, distribution of “benefits” and most importantly, prior consultation

regarding development on Indigenous lands and how Indigenous peoples view its implications remains unclear:

Value is taken from certain spaces and distributed to others. The spaces that bear the brunt of the externalities generated by extraction are in the vicinity of the wells, mines, pipelines and smelters, and in none of these three countries are environmental safeguards and regulations handled with the seriousness necessary to offset the risk that today's sites of extraction will be tomorrow's sites of contamination and reduced viability. Meanwhile benefits and opportunities accrue in other spaces – in departmental and national capitals and more generally in areas of demographic concentration. This seems to be exactly the same whether we are talking of the north of La Paz in Bolivia, Yasuni in Ecuador, or Rio Corrientes in Peru. And once again, these are spaces that are occupied by indigenous groups who have been systematically and repeatedly disadvantaged by national development models. That pattern shows no sign of changing, whether under neoliberal or post-neoliberal regimes. (Bebbington and Humphreys Bebbington 2011, pp. 141–142)

Andean countries hold significant natural resources highly coveted by corporations and nations around the world. In their commentary on extractive industry in Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia, Bebbington and Humphreys Bebbington (2011) noted some important similarities: All three countries hold the expansion of extractive industry as the “pillar of macroeconomic strategy,” and government intolerance to resistance of this expansion is only increasing in ways that limit dissenting citizen voices through legislative reforms and criminalization of protest (p. 140). At the local level, the Peruvian example demonstrates that if expansion continues, conflicts may emerge from localities demanding greater shares of extractive industry revenue, thereby leading to inter-Indigenous community conflict (p. 141). Given possible health and environmental repercussions with long-term impacts on human populations at the epicenters of extractive industry, such trade-offs are not unexpected – and there are numerous cases of these in the Andes already. Furthermore, because the emphasis on these development dynamics is on Indigenous participation and negotiation, *Indigenous ownership and Indigenous management* of development is subjected to the cycle that Bebbington and Humphreys Bebbington referred to – value taken from Indigenous places for distribution to others. In order for Indigenous peoples to reshape this dynamic as more than spectators or minor recipients, shifting the nature of how the environment is viewed and usage of environmental resources through local and wider debate is a critical step that must be driven and maintained by, within, and among Indigenous communities who have the ability to demonstrate real and applicable ways that their knowledge systems and sociocultural identities matter in Peru and elsewhere.

Hawallaqtamanta (From the Rural Community): Land, Memory, and Quechua Education

Quechua communities base their ways of life on the Andean calendar, which is an Indigenous cycle of ceremonies and environmentally based activities. Every August marks the new year for the Andean calendar, and ceremonies conducted in Quechua

communities and in the Quechua language acknowledge the change of season and provide offerings to the Apus. Like many other occasions throughout the Andean calendar, this is a time of direct conversation between Quechua people and their environment for the purpose of mutually sustaining all life – trees and plants, lakes, water, rivers, animals large and small.

In the Quechua worldview, the link between environment, language, cultural practices, and Indigenous pedagogies is clear: Environmental resources *are* educational resources, as Steve Smith, Ojibwe STEM (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) instructor asserted (Personal communication, 30 June 2016). Indigenous scholars and educators around the world have validated these connections through development of theoretical frameworks on Indigenous pedagogies, Indigenous research, and curriculum development with Indigenous communities that priorities Indigenous knowledge systems but also includes access to other knowledges (May 1999; Smith 2000; Pihama et al. 2004; Kawagley 2006; McKinley 2005; Aikenhead and Mitchell 2011; Battiste 2002, 2013). As the Andean world has been made and remade, and the destiny of Quechua peoples and our environment is debated in public political discourse using economic metrics, how Indigenous peoples will engage and using what tools is unprecedented. Building on the preceding sections that outlined limitations imposed upon Indigenous communities, this section highlights major themes and strengths in Quechua knowledge systems and their relationship to education; in other words, addressing what Quechua people are fighting to protect and why this struggle matters.

This section begins with general characteristics of dominant and Quechua education, followed by description of Quechua lands and pedagogies as educational resources where our knowledge, yachayninchis, is education in situ. Because Quechua educational resources are threatened by projects of development, this section is therefore also concerned with environmental deterioration and neglect. By describing the impending loss of an Andean god, impacts on the perpetuation of Quechua knowledge for future generations are examined. Lastly, international discourses of environmental rights and human rights education and their usefulness in Quechua education design and practice through *Indigenous rights education* (IRE) are discussed.

Dominant Education and Quechua Education

Since Spanish colonization, the role of education as cultural imperialism (Carnoy 1974) has been to subordinate Indigenous peoples through strategies of European indoctrination and assimilation that have served to invalidate Indigenous knowledge. Because education is a powerful method of instilling nationhood and citizenship (defined by others), schools have assumed a central role in the production of Indigenous children for the purposes of the state. Formal education, like progress or development, is often singularly defined, executed, and assessed. As a result, deconstructing schooling for Quechua children requires steady interrogation of the purposes of formal education. Today, Quechua knowledges do not factor significantly in state-sponsored formal education of Quechua children, which can be

argued is indicative of the colonial inheritance that all Peruvians have received – the notion that first, Indigenous people do not know anything of worth, and second, that what they do know is superstition and a marker of their ignorance.

Valdiviezo's research (2014) demonstrated key trends in public and political discourse in Peru that she argued persistently characterize Indigenous peoples to the detriment of actual support of Indigenous knowledges in Peruvian education: Indigenous people's beliefs are absurd and backward (including language, knowledge, and cultural practices); Indigenous people are an obstacle to development (and deterrents to national unification, for example); Indigenous people are less than citizens (despite the 1993 Constitution that establishes Indigenous peoples as citizenship, "real" Peruvian citizenship is a privilege based on socioeconomic status, race, and ethnicity, and not a right); the purpose of formal education is to defeat or fix Indigenous peoples (a tool of civilization to correct Indigenous people of their absurd beliefs and to bestow culture upon them). At the same time, the allure of formal education for Indigenous peoples is undeniable as schooling promises a means to better oneself through increased social mobility and white-collar employment (Valdiviezo 2009; Sumida Huaman 2015).

Some of the most compelling research on learning and teaching in Quechua communities focuses on the role of the community as the primary teacher of Quechua children within Quechua spaces. Since the seventeenth century through the writings of Inca Garcilaso de la Vega who detailed Quechua ways of life and beliefs, to Arguedas's advocacy for folklore as legitimate knowledge and pedagogy, to contemporary in-depth educational research on Quechua children in Andean communities (Gutierrez-Verastegui 1986; Cerron-Palomino 1989; Calero Pérez 1996; Bolin 2006; Sumida Huaman and Valdiviezo 2012; Ames 2013a; Valdiviezo 2013; Sumida Huaman 2014), the fact that Quechua community members impart distinct local environmental-cultural knowledge to their children has been well established. Yet the interdisciplinary rigor of Quechua knowledges, in-depth explorations of how knowledge is exchanged, and why Quechua is significant beyond the local are not priorities in the construction of formal education for Quechua children. More often than not, the intellectualism, values, and problem-solving capabilities of Quechua peoples are undermined, which has fit well in the colonial trajectory. Today especially, marginalizing Indigenous epistemologies conveniently erases any notion that the earth is sacred, a worldview that contradicts widespread exploitation of the environment and expansion of extractive industry across the Peruvian Andes and into the Peruvian Amazon. Furthermore, if we consider that Quechua education has functioned for generations according to seasonal cycles and engagement with the environment through cultural activities that serve *sumaq kawsay*, a beautiful life for all, disrupting reciprocity for human gain alone is a strange proposition.

Pachamama ñuñunchis (Mother Earth Breast Feeds Us): Quechua Land, Knowledge, and Ways of Knowing

Throughout the Andes, agriculture is based on recognition of Andean seasonal cycles detailed by daily and ceremonial events: the preparation of the earth for the

planting (July and August), planting season (September and October), maintenance of the emerging and growing crops (November through April), and the harvest and new seed selection (May-June). Each stage of the life of plants is accompanied by ceremonial organization and participation of farmers and their families and communities. During the preparation of the earth for planting, new village leadership will be selected to oversee the entire agricultural year and to ensure the collaboration of community members with each other and the natural world through the ceremonies that are conducted. In the Mantaro Valley of Junín, for example, the season begins with offerings to the Apus and the planting of the fields of the deity protectors of the community. This is a tradition that though altered, endured the conquest when Catholic saints replaced Quechua curacas, spiritual heads, as the caretakers of those fields. This ritual planting, across the Quechua highlands, continues according to the belief that no one but the Apus has benevolence over these lands and that what *ayllpanchis*, the land, gives is a blessing (Photo 1).

Quechua farmlands, like those found in the Mantaro Valley of Peru, are rich in varieties of corn, potatoes and tubers, quinoa, and other grains. The early Spanish found that there were almost as many plants cultivated in the Andes by the Quechua as there were in all of Europe and Asia combined, and today the Andes remains one of the continuously cultivated original Indigenous agricultural centers in the world where the majority of Andean plants have been cared for by Quechua people for over 8,000 years (Valladolid and Apffel-Marglin 2001, p. 652). Writing about the history of Peru's *El Proyecto Andino de Tecnologías Campesinas* (The Andean Project of Peasant Technologies, PRATEC), Valladolid and Apffel-Marglin further argued that



Photo 1 Corn harvested in the Huaman Carhuamaca family *chakra* in the Mantaro Valley (Image by Elizabeth Sumida Huaman)

Quechua cosmovision is directly linked with Indigenous scientific knowledge that has yielded the crops we see today.

Family- and community-scale farms averaging several hectares or more provide for Quechua subsistence, as well as for local and other markets. These farms (*chakra* in the Quechua language) are considered the means to a good life in the Andes and represent their own ecosystems within the Andean world. Quechua believe that the Andean world can be understood according to *hanaq pacha*, *kay pacha*, and *ukhu pacha* – the upper world (of the skies and heavens), this world (of living plants, animals, elements, and humans), and the inside world (the world of our ancestors). These interconnected worlds are watched and cared for by deities, and they are also mediated by human beings who have a responsibility to acknowledge the beings in each world and to care for what has been given. Complementing this familiarity with the Andean world is the fact that the central Andean regions have the greatest ecological density in the world and that eight of the eleven world climates can be found here – making weather in distinct zones variable, to which Andean farmers have long since understood how to mitigate and accommodate culturally and scientifically (Valladolid and Apfeel-Marglin 2001, pp. 653–654).

Like other significant places in Andean communities, the *chakra* and its sustainability as a provider is a place where exercise of Andean cosmology is required, and is therefore more than just a space that produces the foods that people and animals consume. In the *chakra*, one encounters rich soil, surrounding fruit trees, worms, and insects. With the sun, moon, stars, clouds, and rains overhead, seeds are planted, nurtured, and grow. Entering the *chakra*, recognition is given to these elements, as well as to the ancestors who set their bare feet upon this soil to cultivate this land generation after generation. Offerings are made prior to planting and throughout the agricultural year, and it is not uncommon to see farmers offering coca to the elements or to see a newly planted field with beautiful fresh flowers placed upon the earth – communicating the hope to the earth, ancestors, and other community members that this *chakra* yields beauty. The physical and spiritual labor that is dedicated to the *chakra* is demonstrated by many acts throughout the Andean cycle of life – daily work and special times like harvesting are complemented with offerings, prayers of hope and prayers of gratitude, and any losses of crops are considered loss of life, seen as deaths in the community.

On the one hand, agricultural losses represent stark economic problems for Indigenous family livelihoods and for the overall Peruvian economy and Gross Domestic Product; on the other hand, exogenous environmental destruction represents yet another shift for Andean Indigenous ontologies – demanding multiple and innovative interventions and strategies. Because Andean communities have been reliant on small family- and community-scale subsistence farming for thousands of years, Quechua livelihoods are dependent upon ancestral practices of cooperation and reciprocity, like the *ayni*, kinship sharing reflected through collaboration in work. These are not individualistic ways of being, and Quechua ways of knowing assert the power and promise of the collective – people caring for people, the environment caring for people, and people caring for the environment (Photo 2).

Photo 2 Lifelong Wanka farmer, Mama Victoria, husking corn that will be selected for seed and used for food, Hatun Shunqo, Peru (Image by Elizabeth Sumida Huaman)



In addition to organizing the agricultural life of a Quechua community and the ceremonies associated with each stage of the life of the plants, the greater context of the Andean calendar is the Quechua understanding of the universe and the role of runakuna, people, in the universe. Runakuna are part of creation, living beings who like every other living entity and contain the life force of the universe within them, and in order to honor this life, ceremonies are carefully planned and carried out throughout the Andean year and are inextricable from the Quechua agricultural cycle, the Quechua pastoral cycle, and so forth. Figuring centrally in these ceremonies are the deities and elements associated with hanan pacha, kay pacha, and ukhu pacha. However, because the term Pachamama is often interpreted in popular culture according to its literal translation to English from Quechua – pacha for earth and mama for mother – the deeper philosophies within the Quechua language and the Andean world are often misunderstood or oversimplified. That Pachamama is Earth Mother and feminine does not actually do justice to the complexity and centrality of pacha in the Quechua knowledge system. While Pachamama can be applied in one sense in reference to the earth, pacha is space and time and refers to the dynamic changing nature and energy of the universe. Although Western anthropologists have written extensively about pacha in Andean cosmology, if Indigenous peoples are the bearers, perpetuators, shapers, and innovators of their own knowledge systems, the ways in which they understand their own philosophies and how they wish to represent that knowledge needs to be much more richly explored. Space needs to be created, expanded, and defended in order for this to happen.

Although Quechua peoples have rich oral traditions, their reliance on orality as a method of transmitting cultural teachings does not preclude them from sharing knowledge that they decide to share in written form. Since the colonial period, Quechua scholars have been demonstrating their ability to utilize Quechua and Spanish languages, orality and literacy, Quechua cultural practices and resources, and Spanish resources and tools. Scholars like Don Diego de Castro Titu Cusi Yupanqui wrote his own narrative account of the conquest based on oral history

with Inca peoples in 1570; published in 1609, Garcilaso de la Vega wrote a detailed account of Inca life, landscape, and religion prior to the conquest; and in 1613, Don Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua wrote a detailed account of Inca life. All of these works focus on Quechua people, ways of life, and beliefs associated with rituals. In addition to what can be collected through oral histories in direct participation with Quechua peoples living in Andean communities, these works constitute yuyayninchis, our shared social memory. Yuyayninchis, our memory, and yachayninchis, our knowledge, are inextricably linked in Quechua knowledge systems, based in pacha.

Quechua knowledge systems (I refer to Quechua knowledge systems as plural since there are vast Quechua landscapes, communities, and language varieties. The argument here is to offer and protect opportunities for local peoples to explore their own knowledge systems while recognizing some potential shared elements outlined in this section of the chapter.) are rich, detailed, complex, and dynamic. These systems and Quechua ways of knowing – exercise, practice, conservation, and vitality of what is known – are still in existence in the highland Andes today and constitute the learning that Quechua children experience outside of formal schools. Research by Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars over the past two decades has demonstrated this in different ways: From the work of Rosina Valcárcel who wrote in the 1980s of the prominence of Quechua myths as resistance to colonial domination (1988), to Patricia Ames whose work focuses on out-of-school learning processes and transitions in the lives of Quechua children and tensions with formal schooling injustices (2012, 2013c). In an attempt to contribute to this conversation on not only how Quechua knowledge systems can be identified, but more importantly, how these constitute Quechua learning within Andean communities, some major themes are identified here.

1. **Quechua knowledge systems are organized systems of knowledge for living in the natural world** – Pacha Mamamanchispi lluy kawsaqkuna: sach'akuna, gochakuna, unukuna, mayukuna, uywakuna hathunraq, huch'uyraq (Note that I use the Quechua Collao variety in this chapter, and the sentences in Quechua are not intended to be translations of the English phrases. Rather, they are assertions of what is stated using Quechua daily language.): Within Quechua knowledge systems, all elements are interdependent. Language is inextricable from philosophy, and philosophy is inextricable from values. Based on the Andean cycle of life, Quechua knowledge systems are organized and purposeful towards a good and balanced life for all beings. There are clearly defined responsibilities for human beings and protocols for engagement with all elements in the universe – from the sun and moon, heavens, and stars, to the rivers and trees and animals, to the ancestors.
2. **Quechua knowledge systems are local paradigms of place concerned with universal thriving** – Lluy runakunapas munayta ñawpaqman puririnanchispaq: Quechua knowledge systems constitute Andean ways of viewing the world through living within a particular context. However, the universe is broad, and local worldview is matched with conscientiousness of life in other places and is

deeply concerned with far-reaching impact as understood through *pacha*; space and time are not limited.

3. **Quechua knowledge systems are flexible and adaptable** – Chay tomaqakuna Español nisqa runakuna llaqtanchisman chayamusqankumanta pachan, kay Pacha Mamanchistaqa qhellicharanku, “idolatría” nispa manaña Pacha Mamanchisman Haywarikuyta qorankuñachu, inkakunata soq’ayuspa qonqachiyta munaranku, ichaqa Inkakunaqa manan kawsayninkuta qonqayta atirankuchu chayrayku pakallapi ruwaqku, Pacha Mamanchismanqa Haywarikullasqakupuni, ichaqa españolkuna mana chaypi iñisqakuchu, chayrayku Pacha Mamanchis kunan wañunayashan: Because knowledge is not bound by space and time, Quechua knowledge systems are based on fluidity and equilibrium. While the Spanish conquest and European notions of superiority continue to influence Quechua ways of life and people, knowledge from other cultures and their practices can be gained if deemed useful and respectful of the Andean world. Additionally, the visceral and real impacts of the conquest and current environmental threats to the Andean world are processed within Quechua knowledge systems and become part of what is known, *yachayninchis*, and what is remembered, *yuyayninchis*. Within what is known and what is remembered, what is learned and experienced, solutions to current problems can be explored.
4. **Quechua knowledge systems are vital dialogue and exchange** – Pacha mamanchiswanqa rimananchispuni sapa púnchay, Pacha Mama: qori montera, qolqe pullera, qanmi ñuñuwankiku, qanmi uywawankiku, qan patapin noqayku wawaykikuna kawsayku, noqaykutaqmi “español” runakuna chayamusqankumanta pacha usa hina kawsashayku yawarniykita soq’ospa, manataq qanta allintachu qhawarishaykiku: Quechua knowledge systems are concerned with sustaining all life in the Andean world and maintaining balance with the universe. These systems exist alongside other knowledge systems and are therefore vital. Pedagogies are intricately involved and rooted in the practice of relationship through conversation with the universe – that humans and other living beings, including plant life and animals, maintain a relationship with each other through communication and reciprocity. Not only are ceremonies acts of conversation between humans and the universe, but also there are stories that teach the value of conversation, such as the exchanges between corn plant and *yuyu*, an edible herb, that grows among the corn (see Photo 3).
5. **Quechua knowledge systems nurture individuals and community through learning and teaching** – Allinta yachananchis, umanchispi allinata hap’inanchis: Experiences within Quechua knowledge systems are facilitated by community members of all ages who direct, facilitate, learn, and participate in its practices; from the community healer to the youth learning to irrigate a field for the first time, each community member is recognized for particular talents, characteristics, and for their abilities to share these within the Andean world.
6. **Quechua knowledge systems are concerned with values towards harmony and justice** – Kamachi simikuna: More profound than socialization or construction of nationhood, Quechua knowledge systems are concerned with the cultivation of values of justice in each Quechua person throughout their entire lifetime. The ideal

Photo 3 Chakra with plants and flowers conversing with the corn in a southern valley of Cusco (Image by Elizabeth Sumida Huaman)



Quechua is often described as *umayoq*, *sonqolloq*, *kallpayoq* (possessing a good mind, possessing a good heart, and possessing strength). Within the *chakra*, teaching and reinforcement of other values during every stage of the growth of plants – respect, love, humility, thankfulness, and sharing – are shown to the elements, crops, and other community members through daily and ceremonial practices.

7. **Quechua knowledge systems are Quechua illumination and innovation** – *Ñawpaqman puririy, t'ikariy*: The Quechua knowledge system is interdisciplinary and holds principles of science, technology, engineering, art, mathematics, history, and social studies. Western discourses of knowledge separate these, but to Quechua, they are inextricable from each other and the natural world. Innovating and creating new approaches for sustaining Quechua ways of life and bringing solutions to problems is inherently the work of the Quechua knowledge system (see Photo 3): science in the form of agricultural cultivation and astronomy, technology in the form of advanced irrigation, engineering in the design of hydraulics, art in the form of sculpture and goldwork, and mathematics in the form of textile and architectural design (Photo 4).

This is not a classification of Quechua knowledge, but rather an offering of some observable patterns and continuities. Moreover, because knowledge has been

Photo 4 Inca hydraulic engineering work of Tipón (Image by Elizabeth Sumida Huaman)



commodified in the mainstream (May 1999; Valladolid and Apfeel-Marglin 2001), the purposes of knowledge are important to explore; in this process of inquiry, we can begin to distinguish Quechua knowledge as a way of living in the world from a body of thought whose metrics are based primarily on acquisition for human gain.

The Fall of a God

The Quechua knowledge system is vast and rich. As a structured and organized system of knowing the Andean world and maintaining a relationship with the universe, this system is also crucial to the sociocultural identities of Quechua children. For the past few decades, scholars working with Indigenous communities in Peru have amassed arguments regarding the local, national, and global benefits of these distinct identities (Zúñiga et al. 1987; Valcárcel 1988; Hornberger 1988; Aikman 1995, 1999; López 1996; Sumida Huaman and Valdiviezo 2012). No Quechua individual should have to justify or seek validation from dominant society regarding the worth of their identity. However, because of the longitudinal power inequalities resulting in silencing, marginalization, outright hostility, and negation of

Quechua as intellectual or anything other than primitive at worst, aesthetic only at best, there is a need to establish a baseline of respect for Indigenous knowledges – that Quechua knowledge systems and Quechua people contribute to world knowledges in ways that are productive to the survival of our own and other species. The threats to life today are unprecedented, and although not of Quechua making, when their knowledge is threatened and undermined, so is their human potential to repair the world.

Waytapallana, they say, is a man and woman. He is not alone. . . All of the flowers that the people are starting to bring now grow on Waytapallana—the flowers for Tayta Shanti—the woman protects the flowers the people go to pick. Look, if you have a noble heart, if you are pure and peaceful and enter to pick flowers, nothing will happen to you. You can cut the flowers peacefully. However many you want, you can bring. But if you go to the place, our Tayta Apu on Pachamama, they say when you enter Pachamama, she knows who you are. They say that maybe you are easily entering to pick flowers, but you become lost little by little, being tempted by prettier and prettier flowers—Just like that! You can disappear into the mountain. Pachamama knows all the feelings you carry, who you are. She studies the people. (Mama Yolanda, Fieldnotes 1997, author translation)

In 2004, Mama Yolanda, a Quechua Wanka speaker and community member living in the Mantaro Valley of central Peru passed away leaving her own legacy of Quechua stories told through the oral tradition and intimate knowledge of every section of her homelands that she passed on through daily interaction to her family members. She spoke of local shrines, wari or sacred places, farm fields that all carry Quechua names, the stories behind ceremonies, and of the mountains and their deities. Waytapallana, a glacier visible from her family house in the small Andean community in which she was born, is one of the special places she described (see Photo 5). Known in Quechua stories as related to the deity, Huallallo Carhuancho, the mountain glacier is affectionately called Waytapallana, the place where the flowers are picked, and this glacier is a landmark in the region that is central to ceremonies in the Andean calendar. Surrounded by glacial lakes, flowers that are used in ceremonies are ritualistically gathered from this place. As Mama Yolanda explained, this deity is not alone, but part of a family of mountains and peaks. Furthermore, she described the relationship that people have with this place and the earth and what type of *heart* it takes in order to even walk in the area. Her understanding of this place and her emphasis on human responsibility are vital elements in Quechua knowledge – that places are not removed from human emotion and intention.

In addition to its cultural significance, Waytapallana is also significant as a water source for this region and for the nearby capital city of the region of Junín, Huancayo. Western modern science views the Mantaro basin as distinct in Peru due to its biodiversity, natural reserves, and its glaciers like Waytapallana – which is arguably the most important glacier in the basin (Lagos 2007). With an elevation ranging from 4800 to 5768 m, Waytapallana is part of the Cordillera Oriental of the central Andes and located approximately 32 km from Huancayo (Quispe Palomino 2010, p. 15). As Mama



Photo 5 Waytapallana glacier (Image by Elizabeth Sumida Huaman)

Yolanda also acknowledged, Waytapallana is part of a complex of other mountain peaks including Yanaucsha, Lasuntay Grande, Lasuntay Norte, Cochás, Chuspi, Chulla, Ichu, Yanacancha, Tello, Rangra, Talves, Putacocha, Anchigrande, Chonta, Palpacocha, Champacoto, Pacaco, and Panchamayo; collectively, these form approximately 25 black, green, blue, and turquoise glacial lakes, which feed into various rivers that are connected to villages across the region (Quispe Palomino 2010, p. 16).

In the Mantaro region, not only is food grown locally by Quechua farmers for family and community subsistence, but also for commerce and trade (i.e., crops are routinely sent to Lima). However, this region is also under severe environmental threat due to sources with deep histories of colonial domination and neoliberalism – soil and water contamination through use of pesticides since the US introduction of DDT to the region post-World War II, water contamination of the Mantaro River due to regional mining projects, and perhaps most visibly to Waytapallana, climate change – which scientists believe is not likely to improve (Mark et al. 2010). Since the 1980s, Waytapallana’s icecaps have been melting, and over 50% of the surface area of the glacier is estimated to have been lost. This loss represents cultural challenges coupled with inevitable complications for water consumption and agricultural sustainability.

Carefully crafted documentation of significant places in the Mantaro region paired with local narratives and commentary was provided by Father Jaime Quispe Palomino of Huancayo in 2010. He described his work as addressing the urgency of growing the consciousness of human ecology to understand and curb the destruction

of the environment. He divided his work into three areas: the deterioration of the environment through contamination and its death and destruction; the current state of local animals also Indigenous to the region; and an exaltation of the land, the animals, and the universe. As in Father Quispe Palomino's work, reports emerging from the region have been conveying compelling testimony regarding environmental loss: Increasingly since 2011, news media has reported on the recession of Waytapallana and its projected impacts both locally and nationally. *El Diario del Comercio* began tracking local government efforts in Huancayo to conserve the region and protect Waytapallana from further losses. On December 7, 2014, *La República* described the loss of Waytapallana as "the fall of a giant" and described scientific projections based on the current rate of recession that Waytapallana will disappear by 2050. *La República* also reported that La Comunidad Andina de Naciones (The Andean Community of Nations) warned that as a result of glacier loss across the Andes, 2020 would see problems with access to water for human consumption, agricultural use, and hydroelectric energy, impacting an estimated 40 million people. Culturally speaking, the loss of Waytapallana is unimaginable, and there are no Western scientific projections to describe such an impact on Quechua knowledge and memory:

The legend of the origin of Huaytapallana tells of the confrontation between the gods Huallallo Carhuincho and Pariacaca, due to the daughter of the first, a beautiful girl called Huaytapallana. The son of Pariacaca tricked her and in reprisal, Huallallo Carhuincho killed him. Pariacaca took revenge, in turn, drowning the girl in the lake Carhuacocha. The war between the two gods was bloody and only ended when Wiracocha intervened, and he converted them into the snows on top of the mountains of Huancayo and Huarochiri. The legend says that on the day that the snows melt, the gods will return to govern the land of the Huancas. It seems like that day grows closer. (Miranda 2014)

Given the widespread impact of environmental damage both caused in Peru and elsewhere that has resounding effects throughout the globe, the loss of Waytapallana appears imminent. While local and national governments using international research support seek to address the vast loss of these resources in Peru, local community members throughout the Andes consider the direct impacts to their lives. There is increasing attention towards the intersection of physical risk associated with the direct impacts of glacier recession and vulnerability – from susceptibility to resiliency as response to environmental degradation – most critically appearing in studies of political ecology (Trigoso Rubio 2007). What we see is an epistemological clash – between Quechua knowledge and environmental exploitation based on progress exemplified through neoliberalism, and where direct impacts are immediately observable on local people who contend with the future in unprecedented ways. Respecting and caring for local environment, loving the chakra and earth, and being humbled by and gracious with what has been given are in opposition to dominant economically driven ideologies of natural resources. In light of explicit losses due to environmental degradation, we also see that Quechua values and stories do have critical relevance to science and ecological planning after all.

Indigenous Rights Education (IRE)

While Quechua are aware that their knowledge systems are beneficial for human behavior and understanding towards peaceable living with the universe, the fight in contemporary political discourse to demonstrate how and why this matters has been underway for decades. Framed as a reflection of collective conscience, critical Indigenous stories take on political power distinct from that which has been misappropriated by dominant Peruvian society as merely rural beliefs or folklore. While acknowledging modes of Andean resistance, Andean communities and scholars are transcending resistance; they are building new discourses and responses that position Quechua knowledges at the center of the conversation on progress, development, and nationalism. Education, both out of school learning processes and formal schooling, is paramount in such endeavors as state control over spaces where learning occurs is increasingly confronted by Indigenous peoples.

Questions around how education in both spaces can be constructed for the benefit of Indigenous peoples are clear. Quechua knowledge systems and discourses of human rights (HR) and earth rights have been useful in framing positions of Quechua knowledge in human and environmental interaction. However, in Indigenous terms, there are important critiques of the language of rights as state-sponsored, endorsed, or recognized. Tsalagi scholar Jeff Corntassel's work offers critical insights in this regard by rejecting state-recognized discourses that are distracting to Indigenous empowerment – where Indigenous peoples reframe rights as *our inherent responsibilities*, reconciliation as *resurgence*, and resources as *relationships* (2012). I do not dispute this, and the hope would be that local Quechua peoples and Indigenous peoples engaged in monumental and persistent environmental and educational battles would reframe the language of rights using Indigenous philosophies and languages. In Quechua, this might be along the lines of *chanin*, or justice in English, and its accompanying stories and cultural practices. However, for the time being, the discourse of rights is employed by Indigenous community members asserting Indigenous presence in national and international arenas. Furthermore, in light of ever-growing projects of development and environmental consequences in Peru and across the Andes, the how-and-why-Quechua-knowledge-matters justification is now more apparent than ever: In order to equip generations with the language and tools to lead and manage their own natural resource interests with local and global accountability to people and places, international discourses of rights (re)framed locally create and hold space for Indigenous peoples to place themselves in conversation from which they have been excluded, if they so choose.

Indigenous rights education (IRE) is a tool to expand Indigenous epistemologies in connection with community-driven educational goals that must interact with the state. IRE is founded in local Indigenous knowledge systems, including what and how local Indigenous peoples determine is vital to their ability and the ability of the beings and places in which they live to thrive (Sumida Huaman 2017). An example of this is collectively exhibited in the United Nations Declaration on Indigenous Rights (UNDRIP). Stemming from local Indigenous knowledge systems, IRE is linked with Indigenous rights, human rights (HR), and place/earth rights.

Post-World War II and as a response to the atrocities committed in Europe, human rights emerged as a critical discourse for framing the rights of individuals and societies. In this time period, delineations regarding rights and international crimes against humanity were drafted through the 1945 London Charter of the International Military Tribunal (Nuremberg Charter), the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) adopted by the United Nations in 1948 (see: <http://www.un.org/es/universal-declaration-human-rights/>). Since its adoption, the UDHR has served to provide one frame for considering rights viewed as universal and incontrovertible, and ideas regarding human rights and their consideration and application have since been expanded. O’Byrne (2013) argued that HR also involved necessarily regarding theories of human nature and the role of the individual, theories of society and the social context of HR violations, theories of ethics and condemnation of HR violations by civil society, theories of politics and the role of the state, and logic of modernity where progress is mythologized and a better world is imagined.

Because this chapter is concerned with not only how HR can be framed by Indigenous peoples but also how HR is taught, the work of Monisha Bajaj is apt. Drawing from Amnesty International’s prepositions that link education and HR, she centralized her inquiry about the expansiveness and potentials of human rights education (HRE) through the lenses of education *about* human rights, education *through* human rights, and education *for* human rights (2011, p. 483, Bajaj’s emphasis). Each of these targets the design, structure, and content of HRE in a way that demonstrates the potential of HR frameworks in practice. In terms of education and according to the 2006 UN World Programme for Human Rights Education, Bajaj highlighted one definition of HRE as “education, training and information aiming at building a universal culture of human rights through the sharing of knowledge, imparting of skills and moulding of attitudes directed to: a) the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; b) the full development of the human personality and the sense of its dignity; c) the promotion of understanding, tolerance, gender equality and friendship among all nations, indigenous peoples and racial, national, ethnic, religious and linguistic groups,” among others (p. 484). Bajaj pointed out that the UN’s definition of HRE was aimed at seeking commitment from member states and using a top-down approach focused on national policymakers. Drawing from models of HRE produced by international organizations and national efforts in India, she argued that ideological variation was a strength in producing HRE initiatives – that is, not only does the very idea of HRE engender interest, but also the ability of organizations and peoples to use their own worldviews to inform what HRE is and how it can be practiced on the ground are important markers for what HRE can become.

Because of the innovative capacity of Quechua knowledge, ideas and practices regarding HRE can supplement proposals for Quechua education *about*, *through*, and *for* human rights from Quechua worldviews concerned with both local and global issues. Central to any Quechua proposal is connectivity to land – the severing and disruptions of which were addressed in the first and second parts of this chapter. Issuing proposals for Quechua education will include several challenges: First, how

can Quechua communities reframe the language of HR and HRE according to their own principles, values, and desires? Second, how can Indigenous lands and natural resources be reclaimed, revitalized, managed, and protected through Quechua education using principles that first recognize Indigenous ties to land as more than abstract and based in customary international law (Anaya and Williams 2001)? Third, drawing from and transforming discourses of HRE, how can Quechua education frame environmental degradation and climate change and produce educational interventions that combat dominant and public political discourse around progress and projects of development in the Andes region? Last, how can Quechua educational practices and realities speak back or contribute to the discourse of HR and HRE in ways that maintain the integrity of Quechua knowledge while also producing shared knowledge that benefits all life on this earth?

Over the past decade, we have seen prospects for solutions, such as discourse on the rights of Mother Earth that reflect Indigenous ideals of human-environmental relationships and political and social activism. Bolivia's Proposal for a Law of Mother Earth (2010) is a self-described framework that acknowledges people, society, and place in transition through the industrial era and is the result of a critique of neoliberalism and capitalism: "We urgently need alternatives to the capitalist development model that destroys the environment and has caused the financial, energy and food crises, as well as climate change and deep inequalities within and between societies" (p. 5). Aligned with Quechua epistemology that prioritizes balance with the universe, the objectives of this framework were described as "to guarantee the co-existence and preservation of life," which involve a philosophy of humans as a part of nature where Mother Earth is a subject entitled to her own protections – the violations of which are punishable as crimes. Outlining the role of individuals and the role of the state, descriptions of the rights of Mother Earth, along with policy recommendations, were outlined in this document, which has been scrutinized within the Bolivian plurinational state and by critics and supporters of Bolivia's political evolution worldwide. Unclear is how Indigenous peoples and allies will confront structural inequalities that preclude Indigenous participation in these discourses and in setting the agenda for these discussions of power, land, and education.

Conclusion

From our breath to Pachamama, we know how to conserve the land and the waters, which are the blood of Pachamama. We make offerings, as did our ancestors before us. (Mama Ines, personal communication, Cusco, 27 June 2016, author translation)

In this chapter, Quechua knowledge system characteristics have been highlighted in relation to the Andean world and over time, including historical impositions that have resulted in the remaking of the Andean world. Environment and natural resources have been subjected to colonial imposition and overtaking, as well as globalization and climate change, and exogenous and neoliberal projects of development. Newer

examinations and propositions mindful of past resistances and current hopes to transcend resistance towards the creation of new ideas and solutions that honor the past are discussed. As a result of these confluences, *yachayninchis* (Quechua knowledge) and *yuyayninchis* (Quechua social memory) are fluid and require consideration of Indigenous epistemologies, which can also be described as Indigenous wisdom fluencies, lending themselves to transitions on Quechua lands throughout the Andes that Quechua peoples confront. As an exclusive and largely destructive tool of the discourse of progress and the promises of modernity towards socioeconomic betterment, projects of development remain extensions of imperialism and its colonial trajectory. A singular pathway of development undermines Indigenous conceptualizations of human life on this planet, where discourses of progress equal participation in the global capitalistic market focused solely on economic gain and where quality of life is measured through financial indicators and interaction and access to Western technology. Quechua knowledges offer solutions towards repairing this world, and equipped with the language of the past two decades of Indigenous rights, place/earth rights, and human rights education, there is an opportunity to create space for meaningful and productive dialogue that unseats dominant colonial and neoliberal narratives of what humanity is and which pathways we might take in this world.

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Reflections on the Purpose of Indigenous Environmental Education

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Kyle Powys Whyte

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Abstract

The essay offers reflections on the purpose of Indigenous environmental education. Indigenous peoples engage in wide-ranging approaches to environmental education that are significant aspects of how they exercise self-determination. Yet often such educational practices are just seen as trying to genuinely teach certain historic traditions or scientific skill-sets. Through reviewing the author's experiences and diverse scholarly and practitioner perspectives, the essay discusses how Indigenous environmental education is best when it aims at cultivating qualities of moral responsibilities including trust, consent and accountability within Indigenous communities. The concept of collective continuance is one way of thinking about how moral responsibilities play significant roles in contributing to social resilience. Understanding education in this way can be used to address some of the major issues affecting Indigenous peoples everywhere, including environmental justice, gender justice and the resurgence of traditions.

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Environmental justice · Indigenous knowledge · land education · place-based education · Indigenous ecology

Introduction

I'm going to share some of my personal reflections on the purpose of Indigenous environmental education from my perspective as a Potawatomi person, relative, scholar, and activist currently living in the Great Lakes region in Turtle Island/North America. This essay is an expression of my perspective and exercise of my rather recent memories and not a research essay. I write from the concern that much is at stake in Indigenous environmental education since so many of our peoples face rampant pollution, food insecurity, biodiversity loss, reckless land and energy development, "natural" disasters, and risky climate change impacts. Brigitte Evering and Dan Longboat claim these environmental issues "disrupt relationships with land" and "community sustainability" (Evering and Longboat 2013, 242), threatening Indigenous health, cultural integrity, political sovereignty, economic vitality, and overall wellness. Some of my reflections will take the form of brief anecdotes from my professional and nonprofessional experiences, though the details will be anonymized since I'm giving opinions on my personal memories instead of aspiring to generalizable knowledge claims from research. The anecdotes are supposed to be illustrative, and I hope they are helpful to the readers. My sense is that people who also work in related contexts will recognize the issues I'm trying to highlight.

I'll begin in this essay with a broad discussion of Indigenous environmentalism and then move on to reflect on education more closely.

Indigenous Environmentalism

Indigenous peoples in North America lead some of the most profound environmental movements in the world. As part of its long engagement in anti-colonial resistance, the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe led a major mass movement to attempt to stop the construction of the Dakota Access pipeline. Diverse Indigenous conservationists, such as Sophia Rabliauskas of the Poplar River First Nation or the late Isidro Baldenegro Lopez of the Tarahumara people, have worked to protect millions of acres of critical forest ecosystems from risks including logging and hydropower. The Village of Kivalina filed a lawsuit in the US against the energy industry, including ExxonMobil Corp., for climate change damages. The Black Mesa Water Coalition has worked for years on environmental justice issues related to water quality, drinking water, and mining in the Navajo and Hopi Nations and has advocated for transitioning to clean, renewable energy. The voices and actions of Indigenous advocates in the Americas have impacted environmental issues globally, including the voices Winona LaDuke, Rodrigo Tot, Ailton Krenak, Gail Small, the late Berta

Caceres, Tarcila Rivera Zea, Sheila Watt-Cloutier, and Tom Goldtooth, among many others.

It's not surprising that Indigenous peoples are compelled to address environmental problems. North American Indigenous peoples often have living intellectual traditions and heritages that center what many people today now refer to as resilience and sustainability. Mayan and Aztec peoples have ancient institutions of astronomy, calendars, and historical record keeping that seek to guide societal preparation to anticipate and respond to seasonal change and interannual trends (Kidwell 2004). Diverse Anishinaabe and Algonquin peoples, among many other North American groups, have long legacies of seasonal round economies, cultures, and political organizations, where societal institutions are designed to best suit the changing dynamics of ecosystems (Benton-Banai 2008; Witgen 2011; Child 2012). Pacific Coast groups, including Nuu-cha-Nulth peoples, have ceremonies such as give-aways (potlatch ceremonies) that motivate nonselfish behavior for the sake of environmental conservation and food security/sovereignty (Trospen 2002; Atleo 2006; Atleo 2002). Yet, in the last five centuries, Indigenous peoples in North America have suffered the advancement of capitalism, industrialization, and colonialism sanctioned by nations like Canada, Mexico, and the US. These forms of domination have rendered many groups vulnerable to new environmental problems caused by military invasion and technology use, extractive industries (including monocrop agriculture and forestry), land and water dispossession and forced geographic displacement, and laws and policies that banned ceremonies and divested Indigenous children of their languages and knowledges. Heather Davis and Zoe Todd call the impact of colonialism, industrialization, and capitalism ecologically "seismic" (Davis and Todd 2017); Larry Gross calls it "apocalyptic" (Gross 2016).

I seek to do what I can to exercise my responsibilities to support Indigenous planning, research, and advocacy on environmental issues. A lot of what I try to do involves collaborating with Indigenous leaders, communities, scholars, scientists, and governments to achieve two outcomes: addressing environmental harms and risks arising at the interface of colonialism, capitalism, and ecological change; strengthening the role of living Indigenous traditions and heritages of sustainability and resilience in guiding and framing our actions. I've worked especially in the Great Lakes on both US and Canada sides, but also, though less intensively, beyond the region. Most people who are involved in similar endeavors can likely attest to the diversity of activities, including development of Tribal planning processes, historical research on environmental traditions and practices, participation in ceremony, support for frontline advocacy, reform of law and policy, and communication through writing, tweeting, Facebooking, and engaging other media. In my job as a professor, I've tried to build awareness of Indigenous intellectual traditions of resilience and sustainability in higher education, Indigenous expectations for good collaboration and allyship in environmental and research initiatives, and Indigenous philosophical contributions to the meaning of environmental justice and food sovereignty.

In my own reflections, I've thought of different ways in which to discuss some of the concepts within the broad and highly diverse orbit of Indigenous intellectual traditions and environmental movements. One concept I've thought a lot about is

collective continuance, which I will tie to Indigenous environmental education at the end of this essay. Collective continuance is the idea that some of the gifts of Indigenous traditions are entire systems of how societies can be organized to be most responsive to different types of change – whether the changes are extreme weather events, intergenerational traumas, seasonal cycles, or military invasions by other societies. Collective continuance is certainly a lot like resilience or sustainability. Yet, Indigenous traditions of collective continuance often focus on how *moral relationships* are significant factors in facilitating how members of a society self-determine their responses to various changes arising from the dynamics of social and ecological systems. Broadly, moral relationships refer to particular types of bonds or affinities. These bonds connect diverse members of a society together, human and nonhuman, through establishing mutual (but not always equal) expectations about how each member ought to treat one another. One of the most important moral relationships in collective continuance is *responsibility*.

Responsibilities can be laden with qualities such as trust, consent, accountability, and reliability. One example of how these qualities work within collective continuance that I'll discuss later is the relationship between Anishinaabe/Neshnabé people and wild rice (Manoomin or Mnomen) that is involved in the seasonal round tradition (I sometimes put the different spellings in English of Ojibwe, Odawa, and Potawatomi languages just to reference *some* of the diversity of accents and English dictionaries.). It's a mutual responsibility in which people and rice are expected do what is in each of their powers to enhance the conditions required for one another to contribute uniquely to the overall wellness of their shared community. The contributions to community wellness are diverse. At one level, they include human and nonhuman nutrition, habitat protection, and safety (such as for fish or birds or for shortages in other food sources). At another level, rice is entangled with stories, educational processes, knowledge keeping practices, giveaway traditions, ceremonial protocols, the vetting of leadership, economic systems, and diplomatic ties that are the fabric of society. So – just focusing on a single slice – someone who is responsible for monitoring rice health must go through an educational process created by their community that can vouch for their trustworthiness as a caretaker; they must also, through ceremonies or giveaways, demonstrate publically their accountability to all their relatives. As knowledge changes over time, the staff of Tribes that use newer scientific instruments to monitor and protect rice, for example, are nonetheless expected to be vetted by elders, work with traditional caretakers, receive guidance from the larger community, and demonstrate their accountability for doing their part to protect the plant's future. Here, what starts as just the idea of humans having responsibility for rice for the sake of nutrition, opens up into an entire universe of qualities of the moral relationship, including trust, accountability, and many more qualities if I were to keep discussing. And I've not even talked about rice's responsibilities to humans – or discussed the many other relationships beyond just rice!

These qualities of the mutual responsibility between humans and rice are, at the same time, aimed at avoiding preventable harms, such as malnutrition or ecological degradation, and promoting the underlying community conditions required for all

beings to pursue their life aspirations, including being able to have meaningful spiritual and cultural lives. Concepts of collective continuance, then, are similar to concepts of resilience or even environmental sustainability because of their emphasis on conservation and adaptive capacity. Yet concepts of collective continuance are unique for their emphasis on looking at moral relationships as a vector through which to examine the interrelationships between human and ecological systems. Studies of collective continuance focus on topics such as knowledge systems that privilege accountability between keepers and learners of knowledge, ceremonies that concretize nonselfish norms, consensus-based decision-making processes that uphold consent, empathetic types of consciousness relating to nonhuman beings (e.g., plants) or entities (e.g., water, ecosystems) as having animacy or agency, respecting diversity in areas such as gender identities and leadership attributes, and protecting the support systems needed for people to engage in civil disobedience when circumstances require it. In this way, collective continuance is about the intensified integration of morality with sustainability and resilience.

The reflection I'll focus on most in this essay concerns the connection between collective continuance and the purpose of Indigenous environmental education, though I won't get to that exact topic until the very end.

Indigenous Environmental Education

Environmental education is a significant topic when I think about Indigenous environmental movements, living intellectual traditions and heritages, and concepts I use a lot, like collective continuance. By "environmental education," I simply mean learning activities that focus on deepening the relationships between humans and nonhuman neighbors and systems, which include plants, animals, fishes, insects, ecosystems and habitats, ecological flows, and entities such as water or air, and the earth system. Environmental education is nothing new for us. Related to what I described earlier, Indigenous peoples have diverse and ancient traditions of how teaching and learning are significant for sustaining critical ecological relationships and supporting resilience in response to seasonal and interannual environmental changes. In many traditions, English words such as "human," "nonhuman" and "more-than-human" are unsatisfying translations that, unfortunately, we have to rely on in many contexts. For many Indigenous peoples see humans and nonhumans as kin or relatives to one another who are bound together through reciprocal responsibilities – akin to family – that support their mutual wellness. Some Indigenous persons identify themselves more with nonhuman ancestors, clans, or other beings than with some special human category. In these ways, Indigenous peoples are often less likely to have some privileged category for "human" that denotes a uniquely rational, wise, knowledgeable, or free being or species.

Indigenous scholars who I read have articulated different reasons for why environmental education is critical for us. Leanne Simpson discusses how "...few communities are equipped with the necessary resources to effectively deal with the over-whelming number of environmental issues facing their people and their lands."

Simpson claims that education provides “knowledge [Indigenous persons] can apply to the situations they face in their communities. . . skills to ensure the cultural survival of their people. . . [and to] become environmental problem solvers within Aboriginal communities, and Aboriginal political or urban organizations” (Simpson 2002, 14). *Land Education*, a recent book edited by Kate McCoy, Eve Tuck, and Marcia McKenzie, features scholars such as Delores Calderon and Megan Bang, among others. Calderon describes how “Land education requires us to consider Indigenous agency and resistance tied to Indigenous cosmologies” and to “destabilize” colonial ideologies that erase Indigenous relationships to their territories (Calderon 2014, 27). Bang et al. discuss, in their work in Chicago, how Indigenous environmental education works to cultivate “longer views of our communities and our homelands not enclosed by colonial timeframes. . .” and seeks to “center Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies by (re)storying our relationships to Chicago as altered, impacted, yet still, always, Indigenous lands...” (Bang et al. 2014, 3). All of these scholars privilege both a sobering, critical account of the current situations of Indigenous peoples and a call for the important and varied roles Indigenous intellectual traditions can play in response to contemporary challenges.

Indigenous peoples are developing and maintaining diverse types of environmental education. In my own orbit, the Tribe I belong to, the Citizen Potawatomi Nation in Oklahoma, and other related Anishinaabe/Neshnabé peoples in the Great Lakes region, have taken great efforts to create and practice educational programs that maintain or revive our traditional relationships to the environment, including relationships to waters, lands, plants, animals, fishes, insects, and ecosystems taken in their entirety (e.g., wetland regions). These environmental educational programs focus on a range of topics, from birch bark canoe building, to wild rice harvesting, to hunting skills, to corn cultivation, to the respectful harvesting of medicines. The *Match-E-Be-Nash-She-Wish* (Gun Lake) Band of Pottawatomi Indians started the *Jijak* Foundation. The foundation revitalized a summer camp in their territory to support educational programs ranging from maple sugar harvesting to Indigenous food sovereignty gatherings. Sylvia Plain created the Great Lakes Canoe Journey, “a project that envisions bringing together the citizens of the Great Lakes Basin. . . to celebrate our relationship to the waterways, to each other, and to learn about Anishinaabe canoe culture and canoe building” (Plain 2017).

In Indigenous environmental education, “program” is not really the right term if we take it to suggest some discreet starting and ending point for learning. For much Indigenous education, in my experience, occurs within family, clan, and other kinship networks over many generations. In my earlier work as part of a project Nick Reo developed on Ojibwe subsistence hunting, we found that education in the ethics, skills, and ceremonies of hunting at the Lac du Flambeau Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Indians occurs across family, clan, and other kinship relationships through each hunter’s lifetime. Learning and teaching never ended. Over the course of their lifetimes, people invested in education to continually learn how to become better relatives to the animals they hunted and to the family and community members they are responsible for sharing harvests with. One hunter expressed how bad it feels to know that humans can’t give their lives to deer – revealing a powerful

aspiration toward reciprocity and a sense that human gratitude for deer is never satisfied (Reo and Whyte 2012). When I was showing Reo what I just wrote here, he also told me briefly a related story. In one of his collaborations on Indigenous water ethics, his partners told him it was awkward to hear him refer to their work together as a “project.” For “project” seemed to fail to acknowledge the ongoing-ness, long-term relationship-building, and personal commitments that really mattered to his collaborators and motivated them to continue on.

At the same time, most Indigenous communities also feature diverse arrays of “programs” in environmental education that work on timelines similar to classes (3 months long, weekly meetings, and so on). I know many friends who are proficient speakers of Ojibwe, Odawa, or Potawatomi accents or who are skilled black ash basket makers because they attended a combination of classes. Though in many cases, these friends took extra time and effort to learn from elders outside of class settings, relying on community and family relationships to make that learning opportunity possible. These friends will continue to become educators themselves in these areas as a part of their lifetime learning.

Indigenous governments and intergovernmental organizations have invested in other types of environmental education that are aimed at supporting Indigenous persons’ advancement in dominant US and Canadian institutions. Tribal colleges and scholarships to nonTribal institutions of higher education often serve to make available training in scientific, legal, policy, and other fields that pertain to careers that address environmental issues. Often graduates of these programs work for their own or other Indigenous governments in departments, offices, or divisions of natural resources and environmental quality. In many cases, Tribal professionals seek guidance from the intellectual and governance traditions of the Tribes they work for (which could be the Tribes they belong to). Jamie Donatuto and Larry Campbell of the Swinomish Tribe, in their roles as staff and Tribal members, have drawn on the Tribe’s culture and traditions to understand and educate about community environmental health (Donatuto 2008; Donatuto 2016). Or the College of Menominee Nation developed its Sustainable Development Institute in 1993. The institute came out of the commitment that sustainability has always been part of Menominee life, including “respect for the land, water, and air; partnership with other creatures of earth; and a way of living and working that achieves a balance between use and replenishment of all resources” (Morris 2017).

Indigenous environmental education importantly includes the traditions of collective action that work to achieve social, political, and cultural transformation. Indigenous mobilization to protect water is an example, including the multiple treaty initiatives such as Treaty Rights at Risk (Tribes of Western Washington), the Mother Earth Water Walk, and the NoDAPL (Dakota Access Pipeline) movement (Dhillon and Estes 2016; Treaty Indian Tribes in Western Washington 2011; McGregor 2005). Participants in these mobilizations often don’t use “activism” or “protest” to describe what they are doing; rather, they describe themselves as water protectors, water walkers, relatives of water, among other identities and kinship relationships tied to reciprocal responsibilities. They often describe their actions as ceremonies. Melanie Yazzie’s work speaks to Indigenous environmental justice activism pertaining to

water as the “social life of water,” which expresses and enacts a “radical politics of relationality” (Kearns 2017). In the NoDAPL efforts, many Indigenous persons, both from the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe and others, designed camps, performed ceremonies, and engaged in diverse protocols that are uniquely Indigenous traditions of collective action. Indigenous organizations and peoples have longstanding traditions of education in how people can learn to orchestrate and participate in collective action *as* ceremony and protocol and observe norms about who (human or non-human) has responsibilities to communicate (e.g., speak), listen, advise, and represent.

Though I’m not trained, either through Indigenous, US, or other institutions, as an education scholar or specialist, I’ve endeavored to work in Indigenous environmental education as best I can. So in this essay I can share experiences, but I don’t have the depth in the educational literature that a scholar trained in the field would, and hence I can’t cite widely from educational scholarship. I’ve codesigned with dynamic colleagues experiences such as the Indigenous Planning Summer Institute at the College of Menominee Nation Sustainable Development Institute, the Tribal Climate Camp with the Affiliated Tribes of Northwest Indians (hosted by a different Tribe each year), and numerous climate change planning workshops for Tribes in the Great Lakes. I’ve also trained many hundreds of scientists in Indigenous approaches to collaboration with Tribes on environmental issues. In my practices as an educator, I’ve engaged traditional education as pertains to climate change, Tribal climate change planning, and the advancement of Indigenous pedagogy in the sciences for promoting ethical intercultural collaboration (though these labels for typecasting Indigenous education are provisional given they can imply false demarcations across highly integrated approaches to educational practices).

In my personal experiences witnessing, being a student in, or organizing Indigenous environmental education, I’ve come to wonder about what purposes Indigenous environmental education serves.

Indigenous Climate Change Planning

I engage with Indigenous environmental education most often through climate change planning with a number of Tribes in the Great Lakes region. In one part of my work in this area, a collaborator, Mike Dockry, and I, discussed the idea of trying to Indigenize futures planning through facilitating Tribal scenario development on how best to prepare for climate change. We expanded this work with collaborators Chris Caldwell and Marie Schaefer in projects organized by the Sustainable Development Institute at the College of Menominee Nation. Scenario planning involves people imagining plausible and possible futures tied to certain issues they are concerned about, both as individuals and as members of self-governing communities and nations. Scenarios express visions of the future that suggest ideas for how people living today can prepare themselves for the sake of maintaining their capacity to honor their ancestors and support the wellness of their own and future generations. Scenario planning is as much an educational process as it’s about planning and

governance. People can see scenario planning as a way to raise greater awareness of and increase the practice of the community's own traditional ways of talking about the climate, such as their seasonal round system. Fulfilling this goal involves creating opportunities for bringing different knowledge keepers and learners together at appropriate times and places. People also often want to learn what others, outside of the Tribe, are saying or know about climate change, especially other Indigenous peoples, as both a global phenomenon and a local issue. So scenario planning often involves inviting educators and creating opportunities to learn from the experiences and tools of other Indigenous peoples, universities and non-profits, inter-Tribal organizations, and US or Canadian national or state/provincial agencies. Sometimes people who are members of or work for a particular Tribe may feel like they don't have a venue for sharing their knowledge about climate change or may not see how they can take leadership in climate preparedness that pertains to their duties as members/citizens or employees. In the planning institutes I'm part of that I referenced earlier, a lot of what we discuss collaboratively are the best ways that scenario planning can be used to energize community events, persuade Tribal council, and energize people of all generations to address climate change.

In scenario planning, climate change is a highly integrated topic. Climate change issues, from increasingly severe droughts to warming waters, are at once issues of politics and economics (e.g., treaty rights), health (e.g., dietary changes), culture (maintenance of traditions), and environmental management (e.g., choices about what species to conserve and restore), among many more dimensions. So scenario planning requires addressing all these dimensions together. Yet in the educational work required for scenario planning, what I often find is a central challenge: Tribal staff are really separated from each other, even in rather small communities or nations. So the educational aspect of scenario planning often becomes an exercise in empowering relationships – which goes beyond simply providing information about climate change or providing opportunities to express visions of the future that can persuade Tribal leadership. It's not uncommon, for example, that in different Tribes there are no working relationships across people specializing in areas such as language maintenance/revitalization, health, and environmental management. Each of these areas are divided up into departments or offices that are "silo'd" or "stove-piped" off from each other, so to speak. Working in these offices involves devoting time to meeting specific objectives that are the ones designed by the US government or Tribal program that supports and funds the office. These objectives are often associated with very pressing Tribal needs, such as recording an elderly fluent speaker or addressing diabetes prevention.

At the same time, I find people in each line of work will cite problems due to a lack of integration once we start talking about organizing educational activities for scenario planning. People in Tribal environmental offices sometimes are concerned that they don't get enough community engagement in their work because there is little linguistic, storytelling, or cultural content to public events or meetings or internships they put on; language teachers sometimes say it's hard to teach language without access to the lands, waters, and environmental skillsets that inspired the language in the first place. Or I know of situations where Tribal health professionals

and Tribal environmental professionals rarely collaborate, which is ironic given the connections between environmental quality, diet and exercise, and health outcomes, as the body of work of Alice Tarbell and Mary Arquette demonstrates directly (Tarbell and Arquette 2000). I think the mutual solutions are rather clear in theory. The problem, of course, is that US federally recognized Tribes have come to operate using organizational structures heavily influenced by US and Western political traditions, which divvy up issues like health, culture, food, and the environment to separate sectors or departments – reducing them to being matters of “resources,” “rights” or “jobs.” These traditions are quite different from the organizational traditions derived from Indigenous calendars or seasonal rounds where government integrated together the issues with clear connections, such as language, health, economics, spirituality, politics, and the environment. In these contexts, the scenario planning process is often about how to reestablish integration and find ways to restore qualities of accountability, inclusivity, and reciprocity across people and offices that are unnecessarily kept separate. So the key outcome of the educational part of scenario planning often turns out to be the effort to engender greater qualities, such as accountability, across stove-piped offices that make it possible to address climate change in an integrated fashion. This outcome may seem very far removed from climate change preparedness. But is it that far removed (a rhetorical question)?

The importance of qualities of reciprocity, inclusivity, and accountability are part of other aspects of the educational process in scenario planning. I remember one scenario process in particular as illustrating this point. It was a scenario visioning workshop involving many people involved in subsistence/sustenance hunting and fishing. In this case, many Tribal members who attended placed a lot of emphasis on US recognized treaty rights as protecting their responsibilities to support their families and communities through harvesting relationships with different plants and animals. My collaborators and I thought we had come up with a really good scenario idea to discuss with the attendees: What if 50 years from now the US negates all treaty rights? Given climate change impacts on animal and fish habitats, what would this scenario be like? What would the Tribe do? After we posed the scenario, no one really looked very surprised. Then, someone finally chimed in and said that the Tribe would probably be fine because everyone would just go back to “poaching.” For readers not familiar with this context, “poaching” doesn’t really refer to illegal harvesting as a solution to climate change. Rather, it turned out that in the many years before the Tribe had relitigated their treaty with the US, people engaged in secretive harvesting. This harvesting was made possible thanks to dense moral relationships with qualities like reciprocity, accountability, and inclusivity across different families and communities.

In a not so far-off era when it was “illegal” to be Indian and exercise treaty rights, these qualities of moral relationships allowed many people to collectively monitor environmental change to stay on top of harvesting trends, train young people, and maintain an orderly network of communication so that harvesters could share with those who needed food the most. The relationships needed for “poaching” are very much ones that could be useful for addressing climate change, and US recognized treaty rights were not, at the time, necessary for people to have and maintain these

relationships. Some participants thought that the legal and bureaucratic aspects of US recognized treaty rights have actually led some people to disengage from or forget about the importance of these qualities of moral relationships. The participants then suggested that the scenario planning and educational process should be about recognizing and reempowering these family/community qualities for improving people's knowledge of environmental change (and hence responsiveness to climate change) and creating a sense of environmental stewardship in young people. Again, this scenario workshop seemed to go far afield from the topic of imagining climate change futures. But that's just one way of looking it, as I would argue that the workshop actually got far closer to the heart of climate change than perhaps what was originally intended when we posed the abnegation of treaty rights as a scenario.

In this work on Tribal climate change planning, it has seemed to be that the purpose of Indigenous environmental education is really about empowering qualities of moral relationships.

Indigenous Traditional Environmental Education

Tribal traditions in the Great Lakes related to wild rice, sturgeon, bees, and deer are the types of curricular topics many Tribal members are interested in working on, especially as they are connected to Indigenous languages. For these species' life cycles and peoples' linguistic expressions for them are connected considerably to seasonal and interannual environmental changes. At the same time, the distinctness of traditions is central to many Indigenous peoples' identities in the Great Lakes region and tied to treaty rights, cultural and moral responsibilities, and nutrition and exercise. Plants like wild rice or fish like sturgeon, for example, are charismatic for many Native persons, which make them ideal for attracting people to invest their time to participate and learn about a range of topics, from language to climate change. I've also witnessed or participated in many different traditional educational programs related to environmental skill-building through visiting many different Tribes as part of my climate change and conservation work as well as my everyday desires as a Tribal member wanting to learn more about our history and culture.

In my experience, I see a lot of "traditional" environmental education programs that attempt to faithfully or genuinely maintain or revive traditions. Yet often my experiences are punctuated by my having extremely critical and negative reactions to the ways in which some traditional education activities are designed and implemented. Gender is one of the examples that concerns me most. I've seen in some cases traditional educational activities that privilege male leadership, men's knowledge, and masculine perspectives on the significance of certain traditions and their histories. I have been told that these male roles are unquestionably part of Tribal heritage dating to time immemorial. Often, however, I found through research or talking in depth with elders that such interpretations of history were largely inaccurate or based on hasty reconstructive analyses of the already problematic work of nonIndigenous anthropologists. These experiences remind me of Jennifer Denetdale's body of research on situations in the Navajo Nation. In these situations,

she challenges the cogency and accuracy of how “tradition” is used to justify marriage inequality, the exclusion of women from leadership, and other moral issues (Denetdale 2006, 2009).

At times, when I’ve discussed matters of differing historical interpretation, I was told that even if my view was correct, there was still another reason to organize traditional education this way. I was told that it was important to accommodate what I might call here “hyper or overly-emphasized masculinity” in traditional environmental education to reinvigorate men’s sense of having relevant roles in their societies, given the oppression Indigenous men have faced. One example I hear a lot is that historically hunters had to have aggression to effectively carry out that responsibility, so masculine aggression should be accommodated as an outlet for Indigenous men today. Yet, in my interactions with multiple harvesting communities, I don’t find male hunters, for example, as needing to invest in a hyper or toxic masculinity or patriarchal mindset or to see aggression as a necessary ingredient for success. In fact, relational qualities – including community accountability and empathy – seemed more to motivate successful hunting, leaving men and boys who are susceptible to adopting patriarchy with many viable alternatives. The alternatives arise from both Indigenous traditions of community-based reciprocal responsibilities but also from practices modeled by men today who practice ethical, liberatory gender identities and norms.

Many Indigenous peoples also see their traditions as involving nonbinary gender systems. In historical work and my discussions with many Anishinaabe/Neshnabé persons, it’s the case that persons of diverse genders and ages have long traditions of hunting too, whether performing the actual harvesting or participating collectively in all the activities associated with hunting (e.g., butchering, cleaning, etc.) (See Norrgard 2014; Buffalohead 1983; Child 2012; Sinclair 2016). Even in cases of a few Tribes I know where some members are convinced that something sounding like patriarchy (not just patrilineality) is accurately part of their history, I’m not sure why its maintenance and the normalization of exclusion are morally acceptable aspirations. I couldn’t help thinking that there must be a way to maintain and valorize our traditions and ceremonies through education without sanctioning privilege and exclusion. Historically, Indigenous traditions seem to be more about building and maintaining interpersonal trust, high standards of consent, and respect for diversity. In my mind, such cohesion makes it more possible to discuss and address patriarchal and other forms of domination that affect everyone, albeit differently – such as how Indigenous girls and boys are trafficked sexually in areas with extractive industries (e.g., the Bakken) (Deer and Nagle 2017) or the state-sanctioned violence that Indigenous persons experience distinctively in relation to their gender, such as murder, going missing, domestic abuse, police assault, and exploitation.

I’ve contrasted some of the problems I saw in some cases with traditional education I felt particularly appreciative of. I saw educational programs teaching traditions and ceremonies that claimed that the traditions embraced inclusiveness, trust, consent, empathy, and diversity. I have discussed with collaborator and friend Deborah McGregor how in some of the Great Lakes water walks inspired by the Mother Earth Water Walk, for example, the walkers valorized certain conceptions of

Anishinaabe women's responsibilities to water; at the same time, the walkers were open to all interpretations of environmental responsibilities inclusive of all genders. In my recent work with Sherry Copenace, we have discussed how she teaches coming of age ceremonies in Winnipeg, Manitoba and Kenora, Ontario that allow persons to choose whether to participate in ones oriented toward boys or girls. Someone can choose to do both too (Copenace 2017a). So, for example, learning to be "Anishinaabe" in one's environmental relationships meant learning about a morality that didn't sanction exclusion and privilege, even in cases where some of the teachings may have an initial binary gender orientation for various reasons. Some friends and scholars also point out that these initial binary gender orientations in some traditions are more reflective of a failure of translation from Anishinaabe language and culture to English language and US and Canadian settler culture. Margaret Noodin writes that "Anishinaabe language and culture acknowledge gender difference, but in a way that relies on choice and context rather than fixed and predictable rules" (Noodin 2014, 12). My experiences, and Noodin's sentence quoted here, suggest an important morality that needs to be the focus of traditional environmental education.

In the examples I have given, it's qualities like trust or accountability that are most important as a way of learning about relationships to nonhumans, such as water in the Mother Earth Water Walk. I have followed Tribal sturgeon restoration in the Great Lakes region for some time now. I find many restoration projects to be very powerful expressions of Indigenous traditions. Sturgeon, who have ancient relationships with many Tribes, have been greatly harmed by US and Canadian settlement, from overfishing to dams. But the purpose of Tribal sturgeon restoration is rarely, in my opinion, just about making it possible to add sturgeon back to our regular diets or to be able to practice certain sturgeon ceremonies or customs exactly as our ancestors did. The Little River Band or Ottawa Indians and the Menominee Nation created public ceremonies and community feasts to commemorate the centrality of sturgeon in certain moral relationships. Sturgeon is a trusted and reliable *relative* of people, often called a "grandparent" owing partly to the fish's wisdom and long life. That sturgeon would, as Jay Sam says, "sacrifice" itself for humans, should motivate humans to become aware of how they can be trustworthy and accountable environmental stewards so that sturgeon (an anadromous) fish will return each year (Holtgren et al. 2014). Little River's sturgeon-release ceremony invites the public to attend when juvenile sturgeon are released into the river each fall, exposing many non-Natives to Indigenous histories, culture, and traditional knowledge of sturgeon, as well as sturgeon biology and life cycles and environmental challenges. The Menominee sturgeon feast each spring is also public, bringing Menominee and non-Menominee together for educational and cultural immersion in sturgeon-related history, values, and practices, including dance.

When I talk to Odawa and Menominee attendees, some tell me that they see the ceremony and feasts, which attract hundreds of people, as a chance to commemorate accountability to the fish, to create intercultural conversations about sturgeon science, to heal relationships with settlers through a public discussion of environmental degradation, and to engender responsibilities in future generations. At the Odawa

ceremony, many children of all heritages personally release a juvenile sturgeon into the river. The ceremonies and feasts bring people together to strengthen moral qualities, in this case accountability, but also trust, consent, and reciprocity. They seek to not only rebuild the social fabric of Indigenous peoples, but also to repair the conflicting relationships with settler and other non-Indigenous populations in the region. Winona LaDuke, writing on the restoration of sturgeon at White Earth, has expressed hope that “Maybe the fish will help a diverse set of people work together to make something right. . . . The fish help us remember all of those relations, and in their own way, help us recover ourselves” (LaDuke 1999). To me, in sturgeon restoration, Indigenous environmental education is not really about *the* human and *the* fish; rather, it is about invigorating in today’s times and for the future moral relationships through which all beings respect one another based on their interlocking responsibilities and their unique contributions and agencies (Whyte 2018).

Here, again, this time with Indigenous traditional environmental education, it seems the purpose has to do with empowering qualities of our mutual responsibilities to one another.

Collective Continuance

In my experiences with education, when I contrasted examples that I appreciated with ones I was uncomfortable with, I began forming conclusions that the difference involved the presence or absence of certain qualities of our mutual responsibilities to other humans, nonhumans, and the environment. Qualities here refer to properties of relationships that make it possible for the discharge of the contributions associated with the relationships to have wide societal and environmental impacts - whether impacts are understood as outcomes (e.g. clean water) or protection of ethical norms (e.g. self-determination). So, for example, the responsibility (i.e. the particular type of relationship) to teach others how to harvest appropriately (a responsibility both to other humans and to plants and animals) will have an important impact if teachers are trustworthy, if they are inclusive of difference and refrain from exclusionary practices, if students can consent to their own learning by being able to ask questions and engage in dialogue, and if learning involves practices that build a sense of community accountability among diverse humans and nonhumans – among other examples of qualities. When I thought more about our traditions, I realized that their importance is not that they are “ancient” or “the way it’s always been.” Rather, they are stories or guides for understanding the moral fabric of our peoples that is woven with these qualities of trust, empathy, consent, and many others. Consider a tradition like wild ricing, now in more detail.

Many Anishinaabe/Neshnabé peoples have spiritual connections to wild ricing going back to their origin stories that involve a migration in which a white shell instructed them to stop at the place where food grows on water. Education about wild ricing can be about learning the exact techniques for monitoring rice beds, harvesting rice, parching, organizing ceremonies that feature wild rice in different ways, and so on. At another level, wild rice traditions involve much more. They are about how to

design and organize societal institutions to be consensual, accountable, reciprocal, trustworthy, empathic, and respectful of secrecy (what I call diplomacy). Wild rice is not actually important just because of its historic connection to Anishinaabe people. If we look more closely at different practices of wild ricing, historically and across different communities today, we see that over time ricing facilitated critical qualities of responsibilities.

One quality is trust. Community members trusted the persons and clans vested with authority and knowledge. Consent is another quality. Anishinaabe ricing involves the opportunity to consent to the leadership through ceremonial and vetting processes that people had to pass through to be acknowledged as leaders or experts. These leaders or experts were accountable to the communities. Trust and consent worked to solidify gender equality and fluidity. Resilience (or redundancy) is another quality. Ricing developed as a highly redundant practice as people are motivated to monitor many rice lakes, making ricing resilient in cases of environmental change. The harvesting camps and protocols facilitate the creation of many knowers of rice habitats, not just a few people who end up being overtaxed with working on behalf of entire communities. Diplomacy is another quality, where it refers to the desire to engage with people without divulging secrets. Families, clans, and Tribal groups formed close relationships to avoid trespass but also to ensure restorative justice occurred when someone wrongfully or accidentally used the rice bed that another family depended on. Societies with high degrees of trust, consent, diplomacy, and redundancy, among many other qualities, have the moral fabric to work together in good times and bad times and the relationships across humans and nonhumans that support the developing and maintenance of important environmental knowledge. For at least these reasons, I would speculate that societies with high degrees of these qualities of responsibilities can best respond to environmental and social changes.

A range of scholars point out that there was a period in early twentieth century history in which Ojibwe men began to participate more in wild ricing, berry harvesting, and other activities that previously were led by women. Evidence indicates that this gender shift occurred as the plant was commodified for sale to nonnative consumers and access to land dwindled due to US colonialism (Vennum 1988; Norrgard 2014; Child 2012). Critically, there are at least two interpretations of this type of change. The first interpretation is that this may have been an instance of undermining women's leadership, respect, and expertise, which is a historic and ongoing violence of US colonialism. The US deliberately undermined women's roles as diplomats and knowledge holders (Sleeper-Smith 2005). A second interpretation, which also bears out in some accounts of the transition, is that the ancestors who made these decisions perhaps felt strongly that gender roles could shift fluidly at different times because trust and consent flourished to a sufficient degree. So the shifts wouldn't have facilitated, at least at that time, the emergence of patriarchy. While, depending on the particular community or time period, this interpretation could simply not be true, I invoke it here to illustrate the importance of how a society – in the case that strong moral relationships and qualities of responsibilities are maintained in the face of adversity – can allow certain shifts in traditions to occur ethically for the sake of protecting the wellness of future generations. If the shift

worked in this way, it would keep open the possibility that women would be able to return to the involvement with rice that they once had and be acknowledged for their continued leadership in ricing, often behind the scenes, while under great duress and hardship.

My analysis here is not just backward looking. Indeed, it's the moral relationships with rice that have supported Anishinaabe leadership in responding to pressing environmental issues in the Great Lakes, including mining, commercial agriculture and genetic modification of plants, irresponsible recreational activities, oil and gas pipelines, and fracking. The Chippewa Tribe of Minnesota, with sponsoring partners such as the University of Minnesota, hosts a biannual conference called the *Nibi & Manoomin Symposium* that works to educate non-Indigenous persons, the state, academic institutions, and corporations about the moral qualities of wild rice. Last year's conference was titled "Accountable Relationships." The work of the Indigenous Environmental Network, the Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission, the Mother Earth Water Walk, Honor the Earth, and many Tribal governments have stood up against threats to water quality and wild rice habitats in the name of the moral relationships bound up with water and rice. The current Indigenous resistance to the Enbridge Line 3 pipeline is an example of how the significance of moral relationships today supports direct action against environmental hazards. While today Tribes use new types of science and new governance instruments (e.g., US treaties, state laws, federal programs, Tribal economic revenues) to protect rice and the environment, it is again those ancient qualities of responsibilities to wild rice that continue to motivate these major conservation and environmental justice endeavors.

When I reflect on wild rice and many other examples, like sturgeon or "poaching," I get the sense that the fabric of our societies are woven of qualities of responsibilities that protect our potential to live good lives, allow us the options to change without compromising trust and consent, and motivate us to resist domination. Sherry Copenace has discussed with me how *bimaadiziwin*, or the good life, really refers to the capacity of a society or Tribal nation to do the best within the circumstances its members happen to be facing (Copenace 2017b). I have tried to approximate this way of thinking in my reflections on *collective continuance*, which I discussed at the beginning. Again, collective continuance is the idea that certain qualities of moral relationships, like consent or trust, are crucial for supporting our societies' capacities to respond and adapt to changes we face. When we think of our traditions, each of these clans, committees, decision-making processes, ceremonies, and so on ensured that people trusted those vested with authority, consented to leadership, protected valuable knowledge, and promoted inclusivity and diversity. Traditions are not techniques only in the sense of a skill or even a hobby. They are moral relationships that guide how society is organized socially, culturally, politically, and ecologically. The moral relationships are valuable historically for at least two reasons when thinking more specifically about human interactions with the environment. First, they represented systems that were attuned to, and had reciprocal feedback loops, for particular types of ecosystems. Second, they also facilitated adaptation to more extreme changes, such as US colonialism, making it possible for

many Native people to have survived some of the worst domination any group of people can endure. Both reasons can be actualized today too and into the future, though the forms and practices are and will be different. An entire legacy of philosophy and practice that connects moral relationships to institutional orders is perhaps one of the greatest gifts our ancestors gave us. They gifted us an entire intellectual tradition unfolding over many hundreds of years, where we can study and discuss how moral relationships with qualities of accountability, trust, consent, reciprocity, respectful diplomacy, and many others are built into our societies' political organizations, cultures, religions, social norms, and economies.

Education for Collective Continuance

Anishinaabe studies scholars often write about many examples of what I am calling collective continuance, including concepts of transmotion, migration, seasonality, and transformation. I interpret this in the diverse work by Brenda Child, Gerald Vizenor, Heidi Stark, Niigaan Sinclair, Scott Lyons, Deborah McGregor, John Borrows, Megan Bang, Kim Blaeser, Mike Dockry, Robin Kimmerer, among many others. I read a lot of this work as showing, in varied ways, how it's qualities of mutual responsibilities that ought to be the focus of what we do as Anishinaabe peoples today. Education, say, on how to harvest and distribute wild rice, should be just as much about the techniques as it's about, say, how to organize a wild rice committee that is trustworthy, inclusive, mutually accountable, and consensual. Reading a recent introduction by Joanne Barker to the book she edited, *Critically Sovereign*, she quotes Leanne Simpson to make important connections between "ethical values" and how we interpret traditional teaching or education. In *Dancing on Our Turtle's Back*, Simpson challenges static concepts of traditions based on "rigidity and fundamentalism," arguing instead for the importance of "self-actualization, the suspension of judgement, fluidity, emergence, careful deliberation, and an embodied respect for diversity" (Barker 2017, 25; Simpson 2011, 25). For me, reading this, I see these moral relationships as ones that can create better learning environments that support philosophies of ethical and just institutional design and philosophies that motivate direct action to address forms of domination that can tear our peoples part, including patriarchy, economic exploitation, and the US and Canadian desires to erase our cultures, histories, diversity, and political self-determination.

Indigenous studies scholars have widely identified moral relationships as significant for guiding how Indigenous peoples respond to power and domination. Sarah Deer shows how the renewal of traditional restorative justice as a response to sexual violence in Indigenous communities must protect against the tendency for Indigenous men to internalize settler hetero-patriarchal values that distance them from being accountable to their communities (Deer 2009). Mishuana Goeman discusses how diverse Indigenous persons appealed to their ethics of community accountability, even outside of their traditional forms, when they reorganized themselves in urban centers in response to the US twentieth century Indian relocation policy

(Goeman 2009). Dian Million supports the quality of inclusivity as a significant ethic of Indigenous women's social justice work and activism (Million 2013). Megan Bang's work on science education shows how it's precisely reciprocal responsibilities rich in moral qualities between human and nonhuman worlds that are missing in STEM education for children (Bang 2018). Each of these scholars offers qualities of responsibilities – including accountability, consent, trust, reciprocal responsibly, and others – as guiding solutions for the continuance of our diverse peoples, at the same time they trenchantly critique sexism, racism, classism, and other forms of domination.

For my own referential purposes, I think of this orbit of thought as offering diverse concepts of collective continuance. Concepts of collective continuance highlight how particular qualities of moral relationships are valuable to us for how they are organized systematically to support the capacity of our peoples to respond effectively to changes that we can't control. Adaptive capacity, of course, is *not* – at least to me – about turning the other cheek to the on-the-ground violence imposed by systems of structural domination, such as settler colonialism. The adaptive capacity of collective continuance does not require us to sacrifice the importance of anti-violent activism, public ceremony, and radical critique of settler colonial domination for the sake of institution building or the need to make internal reforms within our communities. For example, I heard widely from different persons how the *Mni Wiconi* (*water is life*) philosophy expressed by Standing Rock Tribal members and embraced by Indigenous peoples globally has a number of values. It honors Lakota and Dakota traditions of ethical relationships with water *as a relative*, motivates radical resistance to extractive industries, and recommends alternative designs for institution building that protect genuine consent, build trustworthiness, and embrace gender equality and fluidity. While the philosophy articulates these goals, *Mni Wiconi* is importantly about environmental sustainability, resilience, and conservation too (see Dhillon and Estes 2016 for many of the views I have heard).

In Indigenous studies, I read much scholarship as enriching our understanding of morality and continuance: “Survivance” (Gerald Vizenor), “*naw'qinwixw*” (Jeanette Armstrong), “muskrat theories” (Megan Bang), “fish pluralities” (Zoe Todd), “Native feminism's spatial practice” (Mishuana Goeman), “grounded normativity” (Glen Coulthard), “land education” (Eve Tuck, Marcia McKenzie, Kate McCoy), “radical politics of relationality” (Melanie Yazzie), “resurgence” (Leanne Simpson), “polity of the Indigenous” (Joanne Barker), “Indigenous legal orders” (John Borrows and Val Napoleon), “an open sense of place” (Soren Larsen and Jay Johnson), and many others too numerous to cite here (Vizenor 2008; Armstrong 2007; Bang et al. 2014; Todd 2014; Goeman 2009; Coulthard 2014; Tuck et al. 2014; Kearns 2017; Simpson 2016; Barker 2017; Napoleon 2013; Borrows 2002; Larsen and Johnson 2012). While I tend to interpret these forms of scholarship as concepts of collective continuance, their contributions arise from their own intellectual and community orbits beyond what I can discuss or further analyze here. Indigenous environmental education *for* collective continuance refers to education designed to immerse us in our traditions of qualities *of moral relationships across generations*. From trustworthiness to inclusivity, these moral relationships are critical to the

flourishing of our societies in the face of conditions of constant domination. The moral relationships that make up collective continuance support our capacity to grow connections to particular places *and* to adjust ethically and critically when our lives migrate to different places or when we encounter less familiar circumstances. Concepts of collective continuance honor our histories and the resurgence of our traditions. At the same time, these concepts support what is – on my view – perhaps the best tradition of Anishinaabe and other Indigenous peoples: critical reflection and thoughtfully designed institution building. The collective continuance of our peoples must involve the coordination of a diverse range of actions, including radical activism and the politics of refusal (Simpson 2014) against settler colonialism, but also Indigenous planning, diplomacy, internal reform of our governments and self-criticism.

For Indigenous environmental education, then, one purpose is learning – in diverse, inclusive and generationally appropriate ways – about how to maintain and transform moral relationships within and across our peoples for the sake of our collective continuance. Indigenous environmental education must be at the forefront of pedagogy that makes crucial connections across moral qualities and environmental issues that matter to our peoples. It must be able to connect concepts and issues together, *such as* consent, patriarchy, *water is life* and environmental justice, *or* community accountability and trust, gender politics, hunting, and treaty rights – among many more necessary connections.

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Indigenous Family Engagement: Strong Families, Strong Nations

41

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Abstract

In this chapter we argue for amplifying and renewing Indigenous family leadership and engagement in systems of education that aim to support Indigenous communities' resurgence. Families are the heart of Indigenous nations and communities. For many Indigenous people and communities, families include all of our relations – reflecting multiple generations, extended family, other community members, more-than-humans, and the lands and waters of our

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homes. While forms of everyday resistance and resurgence are enacted by Indigenous families and communities, systems of education for Indigenous children and youth often remain sites of trauma, assault, and aims of Indigenous erasures. Much work has been done by Indigenous scholars and allies to challenge hegemonic and settler colonial agendas in education and to assert Indigenous families and communities as changemakers reshaping education toward thriving Indigenous futures. This chapter synthesizes across literature on Indigenous family engagement to argue for (1) the need for continued assertions of Indigenous families' and communities' ways of knowing and being; (2) engaging Indigenous families and communities as dreamers, nation-builders, and future elders; and (3) engaging promising strategies for reimagining and cultivating family-community-school relationships.

Keywords

Indigenous education · Indigenous families · Family engagement · School-community partnerships · Settler-colonialism · Indigenous resurgence

Introduction

Families are the heart of Indigenous nations and communities. For many Indigenous people and communities, families include all of our relations – reflecting multiple generations, extended family, other community members, more-than-humans, and the lands and waters of our homes. Indigenous familial relationships have a wide geography and reflect Indigenous knowledge systems as they unfold in everydayness (Cornthassel and Scow 2017). Families are the archetype for Indigenous nations and often reflect a complex web of interdependence between all things. Families are the primary contexts in which Indigenous children learn who they are, Indigenous ways of knowing, and what is expected of them as they become adults and eventually become good elders. In this way, the strength and well-being of Indigenous families are fundamental to the strength and well-being of Indigenous nations. Given this perspective, we suggest the everydayness of Indigenous families' lives is perhaps the sites in which the most radical and hopeful possibilities for Indigenous resurgence and futures can and do unfold (Simpson 2011; Cornthassel and Scow 2017).

While the centrality of Indigenous families to Indigenous nationhood may seem straightforward enough, it also is the reason that settler-colonial nation-states have routinely created and enacted policies across generations intended to dismantle, disrupt, or assimilate Indigenous peoples through forced changes in familial structures and relations (e.g., Muir and Bohr 2014; Sarche and Whitesell 2012). Although the well-known insidious strategies like forced attendance to boarding schools have subsided, policies intended to intervene in and reshape familial relationships continue to be widespread. Examples include compulsory attendance laws, high rates of foster care, legal guardianship instead of kinship, and age segregation in classrooms, among others. Additionally, forced removal from traditional homelands, policies that

restrict access to land and water to engage in traditional harvesting and hunting practices, or legislation preventing Indigenous spiritual practices have intended to sever human relationships with land, waters, and more-than-humans – relations central to Indigenous families. These impacts on movement and activity are further entrenched by the curricular aims of much of schooling. Mainstream curriculum and pedagogy contributes to and perpetuates settler-colonial narratives of Indigenous erasure, conquest, and dispossession (e.g., Calderon 2014; Grande 2004; Shear et al. 2015; Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernández 2013).

Evolving from this history, Indigenous family engagement and leadership in schools is again a focus in policy and practice wherein family engagement in schools is being mandated, measured, and resourced to reflect particular stances and goals. While this is true across the globe to a great extent, in this piece we will primarily focus on dynamics connected to the United States in which family engagement paradigms largely remain a one-size-fits-all assimilative demand modeled after White, middle-class forms of engagement and practices. However, there has been a swell of research on Indigenous family engagement from Indigenous peoples across the earth that can provide important resistance to and redirection of dominant family engagement strategies that perpetuate settler-colonial aims and histories. Our goal in this piece is to articulate a framework – rooted in a critical review of the literature – for Indigenous family leadership in systems of education that cultivate cultural and intellectual vibrancy and contribute to Indigenous collective well-being. As Indigenous and mixed-race mothers of children in US schools, former classroom educators in pre K-12 settings, and as scholars of education, we [authors] recognize that our histories and experiences shape our analysis of the literature and our hopes and dreams for our family and community well-being and the kinds of roles we might play in family leadership and educational transformation. A challenge for us is always to both dream and contribute to birthing resurgences and Indigenous futures – an elsewhere to the current settler-colonial forms and systems of education – as well as to account for the here-and-now enclosures. It is our hope that the stories, analyses, and recommendations here resonate with Indigenous families globally and contribute to heterogeneous and locally nuanced forms of family leadership and engagement that contribute to Indigenous well-being and educational justice.

We begin our review by situating mainstream family engagement as a research-policy-practice field within a broader settler-colonial agenda. Here we unpack mainstream constructions of family engagement and how it impacts Indigenous families today. Secondly, we explicate several dimensions of enclosure that Indigenous families face when attempting to transform schools and systems. This section is divided into three main findings: (1) racism, invisibility, and exclusion of Indigenous families in school, (2) tokenism and inclusion toward Whiteness in transactional family engagement paradigms, and (3) inauthentic decision-making processes based on onboarding to school agendas and fostering compliance. By explicitly naming these enclosures, we hope to highlight the difference between assimilative forms of family engagement and the promising forms of Indigenous resurgence enacted by families in the everyday. In the third section, we explicitly focus on promising practices and everyday resurgence in families and beyond. In this section

we highlight four main facets of family engagement that contribute to Indigenous resurgence: (1) learning from and with our lands, waters, and more-than-humans is integral to Indigenous family engagement, (2) multigenerational and lifelong learning are integral to Indigenous education and therefore foundational for Indigenous family engagement, (3) relationships and collaboration with non-Indigenous educators and systems need new forms of partnership that recognize and cultivate everyday Indigenous resurgence; and (4) equitable and transformative collaboration with families leads to rigorous academics and higher achievement for Indigenous students. Broadly, our findings call for the need for continued assertions of Indigenous families' and communities' ways of knowing and being to combat colonial enclosures. Beyond these forms of resistance, we also find the need to open imaginative and creative spaces in which Indigenous families and communities are engaged as dreamers, nation-builders, and future elders. Finally we suggest schools and other educational institutions need to develop new forms of family-community-school partnerships.

Historical Overview of Family Engagement Research

Since the 1960s, parent involvement and family engagement have been explicitly articulated as broad sweeping reform efforts to improve education (Ishimaru et al. 2016). Normative parent involvement literature suggests that increasing parent engagement increases the educational attainment of students (e.g., Epstein 1987; Epstein and Sheldon 2002; Henderson and Mapp 2002). Much of this research, however, focuses on particular practices that are normative to White, middle-class families. These include volunteerism, fundraising, and practicing “school” at home by reading or helping with homework, among others. Power, race, language, and gender are implicated in much of this work but are often silent. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, the rhetoric and policy impacts of parent involvement and family engagement began to address the particular “challenges” of engaging racially and ethnically distinct populations. For example, handbooks on parent involvement were published with chapters pertaining to different racial groups, including “Native” parents (e.g., Berger 2000; Butterfield and Pepper 1991; Redding et al. 2011).

Specific to Indigenous families, the Indian Nations at Risk Task Force (INART), a division of the Department of Education in Washington, D.C., published a landmark report in 1991 on the state of US parent involvement in education and appropriate strategies for ensuring American Indian and Alaska Native (AI/AN) parental participation in schools (Butterfield and Pepper 1991). This report reviewed 100 citations relevant to parent involvement and AI/AN education, including hearings and public testimonies. Like many reports of the time, it included a set of barriers to participation including unwelcoming school climates, differences between home and school cultures, and parental behaviors that may hinder participation such as alcohol abuse, dysfunction, and violence. Unlike many parent involvement handbooks of the time, the INART report critically examined the role schools played in harming Indigenous communities through boarding schools and

removal of children from families and recognized how this history contributes both to the skepticism of AI/AN parents toward educational systems and to systemic health and economic disparities (Butterfield and Pepper 1991). Recommendations from this report tended to propose culturally responsive adaptations to normative practices for AI/AN families but had not yet started to address differences in knowledge systems or to question purposes of family engagement in education.

Within the broader field of parent involvement and family engagement, critical race scholars were also calling attention to deficit constructions and assimilative demands, as well as their consequences, of parent involvement paradigms (e.g., Delgado and Stefancic 2000; Howard and Navarro 2016; Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995; Solorzano 1998). For example, in a persuasive handbook chapter, Baquedano-López et al. (2013) detail the deleterious ways that parents of color are forced to either assimilate to normative schooling *and child-rearing* practices or be labeled as deficient parents. The consequences of these choices on parents of color impact not only educational opportunities for children and youth but often impact familial and community abilities to organize themselves in culturally appropriate and sustaining ways. Furthermore, while critical race scholars have paid careful attention to the classed, gendered, and racialized rhetoric and practices that figure centrally in parent involvement and family engagement, they do not consider the ways that settler-colonialism and the dispossession of Indigenous peoples from their homelands also figures centrally into education and family engagement. Indigenous families and communities continue to be positioned into having to choose between either participating as compliance officers for schools enacting settler-colonial agendas or being positioned as deficient, deviant, or uncaring. Indeed this choice is reflective of a long-standing paradigm in which generations of Indigenous children were removed from their families and placed in foster care. While the Indian Child Welfare Act is designed to stop the removal of Native children from Native families, Native children remain significantly overrepresented in the foster care system reflecting the ongoing disruption to thriving Indigenous families (e.g., White 2017). The characterizations and perceptions of school systems with respect to child-rearing are a critical factor in this ongoing dynamic.

The Rise of Family Engagement Policy

Family engagement is becoming increasingly scaled and mandated through legislation in North America. For example, within the United States, the Every Student Succeeds Act [ESSA] requires Title 1 schools (those serving low-income students), including Bureau of Indian Education (BIE) schools, to have a *written* family engagement policy and to enact it (NCLB 2002; Henderson 2016). This includes funding for family engagement outreach and programs of at least 1% of Title 1 funds received by the district. Schools are required to seek family input on how those funds will be used to support family engagement and evaluate the efficacy of those programs and practices.

These policies arise amid a preponderance of “gap gazing” (Gutiérrez 2008) research that focuses on the disparities and barriers facing students and families of color, including Indigenous families. Couched in this ever-increasing demand for high-stakes accountability and measures to combat the “achievement gap” is a push for normalizing White and middle-class epistemologies as the standard upon which to measure Indigenous students (Gutiérrez 2008; Villegas 2009) and families. These standards promote individuality, meritocracy, capitalism, and consumerism as desirable outcomes of education that perpetuate settler-colonial logics of land as a material resource and assimilation as progress (Villegas 2009). Federal policy and school adoption of family engagement has been shaped by settler notions of family, success, and education; however, because decisions about family engagement and funding are left to individual schools, we think there is potential to shape everyday implementation toward Indigenous futurity.

Through our analysis of the literature, we argue that Indigenous family leadership in schools requires attending to the political dimensions of how family engagement is framed, legislated, funded, and enacted as well as to the everyday resurgence of Indigenous families that contribute to the lived experiences and wellness of our families, communities, and nations. So far we have attended to the political enclosures and opportunities happening at national scales. In the next section, we highlight the enclosures faced by Indigenous families routinely in and by schools.

Refusing Settler-Colonial Enclosure

Equitable and transformative partnerships between schools, families, and communities require collaboration and shared decision-making practices. This means enacting reciprocal relationships between stakeholders where families and community members are seen as teachers with perspectives that matter (Murphy and Pushor 2004). Unfortunately, the literature we reviewed was rife with examples where settler paradigms slipped into and enclosed (Richardson 2011) even the most well-intentioned family engagement models (e.g., Lipka 1986). In this section we explicate some of the enclosures typical across the literature including racism, tokenism, and railroading.

Racism, Invisibility, and Exclusion

Racism and stereotypes about Indigenous families are common challenges found in the literature we reviewed that spanned across time and places (e.g., Butterfield and Pepper 1991; Coleman-Dimon 2000; Davis 1988; Herzog et al. 2016; Kaomea 2012). In interactions with non-Indigenous educators and school systems, Indigenous families and students face low expectations (Kaomea 2012), stereotypes about cultural practices and beliefs (Kaomea 2012; Lea et al. 2011; Robinson-Zañartu and Majel-Dixon 1996), and systemic barriers to participation in schools (Friedel 1999). In one of the very few large-scale quantitative studies with

Indigenous families, 234 families representing 55 tribes were surveyed about their satisfaction with and perceived efficacy of public, BIE, and tribal schools in the United States. Resoundingly, families expressed their frustration with public and BIE schools, citing disrespect of Indigenous families and a deep concern over the lack of presence of Indigenous cultures in their children's formal educational experiences (Robinson-Zañartu and Majel-Dixon 1996). Tribal schools were viewed more favorably except in the area of special education. When this study was replicated 10 years later, results had not changed (Herzog et al. 2016). Many of the participants made comments that the administrators or teachers did not, in fact, want Native parent involvement (Herzog et al. 2016; Robinson-Zañartu and Majel-Dixon 1996). This form of exclusion occurs regularly for Indigenous families, particularly when they do not participate in school-sanctioned ways (e.g., compliance). Friedel (1999) writes:

Public schools, like residential schools, tend to remain closed to Native parents; they continue to exist as isolated 'islands' outside the community. Where residential schools might be viewed as cultural invasion, perhaps public schools can be seen as 'cultural occupation.' In both cases parents remain on the outside looking in. (p. 142)

In addition to overt racism and exclusion, Indigenous families and students face invisibility within schooling curricula and pedagogy (Hare 2012; Garcia 2014; Kaomea 2012). This invisibility perpetuates non-Indigenous educator perceptions of Indigenous parents as having deficient parenting skills and a lack of interest in children's education. However, there has been excellent research that examines and contrasts family and community-based practices with those of schools to demonstrate the problem is not about deficiency or interest but one of visibility. For example, Hare (2012) studied the family literacy practices in five Anishinaabe Head Start centers in Canada and compared them to school literacy practices. She notes that oral history, being on the land, and engaging in ceremony all contribute to the developing literacy practices of Indigenous children that shape how they see and make sense of the world. In particular, Hare argues that reading and renewing relationships with land are important literacy practices of Indigenous communities that are most often overlooked when schools assess the capabilities of Indigenous students and families. She writes:

Young indigenous children learn to interpret their environment and understand the significance of place, territory and landscape through land-based pedagogies, which emphasize stories, specific teachings, observation and experiential learning. They are 'reading their world' and, in doing so, learning their histories, ideologies and identities. (p. 407)

In this compelling example, family practices and land-based education practices that support Indigenous children's learning and identity development are both missing and invisible in formal schooling practices. Further, we suggest that these practices and forms of learning are reflective of Indigenous knowledge systems. While educators may not explicitly subscribe to western supremacy and assimilation, dynamics of erasure and invisibility are nonetheless reflective of these

historicized dynamics and create school contexts that enact forms of ontological and epistemological violence (e.g., Moreton-Robinson 2011; Marker 2006). However, it is also critical to note that these dynamics do not lead to practices and solutions defined by unexamined forms of multicultural inclusion.

Tokenism and Inclusion

Overwhelmingly, the literature demonstrated that non-Indigenous educators and administrators often lack an understanding of the history of schooling with respect to Indigenous communities or the ways in which schools continue to be shaped by and reflect settler-colonial agendas. Further, much of the literature demonstrated that educators are rarely adequately prepared to engage Indigenous learners in culturally responsive ways (e.g., Castagno and Brayboy 2008). This phenomena has been explored broadly but also with respect to Indigenous knowledge systems (e.g., Barnhardt and Kawagley 2005; Battiste 2002; Deloria and Wildcat 2001), Indigenous science (e.g., Cajete 2000), and literacy education (e.g., Archibald 2008; Freire 1970) among other specific foci. This is uniquely consequential in urban areas where not only are educators ill-prepared to support Indigenous students but Indigenous students may also find themselves socially isolated in dominant-majority classrooms and communities left to navigate racialized dynamics without a peer group (e.g., Johnston-Goodstar and VeLure Roholt 2017).

To remedy this, many schools are turning to community partners to aid in the cultural education of students by establishing cultural nights or bringing in speakers for school-wide assemblies or classroom activities. Sometimes families are brought in for focus groups or listening sessions where they are asked to share their experiences and opinions with administrators or educators (Friedel 1999). While these might be genuine efforts to include families in schools, cultural knowledge and practices are still positioned as extracurricular or peripheral to daily teaching and learning and have not had significant impact on increasing familial belonging nor do they reflect a foundational shift in paradigms which are in service of Indigenous thriving. Indeed Bequette (2009) and Friedel (1999) caution against asking elders, artisans, and other knowledge holders to volunteer their time and expertise, particularly if it is done so as a one-time participation without the intent of sustained or long-lasting partnership as this form of ad hoc, flat, representational inclusion can be deleterious to developing true collaboration. Further, these one-off inclusions tokenize Indigenous families and ways of knowing as non-Indigenous educators “position Indigenous knowledge holders (e.g., Elders, storytellers) as ‘special guests’ rather than foundational” and “non-Indigenous teachers are [then] tasked to rework the curriculum to make it more relevant to Indigenous students’ cultures” (Madden et al. 2013 p. 219). These forms of inclusion are typically framed by unexamined multicultural perspectives that are largely shaped in response to Whiteness and often fail to move the ground from assumptions of western epistemic supremacy and tokenized representational

discourses toward epistemic heterogeneity (Richardson and Villenas 2000). Such forms of inclusion often do not open spaces to create relevant and sustaining learning environments with Indigenous families and community members as leading and empowered decision-makers, thus as Indigenous scholars have long argued are ultimately counterproductive for Indigenous sovereignty and futurities (e.g., Deloria 1971; Vizenor 1989).

False Decision-Making: Railroading and Rubber Stamping

Unfortunately, many family engagement strategies reinforce power and decision-making with school officials and educators rather than engage in broader community deliberation and decision-making that transforms historically saturated power structures (López et al. 2016). Frequently schools will elevate and tokenize individual families to “rubber stamp” initiatives that schools deem important – initiatives that are frequently driven by the imperatives of Whiteness and settler-colonialism (Richardson and Villenas 2000). While there have been some increased efforts for schools to listen to the stories and experiences of Indigenous families, decisions about if and how to utilize those stories and knowledges remain with schools (Murphy and Pushor 2004; Coleman-Dimon 2000). Even when decision-making processes are in place, they are often politically charged spaces where power and privilege manifest and can contribute to within community tensions (e.g., Young 2011). Sharing her own experiences as a parent in a Native program in Alberta and as a researcher, Friedel (1999) describes how non-Aboriginal staff and administrators in the district continually undermined and prevented the decision-making and implementation of the Aboriginal parent advisory group that oversaw the Native program. She writes:

Instead of being involved in planning and executing the educational program at Sprucewood School as was outlined in the recommendations that were approved by school board trustees, parents are kept busy trying to cope with everyday problems at the school. And they continue to deal with these alone instead of with the help of the Aboriginal community as was proposed in the recommendations. (p. 151)

Collaborating with Indigenous families in order to center and honor Indigenous knowledges and practices in schools is paramount to the educational success of students; however, doing so without first acknowledging the historical legacy of settler-colonial education on Indigenous communities allows for erasure of such history and enclosure of decolonial possibilities (Lipka 1986). Further, engaging Indigenous families in western forms of decision-making processes (e.g., hierarchical decision-making that reinforces the status quo) will not contribute to extensive transformations. Indigenous forms of deliberation, diplomacy, and decision-making as collective processes that attend to here-and-now urgency as well as being accountable to past and future possibilities and enclosures (e.g., Comtassel and Scow 2017; Whyte 2017) offer new pathways for family leadership and engagement.

Resurgence in the Everydayness of Families

Everyday enactments of Indigeneity and processes of decolonization and renewal matter for the wellness and strength of Indigenous nations, and they are pragmatic and empowering for families. In spite of the clear racism, tokenism, and assimilative imperatives inflicted on Indigenous families, there are also promising new practices and models for family engagement that *begin with* Indigenous families as the foundation for healing and education. Importantly, as we reviewed literature, we noted that there was a marked shift in scholarship which focused on family well-being and cultural resurgence. This scholarship also tended to have a marked difference in the methodological approach and sensibilities – more specifically it utilized Indigenous methodologies (e.g., Smith 2013). Increasingly scholars seem to be recognizing historicity in approaches to Indigenous family engagement and working to engage Indigenous families as nation-builders and changemakers in educational reform. In short, they often articulated pathways of Indigenous resurgence that begins and continues with families. While protecting and evolving treaty rights and other legal expressions of Indigenous sovereignty will remain critical, an important emergent edge in this work is to focus, support, and understand resurgence in the everyday forms of practice in family life (Cornthassel and Scow 2017). From this perspective, the vitality and growth of everyday resurgence in Indigenous families across our communities is what will continue to grow our sovereignty and nationhood.

Focusing on everydayness through analysis of family roles, relations, and responsibilities is a promising strategy. Cornthassel and Scow (2017) did just this through an analysis of Indigenous fatherhood and articulated four dimensions of everydayness to attend to including relationality, convergences of time and place, politics of intimate settings, and gender relationships. Cornthassel and Scow (2017) argue that much of the resurgence literature takes up the political and legislative stances of nationhood and sovereignty, and also importantly there is opportunity to explore the processes of resurgence in intimate settings. They argue that “the processes that Indigenous peoples assert for self-determination are just as important as the results of that struggle” (p. 56). Central to resurgence is living relationality which they define as the web of interconnected human and more-than-human relations and responsibilities that define us as Indigenous peoples. In connecting relationality to Indigenous resurgence, they write: “by examining lived relational aspects of being and becoming Indigenous, we effectively subvert universal generalizations and localize struggles for family resurgence and personal decolonization” (p. 58). For example, the authors turn to their own roles, relationships, and responsibilities as fathers and “other-fathers” to examine the intimate acts of fathering that contribute to the well-being and wholeness of children, families, and through this nations. Reflecting on these roles also demands attention to decolonizing gender constructions and gendered relationships. Cornthassel and Scow’s (2017) suggest many of the gendered roles and politics expected of families are based on colonial forms of gendered binaries that do not often reflect or respect traditional practices, particularly for two-spirit, queer, and trans identifying Indigenous peoples. As the authors put it, “After all, community ‘traditions’ are constantly changing and evolving. Even our community notions of complementarity in terms of gender roles

need to be rethought and considered from queer or two-spirited perspectives” (p. 63). As mothers, daughters, aunts, cousins, and women, we are continually working through our desires and expectations of roles, relations, and responsibilities as well and those projected on to us. Further, we are always also working to renew our relations across roles which can and often do include resisting and refusing powered dynamics defined by colonialism.

Working from our own felt theories (Million 2009) – that is the things we know and feel that we may not always have the words for but sometimes the songs for – we are learning to move and act in our everyday lives with relentless critical awareness (e.g., Mignolo and Tlostanova 2006; Mignolo 2011) and decolonization on the one hand and on the other an unwavering reach for well-being, love, fierce grace, and strength that enmesh Indigenous ways of knowing and being in the here-and-now. Through focusing on the everyday, we can more intentionally refuse (e.g., Tuck and Yang 2014) the ways in which ongoing colonization and neoliberalism invade and try to restructure our daily lives but also refuse living in the negation or shadow of settler-colonialism. Many Indigenous scholars have long called for not only a focus on the content of our practices but perhaps even more importantly on enacting the processes by which our knowledges and ways of being have come to be. Deloria (2001) in discussing Indigenous learning states “we should be concerned with re-creating the conditions within which this learning occurred, not merely the content of the practice itself (pp. 58–59).” From this perspective, the everydayness of our families is critical site of re-creating the conditions for learning for children and families but also those that propel our resurgence.

Cornthassel and Scow (2017) identify renewal and remembering as two key daily acts that are subtle yet powerful in their ability to transform relationships and potentially systems. Renewal refers to the daily interactions that strengthen our relationships and model how we are to be as Indigenous peoples: “They help us focus on the things that matter” (p. 62). Remembering refers to intentional acts of knowing the histories and relationalities of our peoples, lands, and waters in order to “enact our deepest love” (p. 63). One of the authors, Mick Scow, says that for him remembering includes returning with his family to their homelands and relations, but it also means building new relations with people and lands and waters where he now lives. These moments in everydayness and the ways they unfold can also be important convergences of time and place. They argue that attending to everydayness allows us to see and (re)act to the here-and-now as well as keep in view the past and present manifestations of possibility and enclosure. We suggest this longer-term and nonlinear view of time and place opens up new landscapes for decolonization and refusal of settler paradigms of child-rearing and separation from land.

Renewing and Remembering Roles, Relations, and Responsibilities with Lands, Waters, and More-than-Humans

Renewing and remembering includes our relations with lands and waters and is critically missing from family engagement policy and practice in the United States.

Reading the land has always demanded complexity and attention to time scales beyond human scales and forms of deliberation that support complex ecological decision-making (e.g., Whyte 2018). However, learning to read the land is itself a complex and lifelong teaching and learning process that happens in Indigenous families' and communities' daily interactions (e.g., Marin and Bang [accepted](#); Bang et al. 2014; Hare 2012). While a review of land-based education (e.g., Simpson 2014; Tuck et al. 2014), which is focused on Indigenous learning as emergent from our relations and practices with lands, waters, and more-than-human relatives, is beyond the scope of this paper, we would be profoundly remiss to not acknowledge that this growing body of work has important implications for family engagement. In our review, we found very little literature explicitly articulating this nexus between land-based education and family engagement – at least with respect to schooling contexts. This absence is loud and in our view reflective of the dominant paradigm of centering schools and the west – not renewing and remembering our roles, relations, and responsibilities in the everyday. Increasing work that engages land-based perspectives and Indigenous family engagement could be an important area of development.

Renewing and Remembering Relationships Across the Life Span

Educational institutions have evolved to be predicated on age segregation. While this is in part because of the way neoliberalism constructs labor markets, it is also reflective of a particular view of learning and child development. These forces restructure roles, relationships, and how we enact our responsibilities to one another. These changes in interaction have had significant impacts not only at macroscales but also at micro-interactive levels that have shifted how children learn and participate in everyday activities (e.g., Rogoff 2014; Alcalá et al. 2014; Mejia-Arauz et al. 2018). An important aspect of everyday resurgence is working to remember and renew relationships across the life span and engagement in intergenerational learning. Such forms of learning carry significant implications for the ways in which institutions are structured. While we think there is room for significantly more work in this area, there are two areas of research that we highlight below.

Caregiving relationships in the early years are fundamental to raising and socializing Indigenous children into Indigenous ways of knowing and being. Many scholars contend that the early years of a child's life are foundational for the development of their identities as Indigenous peoples and prepare them to be leaders and members of their nations (e.g., Flear 2006; Romero-Little 2010; Muir and Bohr 2014). As such, participation in cultural activities in the intimate and public spheres of their lives is essential. For example, Garcia (2014) begins his paper on reimagining school-community relationships with a story of the ceremonies that renew relationships between young people and the community in order to reimagine what formal K-12 school-community partnerships could look like. He writes:

In [Hopi naming ceremonies] my daughters were shielded from Dawa (sun) for 20 days upon which they were properly introduced after my family — primarily members of the Hoaspoa (roadrunner) clan — came to wash their hair with their Tutsmingwu (white ear of corn representing her mother) and offered a Hopi name. This is one of many initial phases that reaffirms a sense of commitment and a formal acknowledgement of our collective roles and responsibilities as a clan and as an extended family to our children. Though we may perceive this ceremony as one in which we formally introduce our children to the world with many blessings, in many respects it speaks to a larger expectation— that requires each of us to live into the roles of supporting and nurturing our children throughout their lifetime. (p. 61)

Ultimately, Garcia (2014) calls for partnerships with schools that build upon the relationality central to Indigenous families and communities. This means expanding current conceptions of “family” to include the multitude of relationships that make up children’s support systems, not just “parents.” But it also means providing time and space for Indigenous and non-Indigenous families and educators to (1) recognize and unpack histories of oppression, resilience, and resurgence, (2) collectively identify barriers and opportunities for community-defined wellness, and (3) develop new practices that support cross-generational collaboration. Intentionally planning for time and place to be present in the healing and developing of new relations is necessary for Indigenous resurgence.

These early years also prepare children to enter into formal schooling as learners and thinkers (McWilliams et al. 2011; Romero-Little 2010; Lawrenchuck 1998). While there is a plethora of research that posits early childhood centers are assimilative and colonizing spaces for Indigenous children (e.g., Pérez and Saavedra 2017), there is also a demand for high quality and culturally sustaining care for children whose parents choose to work outside of the home. While, these centers need to prepare children to navigate mainstream educational systems as they enter K-12 schooling (Romero-Little 2010), a key need is for the development of learning environments in which this preparation is not detrimental to children learning their own ways. Positioning children to learn and develop expertise in Indigenous ways of knowing and being in opposition to academic success on western terms is a social construction shaped by historicized conquest narratives and claims to singular epistemic paradigms. Human beings have the capacity to speak multiple languages, make meaning in multiple ways, and navigate across multiple contexts. Developing learning environments that can accomplish such forms of life will require collaboration between Indigenous families and early childhood centers (both Indigenous and non-Indigenous) to collectively design and implement pedagogy and practices that support young children’s development as whole and healthy Indigenous people. This is no small task, yet there are now multiple models for integrating Indigenous family leadership in the design and implementation of early childhood programming (e.g., Hubbs-Tait et al. 2005).

For example, Romero-Little (2010), in studying Cochiti Pueblo and Jemez Pueblo resurgence, contends that families are actively combating colonial pressures of assimilation through ownership of Head Start centers on the reservations. These communities are laying the grounds for both renewing and remembering traditional socialization

practices and preparing young children for western forms of education by being a part of the planning and implementation of learning in the Head Start centers. This includes daily commitments to speaking the language in homes and creating language nests in early childhood learning centers where children spend most of their day.

Recognizing the need to address high rates of poverty and mental and physical health issues, many models of early childhood learning also integrate other social services to support families (Kaomea 2012; Lawrenchuck 1998; McWilliams et al. 2011). These often include training for families on effective and culturally appropriate child-rearing strategies. As Muir and Bohr (2014) put it, “Colonialism, residential schools, racism, and poverty have marked family relationships in a multitude of destructive ways that are only beginning to be understood” (p. 68). A key challenge for many social programs, including early childcare, will be to reimagine programs so that they offer safe spaces for intergenerational healing and learning of traditional practices rather than enclosing family trainings that definitize and assimilate Indigenous families into Whiteness. Furthermore, there is a need for more explicit attention to gender norms, roles, and expectations within the current literature.

Multigenerational and community learnings are key aspects to Indigenous pedagogy and ways of knowing and being. Indigenous children learn from not only those in their family but also from elders and other adults and children in community. We also recognize that the burgeoning field of Indigenous studies affords us intellectual relationships with Indigenous knowledge holders globally through scholarship and research. In addition to caregiving as a multigenerational learning and teaching process, we also found two distinct ways of connecting youth and elders within communities reflected in the literature: through youth-driven community engagement and school-based collaboration with elders and artisans to develop and implement curriculum and pedagogy.

Indigenous youth will be at the forefront in sustaining our Indigenous communities and they will no doubt be faced with the responsibility of navigating socio-cultural, environmental, political and economic issues while simultaneously preserving their Indigenous knowledge systems. (Shirley 2017, p. 164)

As expressed in the quote above, many scholars recognize the importance of Indigenous youth leadership in education and research (e.g., Shirley 2017; Tuck 2015). And many programs now exist that allow for youth-driven design and implementation of Indigenous-specific programming. Castagno and Brayboy (2008) provide a synthesis of key principles for culturally responsive schooling for Indigenous youth. One of these principles is that “schooling must be connected to student lives, engaging, and collaborative to be effective and culturally responsive for Indigenous youth” (p. 979). This requires explicit connections between learning opportunities and community wellness such that youth can visibly see the impact of their learning and leadership within their communities (Castagno and Brayboy 2008; Lee 2007). This also requires long-term collaborations between elders, artisans, and community members to collectively design and implement culturally responsive

curricula and pedagogy (e.g., Bequette 2009; Lipka et al. 2005, Madden et al. 2013; Murphy and Pushor 2004; Zeegers 2011).

Community-based education models (CBEM) are one way Indigenous communities are addressing this need for holistic and meaningful learning for Indigenous students (e.g., May 1999). For example, Lee (2007) provides a case study of a New Mexican CBEM secondary school aiming to transform western educational systems to be more culturally relevant to their community by utilizing field-based, hands-on, and Indigenous pedagogies. As part of the program, math, science, and tribal governance lessons occurred in the afternoons in Pueblo communities. Lee (2007) describes:

[S]tudents had immediate and in-depth interaction with community members and environmental issues that affected the communities over the course of an academic year. Thus the community sites became the learning environments through the involvement of community members as partners and mentors and resulted in lasting benefits for both students and communities. (p. 201)

Integral to the success of this program was the weaving together of multiple forms of pedagogy and knowledge. Teachers in the school worked intimately with Pueblo environmental administrators and leadership to generate important themes for curricular design. “The school developed the specifics of the curriculum organized around these thematic issues so that the field experiences and classroom learning supported and complemented one another” (Lee 2007, p. 202). Students also took leadership in their own learning to seek out knowledge holders about treaty rights impacting water and land relations in the community. This collaboration between teachers, Pueblo administrators, community members, and youth demonstrates that multiple forms of expertise, experience, and activity are necessary to develop rich and meaningful learning opportunities that engage real-world problems. Beyond programming *for* Indigenous youth, providing opportunities for youth to meaningfully engage in and make decisions about their own education is paramount to cultivating their leadership and analytic skills, both of which are critical for addressing twenty-first century demands.

Extending these findings, we argue that collaboration between schools, families, and community also builds resilience and adaptive capacity, thereby contributing to Indigenous collective continuance (Whyte 2018). Resilience and adaptive capacity here refer to the ability of a community to “maintain its members’ cultural integrity, health, economic vitality, and political order into the future and avoid having its members experience preventable harms” (p. 355). We believe that explicit attention to onto-epistemic navigation practices that prepare youth for living in increasingly diverse and mobile communities also support collective continuance (e.g., Bang and Medin 2010; Shirley 2017). Onto-epistemic navigation is necessary to work through current local and global problems while maintaining Indigenous knowledges and ways of knowing. For Shirley (2017) this requires not only teaching students their histories from Indigenous perspectives but also helping them navigate the emotions that come up through the learning process. Teachers have to engage both the heart and the mind to help Indigenous youth heal as they examine the ongoing traumas

Indigenous people experience through helping them make change in the present and future. In order to contribute to everyday resurgences, collaborations between schools and families will likely require a commitment to everyday forms of Indigenous learning, predicated on the relationality between multiple generations of community members.

Reimagining Relationships with Non-Indigenous Educators and Systems

Respectful and reciprocal relationships are foundational for cultivating the types of long-term collaborations necessary for Indigenous resurgence. There needs to be increased efforts at preparing Indigenous educators to work with Indigenous and non-Indigenous learners. However, currently most Indigenous children will encounter predominately White women in formal schooling. The views of these educators about Indigenous children, families, and communities shape not only their practice and interaction with students but also the success of any collaborative effort. When non-Indigenous educators lack historicity and hold deficit views, Indigenous families are more likely to refuse engagement (Lipka 1986), instead opting for protective and proactive strategies at home. However, we also see possibility in the construction of new forms of engagement that work toward Indigenous resurgence. Many authors recognize the need to build non-Indigenous educator capacity to work with Indigenous families as well as their ethical commitments to Indigenous communities' well-being. Building trusting and collaborative relationships requires critical reflection and ongoing renewal of relationships. For example, racism, exclusion, and railroading are still common barriers faced by Indigenous families in school contexts. Explicitly and intentionally addressing deficit assumptions about Indigenous families is required before partnerships can be formed (Kaomea 2012). This includes recognizing and honoring the history of colonialism and resurgence of Indigenous peoples globally as well as the particular histories of the families non-Indigenous educators are working with. Another way to address deficit assumptions is home-visiting, where educators engage families in their homes and in community events to learn more about the students and families they work with (Lowe and Bubb-Conner 2014; Murphy and Pushor 2004). This flips the family engagement paradigm so that it is non-Indigenous educators who go to community, rather than families going to school. Further, it disallows a view of Indigenous families as unengaged or uncaring.

Impacts of Indigenous Family Engagement on Academic Outcomes

Academic outcomes based in western knowledge systems do not need to be antithetical to Indigenous futurity. Indeed navigation of international diplomacy and resisting problematic policy means that our peoples will need forms of expertise in knowledge systems outside of our own. Within the family engagement literature we reviewed, there was a simultaneous denouncement of the rise of

standardization and accountability to Whiteness and also the commitment to academically rigorous learning and achievement. It is clear from our review that educational attainment should be considered successful when Indigenous children and communities are healthy and thriving (Akee and Yazzie-Mintz 2011). As we saw in the above findings, this includes meaningful learning opportunities that also contribute to Indigenous community well-being and continuance of knowledge and language.

There is now robust research to demonstrate that young people who are deeply connected to their peoples, lands, and waters are also more likely to be resilient in formal education (LaFramboise et al. 2006; McMahan et al. 2013) and more likely to pursue and persist in higher education (Akee and Yazzie-Mintz 2011; Guillory and Wolverson 2008). In an examination of the disparity between US White and Indigenous attainment of higher education, Akee and Yazzie-Mintz (2011) surveyed the experiences of 62 college graduates, representing 44 tribal nations. Specifically, they asked graduates for the familial and cultural experiences that most hindered or contributed to the completion of their degree. Authors found that all respondents had some exposure to Indigenous history and culture in their schooling and most engaged routinely in Indigenous practices and ceremony. For example, authors found that 30% of respondents learned their Native language in school, and 75% spent time with elders. Akee and Yazzie-Mintz contend that these experiences contributed to the success of Indigenous scholars. They write:

Our results... indicate that individuals who were more exposed to indigenous cultural activities were less likely to take a break between high school and college. Additionally, we found that the more exposure a student had to Native cultural activities as a child, the more likely they were to attend a large Research I university. (p. 136)

Creating opportunities for young people to engage regularly with Indigenous cultural practices and in their language supports academic achievement, rather than hinders it. When young people have regular opportunities to recognize their own histories, practices, and languages within school-based education, they are more likely to develop discipline-specific identities that contribute to their resilience and creativity in schools.

In conclusion, Indigenous family and community engagement practices should consider four principles highlighted throughout the chapter: (1) learning from and with our lands, waters, and more-than-humans is integral to Indigenous family engagement, (2) multigenerational and lifelong learning are integral to Indigenous education and therefore foundational for Indigenous family engagement, (3) relationships and collaboration with non-Indigenous educators and systems need new forms of partnership that recognize and cultivate everyday Indigenous resurgence, and (4) equitable and transformative collaboration with families leads to rigorous academics and higher achievement for Indigenous students. In practice, this requires that educators, administrators, and policy-makers collaborate with Indigenous families in ways that support the inclusion of Indigenous ways of knowing and being in curricula and resist settler-colonial enclosures toward Indigenous resurgence.

Implications and Conclusions

We have argued that attending to and intentionally engaging the everyday in Indigenous families contributes to Indigenous well-being, resurgence, and nationhood. Importantly according to Corntassel and Scow (2017), it is important to resist romanticization of traditional responsibilities and practices. The process of renewal will take many forms, particularly across urban and intertribal contexts as Indigenous peoples envision and enact solidarities that work toward collective and individual determination and wellness. However there are several key sensibilities in Indigenous family engagement efforts that we rearticulate.

Critical historicity is a necessary foundation for collaboration and education with Indigenous families. Recognizing the global historical legacy of settler-colonialism as well as the local ways schools and Indigenous families have interacted is necessary research for all formal and informal educators working with Indigenous families. This could include talking with local elders and knowledge holders, visiting cultural centers, and online research. It is important to seek out not only the history of colonialism and oppression but to search for resistance and resurgence in your local communities.

Partnerships require reciprocity, respect, and the development of politicized trust. Trust, reciprocity, and respect are foundational aspects of long-term partnerships (e.g., Vakil et al. 2016). Generative partnerships with Indigenous families and communities require explicit recognition that multicultural forms of inclusion blind to Indigenous sovereignty perpetuate colonialism. Indigenous family and community engagement policies were not created to lead to any revolutionary change. In fact, some would posit that they merely shift the blame from structural inequities that governments and societies maintain to Indigenous parents and families. Educators, administrators, and policy-makers must critically consider whom family and community engagement policies and practices are meant to benefit and whether or not these actions are fulfilling their purpose and toward what ends. Indigenous family and community engagement should support Indigenous peoples' self-determination and nation-building. They should build adaptive capacities, visibilize Indigenous resilience, and bolster Indigenous resurgence. The opportunity is to contribute to Indigenous resurgence by contributing to multiple forms of activity and participation.

Non-Indigenous educators and administrators must self-reflect on stereotypical, racist, and privileged assumptions about Indigenous families and how these assumptions have and continue to impact their relationships and interactions with Indigenous students and families. While continuing to challenge assumptions and stereotypes, educators must begin the process of reaching out and serving Indigenous communities in order to build trust. This could take the form of attending cultural events, meeting families on and off campus, visiting homes if families are comfortable with it, and inviting family and community members into the classroom as teachers, collaborators, and decision-makers.

When working with Indigenous families, ensure that your engagement processes and practices reflect a commitment to long-term and sustained collaborations with

multiple families and community members. Utilizing a single family or organization repeatedly contributes to tokenism of Indigenous families and perpetuates asymmetrical power relations. Collaboration should position Indigenous families and community members as meaningful decision-makers in order to create culturally resurgent learning experiences throughout the school year.

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Part V

Transforming Education

Graham Hingangaroa Smith and Melinda Webber



Transforming Research and Indigenous Education Struggle

42

Graham Hingangaroa Smith and Melinda Webber

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Abstract

This section of the Indigenous Education Handbook focuses on “transforming” both the processes and outcomes of education and schooling to more effectively meet the learning and socio-cultural aspirations of Indigenous peoples. The ambiguity in the title of this section is intentional. This is to highlight the dual concerns related to how education and schooling structures in colonized societies function to re/produce dominant social, cultural, and economic interests on the one hand and in turn maintain outcomes of persisting social, economic, cultural, and learning underdevelopment and marginalization on the other. In this regard, schooling and education needs to be struggled over in at least two ways. First, there is a need to critically unpack the functioning of schooling in colonized settings and second, there is a need to work at ways to improve schooling and educational outcomes for Indigenous students. The overarching point here is that we will not have a sustainable social, cultural, and economic revolution of the high and disproportionate levels of Indigenous underdevelopment without a prior or simultaneous education revolution.

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Keywords

Transforming strategies · Critical insights · Research learnings · Indigenous innovation · Applied solutions · Educational revolution

Introduction

In most colonized jurisdictions, across the world generally and around the Pacific Rim in particular, Indigenous communities continue to suffer high and uneven levels of social, cultural, economic, and political inequality when compared to non-Indigenous populations. These broader societal disparities are also correlated with educational and schooling underdevelopment. For this reason, the societal institutions responsible for education and schooling remain critical sites of struggle for improving, not just Indigenous peoples success “in” and “through” education, but also within downstream outcomes related to their wider social, political, cultural, and economic well-being. In many of these colonized jurisdictions, there has often been a long trail of well-meaning but mostly unsuccessful attempts to improve Indigenous education. The ineffectiveness of these intervention attempts is seen in the widening achievement gaps between non-Indigenous and Indigenous learners. The chapters in this section of the handbook have engaged directly with issues pertaining to the correlation between the ongoing crises of learning and persisting social, economic, and cultural underdevelopment of Indigenous populations.

This section of the *Indigenous Education Handbook* draws together a number of leading Indigenous scholars who work across different disciplinary backgrounds and perspectives. These scholars not only provide Indigenous perspectives from different national and cultural contexts, they also write about a range of transforming ideas and innovations both “within” and “as a result” of their research informed experience of education and schooling. Many of these scholars have positioned their research writing to an international audience, while others have focused on specific, localized issues that emerge out of particular sites of struggle. As editors of this section, we have intentionally invited contributions that exemplify both of these “generalized” perspectives because the colonization of Indigenous communities, and their interests through education, is not a singular issue. In this sense, colonization is formed in multiple sites, in multiple ways and often simultaneously. A common problematic is that government policies and strategies tend to develop “one off” interventions or sponsor “project oriented” solutions. In fact, many well-researched educational interventions have had negative effects when applied in Indigenous communities in a uniform fashion. Such approaches have not developed major change. There is a need to move beyond these narrowly defined, “silver-bullet” approaches. For many Indigenous communities and peoples, colonization has not gone away, more often it has simply changed shape and is being perpetrated in new ways. Many of these new shapes reflect the neoliberal global context and are therefore formed at the intersection of cultural oppression and economic exploitation.

There is a need for Indigenous communities to critically challenge these, “one off,” singular solutions to intervention developed and sponsored by dominant colonial State agencies. A critical perspective here is Why are we still using these supposedly transformational models when they are not that successful? What has been transformed for Indigenous communities and why is the educational achievement gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous students widening rather than closing? In the New Zealand context, the use of narrow, single-focus projects has had minimal impact in producing any significant broad-based change and the “status quo” of existing unequal social, cultural, and economic relations has been “successfully” maintained.

It is for this reason that the contributions to this chapter are located within what has been called a “360 intervention approach” (Smith 2015b, 2017). This approach seeks to move beyond singular, project-oriented interventions that simply “block one hole in a dam that is leaking in multiple places.” In this view it is argued that there is need to develop multiple interventions, utilizing multiple strategies that respond to multiple issues. That is, the broader Indigenous struggle for social, economic, and cultural change needs to employ transforming methods that are similarly positioned to respond to multiple impediments, across multiple sites, and utilizing multiple tools and strategies.

There is little doubt that educational research is synonymous with power and control: power over what ideas and findings matter and from whose perspective. This section of the handbook promulgates the idea that Indigenous-centric educational research, undertaken by Indigenous scholars, must be *both* transformative and transforming. Education and schooling are complex sites of cultural oppression and therefore require a broad range of complex responses. Subsequently, the contributing authors in this section come from different disciplinary bases and canvass a range of educational and schooling sites and issues. What they do share in common is that they are all focused on transforming Indigenous educational processes and outcomes.

Notwithstanding the standard concerns associated with social, economic, gender, and cultural variables, the articles assembled in this chapter also explore a range of other critical variables, for example, perspectives related to geographical context, disciplinary viewpoint, technology impact, migration, classroom pedagogies, language revitalization, education systems, critical education theory, and the self-development of edu-cultural aspirations. While these variables individually might be considered difficult, the intersecting and overlaying of multiple variables create further complexities that may obscure rather than help improve and transform Indigenous education and schooling outcomes. This too is another reason why this section is important. It assembles an eclectic array of Indigenous scholars who have ideas to share about “understanding” and “resolving” Indigenous educational concerns. These authors bring many “eyes” and “minds” to these wide-ranging and complex issues. Many of these authors have already produced important research and writing that have significantly influenced different parts of Indigenous education struggle.

For example, Greg Cajete's seminal text "Look to the Mountain" (1994) was an important contribution that helped articulate the recognition of the validity of Indigenous knowledge and thinking as also being a legitimate form of "science." Sandy Grande's "Red Pedagogy" (1992) positioned the importance of critical analyses in the unpacking of Native Education in order to accurately understand what is going wrong so that potential solutions could be more effective. Bagele Chilisa's *Indigenous Research Methodologies* (2011) complemented the work of Linda Smith (1999b), Shawn Wilson (2008), and Maggie Kovach (2009) in positioning the significance of Indigenous research approaches, building "space" and validity for Indigenous research methods and theories within the existing research options of the academy; Sheila Meek-Cote's, *Colonised Classrooms: Racism, Trauma and Resistance in Post-secondary Education* (2014) revealed the ways colonization and its violence are not only historical experiences, but also encounters that are negotiated daily in present-day universities and colleges across multiple colonized countries. These are just a few of the important works aligned with the contributors to this chapter.

Through the contributions assembled here, we open up the opportunity to share critical insights, transforming strategies, research learnings, and applied solutions across different cultural jurisdictions. It also allows different Indigenous communities to bench mark not just where they are up to, but how effective their individual gains have been. Additionally, the contributions to this section offer contemporary interpretations and applications of what Indigenous realities were, are, and could potentially be. The chapters illustrate ways we can employ new strategies of indigeneity, supporting the stance that Indigenous scholarship should be an unashamedly Indigenous-centric space which does not rely on "seeking validity or approval from other worldviews, and it is not couched in the epistemes of others" (Edwards 2012, p. 44). The prospect of actively applying Indigenous knowledge in ways that disrupt euro-centric knowledge systems is in itself a transformative endeavor.

It makes sense to reflect cross culturally with other international Indigenous research that coalesces around concerns to transform the high and disproportionate levels of Indigenous educational underdevelopment. In this sense, it is important to get beyond merely consulting among ourselves and to instead develop more sophisticated, collaborative and "in-depth" approaches for attacking the persistence of Indigenous educational under-development. In this regard, transforming education and schooling is an important pre-condition to the broader struggle of transforming the social, economic, cultural, and political under-development that reflects the colonized positioning of many Indigenous populations. As noted elsewhere;

Indigenous communities will not have a sustainable social and economic revolution without a prior or simultaneous education and schooling revolution. (Smith 2015b)

In his paper "Envisioning Indigenous Education: Applying Insights from Indigenous Views of Teaching and Learning," Dr. Gregory Cajete, a Native American (Tewa) scholar, explores an approach to the visioning of contemporary Indigenous education, teaching, and learning through the lenses of Indigenous cultural thought

and epistemological orientations. Aspects of Indigenous teaching and learning are discussed related to the ways metaphor, and social consciousness have traditionally functioned in Indigenous communities-related socio-cultural education. The deeper psychological nature of Indigenous thought, as an integral part of human learning, teaching, and socialization, is also explored. These explorations form the basis for advocacy toward a integration of Indigenous thought as an essential foundation for contemporary intergenerational education in the context of Indigenous community.

In the paper entitled ► [Chap. 44, “Psychosocial Analyses and Actions for Promoting Restorative Schools: Indigenous Determinants Connecting Three International Sites,”](#) a multinational study led by Māori scholars Drs Angus & Sonia Macfarlane (et al.) is reported on. In this chapter, the authors argue that changing demographic patterns around the world pose new challenges to the constructions of being, belonging, and identity, demanding a deeper insight into the dynamics that test the resolve of people to coexist more amicably. For school communities, this means adopting a stance that positions students and teachers within a safe and enabling educational environment. The authors propose that how disciplinary protocols are embedded and enacted within these environments is critical to how coexistence is manifested. The chapter discusses the ways authoritarian disciplinary sanctions are operationalized with spontaneity and are seen as a preferred “quick fix” for student behaviors that are deemed unacceptable. However, a growing body of evidence indicates that such courses of action can seriously hamper, rather than improve, a student’s sense of being, belonging and identity – by negatively impacting on their attitude, behavior, and performance. The chapter ultimately illustrates how restorative frameworks have been actualized in school and community settings and points to Indigenous insights as key determinants driving the measures that are built into these frameworks.

An examination of Hawaiian schooling and education transformation is described in a contribution entitled ► [Chap. 45, “Keaomālamalama: Catalysts for Transformative Change in Hawaiian Education.”](#) This contribution has been co-authored by a number of renowned and experienced, Hawaiian educators coordinated by Dr. Keiki Kawai’ae’a. The authors argue that the “ohana” (extended family) structure and thinking is central to learning and is also important in stimulating the vibrancy of the community. Through the lens of an “ohana mindset” educational transformation begins to recenter, reshape, and reinvigorate educational models and initiatives that can successfully sustain thriving communities. The chapter describes a number of initiatives in which this “mindset” has been a catalyst for change within the Hawaiian education and schooling system over the last 30 years. Furthermore, this “mindset” has had a subsequent impact, influencing educational reform more generally, leadership approaches, and policy framing. Lastly, the key elements and lessons learned from this culturally oriented transforming approach are identified as the basis of a transforming vision and philosophy that builds a more positive and optimistic outlook for Hawaiian learners – *i ke ao mālamalama* (an enlightened world).

► [Chapter 46, “The Va’atele Framework: Redefining and Transforming Pasifika Education”](#) is co-authored by Pasifika scholars Dr. Rae Si’ilata, Dr. Tanya Wendt Samu, and Alexis Siteine. They argue that there is need to transform current, narrow

notions of culturally responsive practices for Pasifika learners. Moreover, they argue that teachers and educational leaders must move beyond narrow learning and schooling practices that emphasize the need for Pasifika learners to adopt majority culture, language, literacy, and identity in order to achieve academic success. This chapter develops a contrary position. It explores the process and outcomes of transforming education and schooling to better meet both the learning and cultural aspirations of Pasifika peoples in Aotearoa, New Zealand. A Pasifika metaphor of the *Va'atele* is offered as a framework for Pasifika learners' success in order that schools and educators might understand how it is possible to both privilege and utilize students' linguistic and cultural resources within curriculum learning at school. (*Va'atele* is the Samoan name for the ocean-voyaging double-hulled canoe of Pasifika peoples.) In this way, Pasifika learners can make meaningful connections between home and school forms of knowledge and are able to experience success across both domains. This study presents evidence from two distinct but related case studies that draw attention to the central roles teachers and school leaders play in enabling Pasifika learners to connect, rather than replace, the worldviews, languages, literacy practices, and experiences of their homes with the valued knowledge and literacy practices of school.

The paper entitled ► [Chap. 47, "The Age of Reconciliation: Transforming Post-secondary Education"](#) is authored by Canadian and First Nations scholar, Dr. Sheila Cote-Meek. It responds to the recent release of the Truth and Reconciliation's (TRC) "Calls to Action" in Canada that has caused many postsecondary institutions to re-examine how they provide educational services to Indigenous students. Cote-Meek argues that it is important to recognize that Indigenous peoples have been advocating for changes to the education systems for many decades and that any transforming of education needs to have a broader, more considered focus rather than reactive, emotional (sticking plaster) responses driven by crisis events such as the Commissions enquiry into Residential Schooling. Drawing on personal and professional experience, the author focuses on transformative strategies that have been successfully utilized to bring about a positive movement of change to support Indigenous learners at one postsecondary institution in the province of Ontario. This chapter emphasizes that the transforming work being accomplished today is rooted in both past and present, and recognizes the challenges and complexities of bringing about more meaningful and sustained change.

Alaskan Native and Hawaiian scholar, Dr. Malia Villegas was the Director of the Policy Research Center for the National Congress of American Indians in Washington, D.C., at the time of writing this important paper. Her contribution is titled ► [Chap. 48, "Invisible Light: Using Data to See Native Youth and Families in Policy."](#) In this chapter, Dr. Villegas describes a range of efforts by tribes and tribal advocates to improve the appropriate use of data in decision-making and community planning. She discusses approaches such as mapping existing government data, data disaggregation, and strengths-based evaluation. Critical insights coming from this work include fostering Native-to-Native comparisons, developing community-based indicators, shining a critical light on system accountability, and establishing an ethics framework for data development.

Sami scholar and researcher Professor Jelena Porsanger discusses the development of the Sami University and its intention to sustain Sami language and culture. In her paper, ► [Chap. 49, “Building Sámi Language Higher Education: The Case of Sámi University of Applied Sciences,”](#) Dr. Porsanger focuses on the institutional goal of sustaining Sámi language through a “purpose built” higher education entity in Samiland, Norway. In particular she examines the evolution of the Sámi University College and its growth to become the Sámi University of Applied Sciences. In this transformation, priority was given to Indigenous language, both as a subject and as a means of instruction. Indigenous knowledge and scientifically “approved” (mainstream) knowledge were treated as equally valid in the elaboration of curriculum and study programs. A series of indicators are examined in relation to language development – including aspirations, motivation, inspiration, limitations, obstacles, challenges, solutions, and success following the key elements of transformative theory espoused in the work of Smith (1997, 1999a). Dr. Porsanger employs some key analytical tools such as the concepts of “language knowledge,” “knowledge transfer,” “knowledge creation,” and “knowledge reclamation.” These analytical concepts derive from the Māori conceptual framework of Mātauranga Māori (Black 2014). The author illustrates the ways these concepts are also relevant and applicable to evaluating Indigenous Sámi knowledge and language development through higher education.

The paper “Diagnosing Elements of Colonization in Indigenous Education: An African Effort to Research and Transform Education for Indigenous Peoples” is co-authored by African scholars, Dr. Kelone Khudu-Petersen and Dr. Bagele Chilisa. This important contribution argues that no matter what academic discipline one pursues there is a concept, a theme, a topic, a subject from the history, culture, experiences, and Indigenous knowledge systems that has been excluded from mainstream discourses either because they did not fit in the academic codes and classifications or because they were considered superstitious, irrelevant, and of no use to human development. In this work, the authors argue that Indigenous-based epistemologies are essential for transformative education. Afrikology is presented as an African-centered epistemology and the underlying philosophy of the proposed decolonization process. Nabudere defines Afrikology as “a philosophical, epistemological and methodological approach that emphasizes that Africa’s achievements are recognized” (c.f. Nabudere 2012). The chapter illustrates possible ways through which every/any education topic in the Indigenous learning context can include a re-search for identities, the revitalization of Indigenous cultures, as well as an integration of Indigenous epistemologies with other knowledge systems. Emphasis is made on the use of Indigenous research frameworks and the use of Indigenous cultural values to identify gaps in current mainstream education.

► [Chapter 51, “Refusing the Settler Society of the Spectacle”](#) is contributed by Native American author Dr. Sandy Grande. This critical work examines the relationship between Guy Debord’s notion of spectacle and settler colonialism, exploring the role that spectacle plays in the solidification of the settler state and the consolidation of whiteness. In so doing, it examines contemporary depictions of Native peoples in the mainstream media, with a particular focus on coverage of

Indigenous peoples at Standing Rock and the #NoDAPL prayer camps. Ultimately, Dr. Grande argues that the ongoing production of spectacularized “Indians” functions to erase and diminish the lived experience of Indigenous peoples and, in so doing, serves as a means to consolidate the re/production of dominant settler power, social, economic, and cultural relations.

Australian Aboriginal academic and scholar, Dr. Lester-Irabinna Rigney has contributed a ► [Chap. 52, “Defining Culturally Responsive Digital Education for Classrooms: Writing from Oceania to Build Indigenous Pacific Futures.”](#) In this work Dr. Rigney argues that digital education, technology-rich schools, and smart classrooms that are shaped by cloud-computing and blended-learning programs are all growing in influence. However, rates of participation for Indigenous students are often still low when compared with non-Indigenous students. This chapter argues that twenty-first-century learning will require new culturally inclusive spaces, spaces that do not override, diminish, or exclude Indigenous cultures but on the contrary, draw upon them as a learning foundation on which to build new digital learning opportunities. Dr. Rigney also argues that while some literature on culturally responsive schooling (CRS) for academic improvement of American Indian and Alaska Natives peoples has begun to emerge, much of this literature is yet to theorize Indigenous online education and associated teaching and learning pedagogies, especially in the Pacific regions. This chapter begins the task of defining culturally responsive digital schooling (CRDS) for Indigenous peoples of the Pacific region drawing from a range of sources including information communication technology (ICT) research, critical and culturally responsive schooling studies. This chapter argues for three interdependent dimensions for Culturally Responsive Digital Schooling: a critical focus on “benefits,” on “decolonization,” and on “cultural responsiveness.” Dr. Rigney argues that understanding these dimensions is a necessary precondition to enable the purpose, effects, and impact of CRDS to be more fully understood. In concluding his paper, the author builds out a culturally informed definition for CRDS and then proposes a ten-point model as a cultural standard aimed at supporting the growth of CRDS Indigenous schooling in the Pacific.

In their co-authored paper, “The Transformative Role of Iwi Knowledge and Genealogy in Māori Student Success” Māori scholars, Dr. Melinda Webber, and Dr. Angus Macfarlane argue that iwi (tribal) knowledge systems hold powerful narratives about the past, present, and future – prioritizing distinct languages, worldviews, teachings, and technologies which are developed and sustained by generations of iwi members. The authors contend that “iwi narratives” that emphasize the innovative deeds, qualities, and achievements of ancestors can be used in education to reinforce the notion that contrary to popular stereotypes that denigrate Māori thinking, knowledge and expertise, Māori students descend from a long lineage of culturally informed “scholars,” “scientists,” “philosophers,” and the like. This perspective negates the powerful effect of self-fulfilling prophecies and stereotype threat (Steele 1997). The chapter details the Ka Awatea (A new dawn) Project. This is an iwi/tribal case study that examined the qualities of “success” through a quintessentially iwi lens by grounding the research undertakings in iwi protocols and history and linking findings to historical iwi icons. To effect

educational transformation and reform, local high schools, in conjunction with iwi in the region, then made a conscious and proactive call to carve out time and space to affirm this iwi knowledge, legitimizing its dignity, identity, and integrity. Webber and Macfarlane argue that speaking to Māori student success from a distinctly iwi perspective revitalized cultural pride among Te Arawa tribal nation students connecting learning to their mana tangata – their proud histories, tenacious present, and promising futures.

The concluding contribution in this section is made by Māori scholars Dr. Linda Tuhiwai Smith and Dr. Graham Hingangaroa Smith. In their paper “Doing Indigenous Work: Decolonizing and Transforming the Academy,” the authors share their expertise and experience of decolonizing and transforming work within institutions of Higher Learning generally and within the Universities in particular. The concern for the authors is move beyond simplistic, surface changes that are mostly cosmetic to seeking more genuine and profound transforming outcomes. Their argument is that Universities need to be struggled over because they are key institutions that define and control what counts as useful, important, and valid knowledge within society. They argue that struggle by Indigenous communities must not simply be for “inclusiveness” into dominant culture, but that it must also challenge and overthrow the complicity of the Universities in the ongoing re/production colonizing imperatives. The intention of this chapter is to assist Indigenous workers within the Academy, many of whom are working in isolation, to share and engage in strategies that might more effectively and powerfully transform the structures and practices of the Academy and ultimately improve the outcomes for Indigenous participants.

Conclusion and Future Directions

On a final note, Indigenous transforming work can be lonely and it can also be dangerous for one’s career, as criticism of the “status quo” is not always well received. This is the reason why Indigenous scholars who are engaged with transforming work need to be acknowledged, supported, and heard. This is why the contributions gathered here in this section of the Handbook are important and significant.

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Envisioning Indigenous Education: Applying Insights from Indigenous Views of Teaching and Learning

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Gregory A. Cajete

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Abstract

This chapter explores an approach to the visioning of contemporary Indigenous education, teaching, and learning through the lenses of Indigenous cultural thought and epistemological orientations. Aspects of Indigenous teaching and learning are discussed related to the ways metaphor and social consciousness have traditionally functioned in Indigenous community-related sociocultural education. The deeper psychological nature of Indigenous thought, as an integral part of human learning, teaching, and socialization, is also explored. These

Portions of this chapter have been adapted from a previously published work: Cajete, Gregory A. (1994). *Look to the Mountain: An Ecology of Indigenous Education*. Skyland: Kivaki Press, pp. 205–228. The terms *Indigenous*, *Tribal*, and *Tribe* are capitalized to add emphasis and to convey an active and evolving identity. (*The term Indigenous is used as the larger inclusive group term, while Tribal refers to specific contexts; both terms are capitalized as an honorific designation. American Indian is used when referring specifically to a Tribe which resides in the United States.*)

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explorations form the basis for advocacy toward an integration of Indigenous thought as an essential foundation for contemporary intergenerational education in the context of Indigenous community.

Keywords

Indigenous education · Sun Dagger · Storytelling · Myth · Community · Indigenous knowledge · Mythopoetic traditions · Native science · Critical pedagogy · Culturally based education

Introduction

The Sun Dagger: An Ancient Metaphor for Indigenous Education

High atop Fajada Butte in Chaco Canyon National Park, New Mexico, is a monument to the ingenuity and sophistication of Indigenous thought. By shaping and precisely placing three sandstone slabs against a concave horizontal indentation facing the Sun and then inscribing one large and one small spiral, the ancient Anasazi inhabitants of Chaco Canyon created the only known solstice and lunar marker made by an ancient civilization anywhere in the world. This monument to the genius and cosmological perspective of Indigenous America is appropriately called the “Sun Dagger” and may be viewed as a metaphor for an Indigenous way of coming to knowledge.

Fajada Butte is a high sandstone mesa which rises from the floor of Chaco like a silent sentinel guarding a gateway which leads to the world of an ancient Indigenous past. Chaco Canyon is centrally located in San Juan Basin of northwestern New Mexico. The canyon is the center of a complex of ancient Anasazi Indian sites which date back over a thousand years. The ruins located in and about the canyon are one of the most extensive and elaborate expressions of Anasazi culture yet discovered.

From near the top of Fajada Butte, one can see the winding course of Chaco Canyon and the expanse of dry washes, sandstone mesas, and horizons which seem to go on into infinity. Fajada Butte and its location in the greater context of the Chaco basin is indeed an appropriate location for an Indigenous marker of the cycles of physical and metaphysical time. The geographical context of Chaco Canyon, the natural form of Fajada Butte, and the Sun Dagger in its elegant simplicity, profound sophistication, and harmonious integration into the natural structure of the butte present an extraordinary environmentally based metaphor of the essential perspective which has been achieved by Indigenous education.

The story of the Sun Dagger’s discovery is itself a tale which mirrors of the unfolding process of the rediscovery of the “Indigenous” perspective. Anna Sofaer, an artist recording rock art sites located on Fajada Butte, was the first non-Indian to see the unique play of light and shadow created by the Sun Dagger as the Sun reaches its noon position around the time of summer solstice. What Sofaer witnessed on the fateful day in late June 1977 would change her life and would later force archeoastronomers around the world to reconsider their preconceived notions

regarding the relative conceptual capabilities and level of “scientific” sophistication of ancient American Indian cultures (Fig. 1).

Over a period of several years and tireless effort, Sofaer was able to piece together the amazing ways in which the Sun Dagger marked the cyclic movement of the Sun and Moon. The basics of how the Sun Dagger functions may be described as follows:

The site consists of two spirals carved into the rock behind the three horizontal stone slabs. Just before noon on the days surrounding summer solstice, the knife of light bisects the larger spiral. At winter solstice, two noonday daggers frame the large spiral. Finally, during the equinoxes, the smaller spiral is bisected at midday by a lesser dagger, while a larger shaft of light passes to the right of center of the larger spiral.

The large spiral has 19 grooves, which may reflect the Anasazi knowledge of the 19.00-year Metonic cycle of the Moon, the time required for the same phase of the Moon to recur on the same day of the year. The slightly shorter lunar cycle of 18.61 years corresponds to the time between successive major standstills. At Fajada Butte the Moon’s shadow bisects the spiral at moonrise during the minor northern standstill and just touches the petroglyph’s left edge during major northern standstills. At both places a straight groove has been cut, which is parallel to the Moon’s shadow (Malville and Putman 1991: 32).

The Anasazi understood the complementary movement of the Sun in relationship to the Moon as a visible manifestation of the sacred interplay of complementary opposites expressed throughout the Cosmos. They translated this understanding through various expressions in their ritual traditions and mythology. Thus, the Sun Dagger reflects the integration of Anasazi understanding of the movement of the Sun and Moon through time and space with a profoundly spiritual and sophisticated cosmological orientation. The Sun represented the ultimate symbol of light and of life for the Anasazi. Therefore, they were interested in all aspects of the Sun and traced its journey across the sky throughout the year. They were interested in the relationship of movements of the Sun and Moon to the Earth. The Anasazi strove to resonate their lives, their spirits, and their communities with the natural cycles which they perceived in the Cosmos.



Fig. 1 Fajada Butte. Chaco Canyon, New Mexico. (Cajete, G (1994). Personal Photograph)

Near midday, during the passage of the Sun overhead on the summer solstice, a bright ray of sunlight begins to cut through the three positioned sandstone slabs on Fajada Butte. As the Sun moves closer to its highest point in the sky, the dagger of sunlight becomes more pronounced as it points toward the center of the largest spiral. As the Sun reaches its noontime position, the dagger of light “spears” through the center of the spiral as if heralding, and simultaneously pinpointing, the most sacred and energy-filled time in the Sun’s annual pilgrimage across the sky. In a similarly dramatic way, the interplay of light and shadow created by the Sun Dagger also marks the times of winter solstice, the fall and winter equinoxes, and even the major and minor standstills of the Moon which occur over a cycle of almost 19 years.

In this way, the Sun Dagger metaphorically reflects the very real connection between time, space, and life on Earth with that of the Sun, Moon, planets, stars, and constellations. The play of light and shadow, illumination and orientation mirroring the cyclic evolution of Cosmos recorded by the Sun Dagger, is metaphoric of the creative learning and the honoring of relationship indicative of Indigenous education. The Sun Dagger visually shows the drama of the every moment and all life on Earth. The spirals, like mini replicas of an evolving universe, radiate from a center in concentric rings which show both interrelationship of cycles and a continuity that extends to infinity. It is an elegant instrument that mirrors the Indigenous mind and the focus on negotiating a deep relationship that leads to a kind of resonance with the natural order of the cosmos (Fig. 2).

The Sun Dagger illustrates the essential qualities of the Indigenous worldview predicated on the notion that everything is linked together in the multiverse and that the highest value lies in striving for a balance of relations between humans, other beings, and spirits of the past, present, and future. Other examples of Indigenous thought manifesting into elegant expressions of native science include Polynesian wayfinding, the Mesoamerican calendar, Andean agricultural and road systems, the chinampa and milpa gardens of Mexico, the mound works of the Mississippian cultures, and many other examples throughout the Indigenous world.

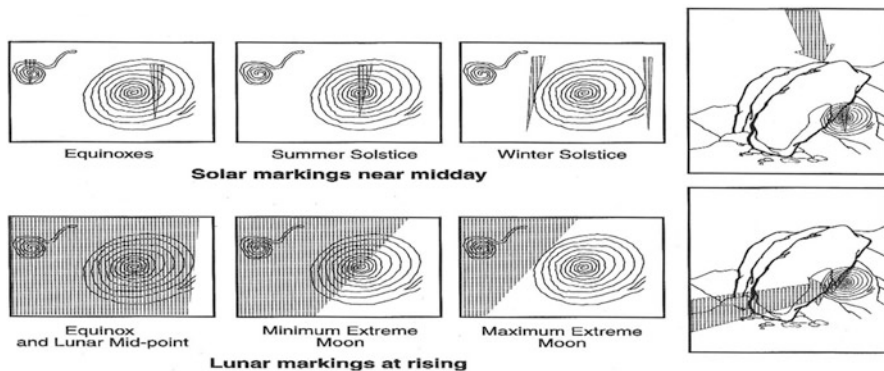


Fig. 2 The Sun Dagger site. (Sofaer, A.P. and the Solstice Project. Inc. *The Mystery of Chaco Canyon: Study Guide for Teachers*. Oley, PA: Bull Frog Films. p. 8)

How, then, is the Sun Dagger in its function and its symbolism like Indigenous education? To begin with, learning and teaching are developmental processes that originate with inner experience as a center and radiate out through time and space. Ideally, such a process forms concentric rings of relationship to other experiences of learning to orient and resonate self, community, and culture to the natural world and to ones' place in that world. One cycle of learning is related to the one before and the one after in a continuum of time through the life of the individual, community, and the generations of Indigenous people. Learning is also essentially about continually moving back and forth between light and shadow through the times and experiences that occur through one's life. However, there are times during our life that a focused point of illumination occurs. In extending this *metaphor* through the *Native eye*, it might be said that the creative energy of light (Sun) the conscious or the energy of reflected light (Moon) the unconscious come into their fullest potential. There are also seasons and cycles of "major" and "minor" standstills of creative focus which characterize human learning and teaching that are essential to honor. There is learning in the sunlight (conscious modes) and learning in the moonlight (unconscious modes) which complement one another through a process of education, a process of coming to know and orient oneself to the world. There are pillars or foundations of cultural knowledge and context which at times form and illuminate learning and at other times cast shadows, enclose, or hide to contrast one realm of learning from another. The large and small spirals, around which the dagger of light dances with the shadows, represent the motion and direction of human thought – one rational, one intuitive – both contained within the same space. Finally, profound learning happens when climbing to a high place, overcoming hardship and obstacles along the way, to gain a perspective that gives us a broader, more expansive view. Wisdom and important knowledge can be found only through "looking to the mountain" and then rising above a lower plane to a higher one as the physical metaphor of Fajada Butte and its location in Chaco Canyon so magnificently represents.

The Sun Dagger, Fajada Butte, and the ruins of Chaco Canyon have been abandoned for more than 800 years. In spite of abandonment, the Sun Dagger has continued to mark the passage of hundreds of sacred time cycles of the Sun and Moon. The discovery of this metaphysical symbol and tool of Indigenous America at first was greeted with great doubt followed by controversy among Western scientists. This gave way to a flurry of experiments and observation reduced and decontextualized, in the usual tradition of "objectified" science, to fit it to the tacit infrastructure of Western understanding. Yet, just as the natural reality which it records, its Indigenous message of cultivating a deep understanding of human relationship to the cosmos cannot be denied. For the Anasazi understood, as did other Indigenous peoples, that we are related not only to each other and all other life on Earth, but we are also related to and a part of the greater universe. Therefore, an essential task of Indigenous education was to come to know the nature of this relational orientation, to develop resonance with it, and to honor it! (Fig. 3)



Fig. 3 Sun Dagger: An Ancient Metaphor. (www.solar-center.stanford.edu/images/sundagger_detail.jpg)

Indigenous Approaches to Education Are Viable Alternatives

Alienation from the underlying ethos of mainstream approaches to education has been one of the consistent criticisms leveled against modern education by Indigenous students. They have been given relatively few choices of school curricula that truly address their alienation beyond compensatory programs, remediation, and programs which attempt to bridge the social orientations of students with those of the school. Rather, most of the attempts at addressing such issues have revolved around refitting the problematic Indigenous student to the very “system” that caused their alienation and failure in the first place. Too often, the Indigenous student is viewed as the problem rather than the inherent and unquestioned approaches, attitudes, perspectives, and curricula of the educational system. The knowledge, values, skills, and interests that Indigenous students possess are largely ignored in favor of strategies, aimed at enticing them to conform to mainstream education. In mainstream education contexts, few comprehensive attempts to research and create content and teaching models which are founded upon contemporized expressions of Indigenous educational philosophies occur. Often, interventions focused on “fitting things Indigenous” to existing mainstream models have little real impact on many students. Hence, the inherent worth and creative potential of Indigenous students and Indigenous perspectives of education generally remain marginalized in mainstream education. As a result many of the brightest and most creative Indigenous students continue to be alienated from modern education.

The alienation of Indigenous students from education and the resultant loss of their potentially positive service to their communities need not continue if we revitalize and reclaim our own deep heritage of education. Indigenous approaches to education can work if we are open to their creative message and apply a bit of communal creativity and action to find ways to revitalize and reintroduce their inherently universal processes of teaching and learning. Indigenous educational principles are viable whether one is learning about the native science of the Anasazi

Sun Dagger or Polynesian Wayfinding, leadership skills through community service learning or about one's cultural roots through creating a photographic exhibit, or learning to develop a sense of place by exploring its concentric rings of ecological relationship.

The creative potential of building upon and enhancing what students bring with them culturally has been explored at a number of Indigenous educational institutions. The development of Tribal community colleges and the evolution of community schools governed by Indigenous peoples offer one of the most plausible areas for the ongoing development of this nature.

Indigenous Education and Its Role in Individual Transformation

Generally, Indigenous education occurred in a holistic context that reflected the importance of each individual as a contributing member of the social group. In this way, Indigenous education sustained a wholesome life process. It was an educational process that unfolded through mutual, reciprocal relationships between one's social group and the natural world. This relationship involved all dimensions of one's being, while providing both personal and technical skills through participation in community life. From this perspective, one might say that Indigenous education was essentially a community-based expression of sustainable, ecologically integrated education (Cajete 1994: 26).

In the context of development of a basic conceptual framework for a viable Indigenous educational philosophy, it is essential that the relationship of Indigenous education to establishing and maintaining individual and community wholeness be seriously considered. Much of Indigenous education can be called "endogenous" education in that it revolves around a transformational process of learning by bringing forth illumination from one's ego center. Educating and enlivening the inner self is the life-centered imperative of Indigenous education embodied in the metaphor "seeking life" or for "life's sake." Inherent in this metaphor is the realization that intellectual understanding in concert with ritual, myth, vision, art, and learning the "art" of relationship in a particular environmental context facilitates the health and wholeness of individual, family, and community. Education for wholeness, by striving for a level of harmony between individuals and their world, is an ancient aspiration in the educational process of many cultures. In its most natural expression, all forms of Indigenous education were *transformative* and nature centered. Indeed, the Latin root "educare," meaning "to draw out," embodies the spirit of the transformative quality of education.

A transformational approach to education is distinctly universal, integrative and cross-cultural because it is referenced to the deepest human drives. From this viewpoint all human beings concern themselves with self-empowerment and with whatever enables them to transform their lives and the conditions in which they live; such a viewpoint engenders the intent of people striving to create whole, happy, prosperous, and fulfilling lives. (Waterman 1989: 1)

The orientations of wholeness, self-knowledge, and wisdom are held in common by many traditional spiritual education philosophies around the world. Taoist, Buddhist, Sufi, Hebrew, and even Christian monastic are spiritual education traditions that continue to focus on these orientations today. Indeed, even though medieval times, all forms of European education were tied to some sort of spiritual training. Education was considered important in inducing or otherwise facilitating harmony between a person and the world. The goal was to produce a person with a well-integrated relationship between thought and action. This idealized outcome was anticipated as following naturally from the “right education.”

The “right education” is, of course, a culturally defined construct, one of whose main criterion is socializing the individual to the collective culture and thought of a group. However, this sort of socialization is only one dimension of education, a first step in a lifelong path of learning. In reality, “right” education sets into motion changes that in time creates a profound transformation of self. For those who are familiar with transformative education, this process is a dynamic creative process which brings a relative level of peace of mind, tranquility, and harmonious adaptation. But, the exploration of self, and relationships to inner and outer entities, also requires a tearing apart in order to create a new order and higher level of consciousness. Harmony of mind, body, and spirit is achieved through such a process, but it lasts for only a short period of time before it again has to be revised as people and their circumstances change. This is the “endogenous” dynamic of Indigenous education.

The process begins with a deep and abiding respect for the “spirit” of each child from before the moment of birth. The first stage of Indigenous education therefore revolves around learning within the family, learning the first aspects of culture, and learning how to adapt and integrate one’s unique personality in a family context. The first stage ends with gaining an orientation to family, community, and place.

Education in the second stage revolves around social learning, being introduced to Tribal society, and learning how to live in the natural environment. The second stage ends with the gaining of a sense of Tribal history and learning how to apply Tribal knowledge to day-to-day living.

The third stage revolves around melding individual needs with group needs through the processes of initiation, the learning of guiding myths, and participation in ritual and ceremony. This stage ends with the development of a profound and deep connection to tradition.

The fourth stage is a midpoint in which the individual achieves a high level of integration with the culture and attains a certain degree of peace of mind. It brings the individual a certain level of empowerment and personal vitality and maturity. But it is only the middle place of life.

The fifth stage is a period of searching for a life vision, a time of pronounced individuation, and the development of “mythical” thinking. This stage concludes with the development of a deep understanding of relationship and diversity.

The sixth stage ushers in a period of major transformation characterized by deep learning about the unconsciousness. It is also a time of great travail, disintegration, wounding, and pain which paves the way for an equally great reintegration and

healing process to begin in the final stage. The pain, wound, and conflict act as a bridge to the seventh stage.

In the seventh stage, deep healing occurs in which the self “mutualizes” with body, mind, and spirit. In this stage deep understanding, enlightenment, and wisdom are gained. This stage ends with the attainment of a high level of spiritual understanding which acts as a bridge to the finding of one’s true center and the transformation to “being a complete man or woman in that place that Indian people talk about.” (Fig. 4)

These stages of interrelationship form a kind of creative continuum, “life way,” which helps us to become more fully oneself, as we move through the stages of our life. Indigenous education traditionally recognized each of the most important interrelationships through formal and informal learning situations, rites of passage, and initiations.

Inherent in Indigenous education is the recognition that there is a knowing Center in all human beings that reflects the knowing Center of the Earth and other living things. Indigenous elders knew that coming into contact with one’s inner Center was not always a pleasant or easily attainable experience. This recognition led to the development of a variety of ceremonies, rituals, songs, dances, works of art, stories, and traditions to assist individual access and utilize the potential healing and whole-making power in each person. The connecting to that knowing Center was choreographed through specific ritual preparation to help each individual on their journey to their own source of knowledge. Through this process the potential for learning inherent in each of the major stages of a person’s life was engaged and set

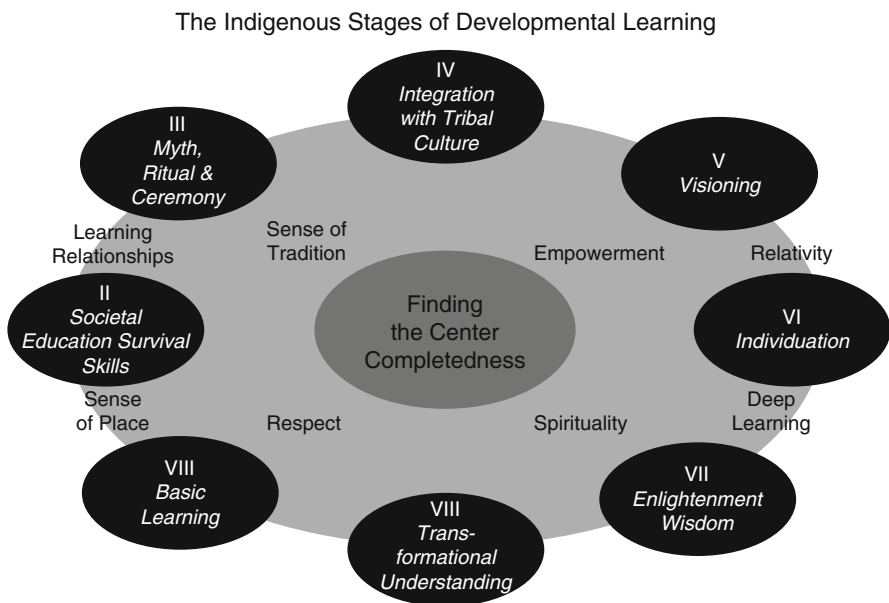


Fig. 4 Indigenous stages of developmental learning. (Cajete 1994, p. 211)

about the task of connecting to one's knowing Center. This was the essential reason for the various rites of passage associated with Indian tribes and various societies within each tribe.

Since the highest goal of Indigenous education was to help each person to "find life" and thereby realize a level of completeness in their life, the exploration of many different vehicles and approaches to learning was encouraged. This was done with the understanding that each individual would find the right one for them in their own time. But the process of finding one's self and inner peace with its usual implications of being "adjusted," as it is called in modern circles today, was not the central focus of Indigenous education. Seeking peace and finding self was seen to be a by-product of following a path of life which presented significant personal and environmental challenges, obstacles, and tests at every turn. This "individuation," as Jung called it, did not come easy. It had to be earned every step of the way. But in the process of earning it, one learned to put forward the best that one had, and one learned the nature of humility, self-sacrifice, courage, service, and determination. Indian people understood that the path to individuation is riddled with doubt and many trials. They understood that it was a path of evolution and transformation.

Individuation is a work, a life opus, a task that calls upon us not to avoid life's difficulties and dangers, but to perceive the meaning in the pattern of events that form our lives. Life's supreme achievement may be to see the thread that connects together the events, dreams, and relationships that have made up the fabric of our existence. Individuation is a search for and discovery of meaning, not a meaning we consciously devise but the meaning embedded in life itself. It will confront us with many demands, for the unconscious, as Jung wrote, 'always tries to produce an impossible situation in order to force the individual to bring out his very best. (John Sandford 1977, p. 22)

Some Western academics have contended that Indigenous cultures are too diverse to generalize the sharing one form of Indigenous education. At the literal, superficial level of the Western observer and through the lens of their own unexamined bias, this may seem to be true. Yet, the experience of most Indigenous people contradicts this biased notion. While it is obvious that there are a diversity of Indigenous peoples, with an equally diverse variety of expressions of cultural, social, and geographic orientations, when Indigenous people meet each other, they consistently observe and express how much they share in common. These expressions of commonality emanate from a deeper level of worldview. The perception of shared values, ways of thinking, and orientations to the world form this perceived undercurrent unity. A kind of "unity in diversity. Therefore, there can be parallel elemental characteristics which exemplified the transformational nature of many forms of Indigenous and spiritual traditions of education.

Hyemeyohsts Storm (1972), in her book *Seven Arrows*, reflects on a few of the most important elemental ideas of teaching and learning from traditional American Indian perspectives. These elemental thoughts may provide points of reference for learning goals and the development of content areas Indigenously inspired contemporary education. They are meant to simulate thought, further research, and

discussion. However, the “teacher” must provide research and the creative insights and applications in their own context.

First was the idea that learning happens of its own accord if the individual has learned how to relate with his/her inner Center and the natural world. Coming to learn about one’s own nature and acting with accord to that understanding was a necessary preconditioning which prepared the individual for deep learning.

Second, there was the acceptance that at times experiences of significant hardship were a necessary part of an individual’s education and that such circumstances provided ideal moments for creative teaching. A “wounding” or memory of a traumatic event and the learning associated with such events provide a constant source for renewal and transformation which enlarged the consciousness if individuals were helped in understanding the meaning of such events in their lives.

Third was that empathy and affection were key elements in learning. Also, direct subjective experience combined with affective reflection was an essential element of deeper forms of education. Therefore mirroring behavior back to learners became a way that they might come to understand for themselves their own behavior and how to use direct experience to the best advantage.

Fourth was an innate respect for the individual uniqueness of each person which gave rise to the understanding that ultimately each person was their own teacher as far as understanding and realization of their process of individuation. Indigenous education integrated the notion that there are many ways to learn, many ways to educate, many kinds of learners, and many kinds of teachers, each of which had to be honored for their uniqueness and their contribution to education.

Fifth was that each learning situation is unique and innately tied to the creative capacity of the learner. When this connection to creative learning and illumination is thwarted, frustration and rigidity follow. Learning, therefore, had to be connected to the life process of each individual. The idea of lifelong learning was therefore a natural consideration.

Sixth was that teaching and learning are a collaborative cooperative contract between the “teacher” and learner. In this sense the teacher was not always human but could be an animal, a plant, or other natural entity or force. Also, based on this perception, the “teachable” moment was recognized through synchronistic timing or creative use of distractions and analogies to define the context for an important lesson. The tactic of distract-to-attract-to-react was a common strategy of Indigenous teachers.

Seventh was that learners need to see, feel, and visualize a teaching through their own and other people’s perspectives. Therefore, telling and retelling a story from various perspectives and at various stages of life enriched learning, emphasized key thoughts, and mirrored ideas, attitudes, or perspectives back to learners for impact. Reteaching and relearning are integral parts of complete learning. Hence, the saying, “every story is retold in a new day’s light.”

Eighth was that there are basic developmental orientations involved with learning through which we must pass toward more complete understanding. Learning through each orientation involves the finding of personal meaning through direct experience. The meaning that we each find is always subjective and interpretive, based on our relative level of maturity, self-knowledge, wisdom, and perspective.

Ninth was that life itself is the greatest teacher and that each must accept the hard realities of life with those that are joyous and pleasing. Living and learning through the trials and pains of life are equally important as learning through good times. Indeed, life is never understood fully until it is seen through difficulty and hardship. It is only through experiencing and learning through all life's conditions that one begins to understand how all that we do is connected and all the lessons that we must learn are related.

Tenth was that learning through reflection and sharing of experience in community allows us to understand our learning in the context of greater wholes. In a group there are as many ways of seeing, hearing, feeling, and understanding as there are members. In a group we come to understand that we can learn from another's experience and perspective. We also become aware of our own and other's bias and lack of understanding through the process the group. We see that sometimes people do not know how to take or use real innovation and that many times people do not know how to recognize the real teachers or the real lessons. We see that a community can reinforce an important teaching or pose obstacles to realizing its true message. It is not until, as the Tohono O'odham phrase it, "when all the people see the light shining at the same time and in the same way" that a group can truly progress on the path of knowledge.

Finally, these are precepts which have been generalized to form a conceptual frame around which approaches to Indigenizing contemporary education may be viewed. The precepts form an ethical/methodological *context* for thought and consideration through which curriculum may be created around an Indigenous epistemology grounded in the ecological and ethical orientations of different Indigenous groups. Each group's curriculum will necessarily evolve based on their history, needs, aspirations, and vision of a contemporary education for their people. These expressions of education will vary and differ according to circumstances but, at another level, will resemble one another in many ways. This resemblance is because Indigenous peoples' epistemological orientations and worldview tend to be more similar than dissimilar. The other reason is that the contemporary Indigenous focus on education and the sentiment toward "decolonization" is rooted in similar issues that have formed their social consciousness through the colonial, modern, and postmodern eras. For insight into why these similar issues and expressions of social consciousness exist, I turn now to the work of Paulo Freire who learned about *Indigenous* forms of social consciousness and community through his literacy advocacy and activist work with the urban and peasant workers' unions of Brazil.

Social Consciousness and Indigenous Education

Paulo Freire, Brazilian social reformer and educator, introduces a notion of education which closely parallels the role of Indigenous education in the transformation of the social consciousness of Indigenous peoples as they strive to “self-determine” themselves in the face of the challenges of a twenty-first-century world (Paulo Freire 1970). While there are other Western social philosophers such as John Dewey who have espoused a different view of how education can be approached, it is the praxis of Freire that speaks most profoundly to the circumstances and yearnings of many Indigenous peoples.

Freire’s thesis is founded on the notion that critical consciousness of cultural and historical roots of a people – as expressed and understood from the perspective the people themselves – is the foundation of a people’s cultural emancipation. The modern struggle of Indigenous peoples throughout the world has largely been characterized by an attempt to maintain the most cherished aspects of their ways of life, their relationship to their lands, and their consciousness of themselves as a distinct people. They are constantly engaged in a dynamic struggle to retain “the freedom to be who they are” in the midst of subtle and at times overt oppression by modern societies.

Freire’s central message about education is that one can only learn and understand to the extent that one can establish a direct and participatory relationship with the natural, cultural, and historical reality in which one lives. This is not the same as the Western-schooled authoritarian style of problem-solving, where schooled “experts” observe a reality or situation from the outside and at a distance and then develop a solution or dictate an action or policy. This approach decontextualizes the problem from the totality of human experience and leads to a distorted perspective of the problem as an event that has relationship only to itself and to nothing else. This form of ultra-objectification denies the reality of interrelationship and reduces participation and learning to only an intellectual exercise of applying a preconceived objective method or model. The result is a perpetuation of dependence on an “outside” authority and the maintenance of the political power brokers behind such authority. Indigenous people who are “administered” education, extension services, and economic development in these terms usually remain oppressed and gradually become dependent on the “authority.” Under these circumstances, Indigenous peoples’ ability to revitalize and maintain themselves culturally, socially, and economically through a self-determined process of education is significantly diminished, if not outright destroyed.

Freire’s approach is to begin with the way a group communicates about their world and their experiences in their social contexts. Then “generative” words, metaphors, or proverbs are identified which evoke thought and feelings or reveal a historical perspective that has intrinsic meaning to a people and their cultural way of life. These words or phrases are then translated into a variety of meaningful images and discussed with the people themselves to “unpack” their meaning. This process evolves through various stages of dialogue through structures called “culture circles.” In the “culture circle,” a group reflects on key generative words and symbols facilitated by a coordinator who helps form the dialogue. Since the words and symbols being used come from the language, cultural, or historical experience of the group, the people

begin to reflect on their own collective stories in ways that stimulate new insights about themselves, their situations, and solutions to problems which they face. Motivation, meaning, and “researching” of their cultural roots for possible models for viewing their problems are built into the “culture circle.” The group learns by telling and retelling their stories, reflecting on their meaning, and reinforcing the vital elements of their cultural orientation. This process of learning stimulates the thinking of “people submerged in a culture of silence to emerge as conscious makers of their own cultures.” The group learns how to create new meanings and apply insights derived directly from their own culture, history, and social experience to their contemporary life. What they learn about themselves through themselves forms the basis for authentic empowerment and the beginning of release from imposed authority through a process of education that has become their own. Through such a process, the group can truly cease being “objects” for outside political, economic, or educative manipulation. Instead, they become subjects in the making of their own stories for the future and controllers of their own destiny.

Freire’s method has had a profound effect on increasing the literacy and the social consciousness of not only rural peoples in Brazil, but millions of people in third-world nations. It works primarily because it acts to release what is essentially an Indigenous response to learning by fostering relevant dialogue about what is important to people in contexts of social and political situations which directly affect them. Relevancy of what is being learned and why it is being learned becomes readily apparent because it is connected to the cultural orientations as the people themselves perceive them. The democratization of knowledge and the educational process perpetuated by Freire’s approach mirrors that which occurs in Indigenous education. A new relationship between Indigenous people and modern education and knowledge bases is made possible. The knowledge and educational orientation of modern educators is changed from an expert-recipient relationship to one of mutually reciprocal learning and co-creation. What is established is essentially a more ecologically sound and sustainable process of education. A kind of education is engendered which frees teachers, learners, and community to become partners in a mutual learning and becoming process.

Freire’s method mirrors, at a social level, the ecologically inspired orientation of Indigenous education which I have called “natural democracy.” There is a direct communication between all individuals engaged in the educative process. The implicit paternalism, social control, and nonreciprocal orientation between experts and recipients of education give way to authentic dialogue which generates a high level of critical consciousness and the kind of educational empowerment that allows Indigenous people to become agents of transformation in their own social and cultural contexts.

Countering Indigenous Histories of Colonization

The histories of Indigenous education have largely been characterized by colonization and policies of assimilation combined with covert attempts at modernization of Indigenous communities to “fit” them into the mainstream profile of contemporary

Western society. This has been, for the most part, a technical process of development, combined with intense indoctrination in the political and bureaucratic ways of the Western government. Educational development, like other extensions of “development aid,” has occurred through the actions of technicians, bureaucrats, and political manipulators who many times have acted to keep real decision-making power outside the parameters of the Indigenous communities and individuals affected. Many educators, social reformers, bureaucrats, businessmen, and politicians continue to perpetuate governmental and mainstream paradigms either because they have never questioned their own educational conditioning within this system or because they have not found or explored alternatives. This situation has largely prevented Indigenous people from being the subject and beneficiaries of the exploration of their own transformative vision and educational process. As a result, many Indigenous people are still relegated to having to “react” to the administration of their lives and education because of continued dependence on government aid and extension services. Rather than being “proactive” and truly self-determined in their efforts to *educate themselves through themselves*, many Indigenous people continue to struggle with modern educational structures which are not of their own making and are separated from, and largely compete with, their traditional forms of education. There continues to be a kind of educational “schizophrenia” in the reality of Indigenous education as it exists today. As a result, Indigenous people continue to be one of the most educationally disadvantaged and “at risk” minorities in the world. This reality exists in spite of the histories of many enormously profound and elegant expressions of traditional education and philosophy that this chapter has outlined. An essential question is: what needs to happen to reclaim and rename this enormously important heritage not only for Indigenous people but as a contribution to the educational development of all future generations?

The basis of contemporary Western education is the transfer of academic skills and content which prepares the student to compete in the social, economic, and organizational infrastructure of Western society as it has been defined by the prevailing political, social, and economic order of vested interests. However, the ideal curriculum espoused by Western education ends up being significantly different from the experienced curriculum internalized by students and the real workings of much of society. The society which many minority students experience is wrought with contradictions, prejudice, hypocrisy, narcissism, and political and bureaucratic predispositions at all levels including the schools. As a result, there have been educational conflicts, frustration, and varying levels of alienation experienced by many Indigenous peoples as a result of their encounters with mainstream education.

Traditional Indigenous education represents an anomaly for the prevailing theory and methodology of Western education since what is implied in the application of “objectivism” based on a Western worldview is the assumption that there are one correct way of understanding the dynamics of education, one correct methodology, and one way of understanding the reality of educational philosophy and that there can be only one correct policy for Indigenous education. This approach excludes serious consideration of the “relational” and experienced reality of Indigenous people, the variations in Tribal and social contexts, and the processes of perception

and understanding which characterize and actually form its expressions. This has substantial limitations in the multidimensional, holistic, and relational reality of the education of Indigenous people. It is the affective elements – the subjective experience and observations, the communal relationships, the artistic and mythical dimensions, the ritual and ceremony, the sacred ecology, and the psychological and spiritual orientations – which have characterized and formed Indigenous education since time immemorial. These dimensions and their inherent meanings are not readily quantifiable, observable, or easily verbalized and, as a result, have been given little credence in mainstream approaches to education and research. Yet, it is these very aspects which form a profound orientation for learning through exploring and understanding the multidimensional relationships between humans and their inner and outer worlds.

For Indigenous educators, a key to dealing with the conflict between the objective and relational orientations, the social cultural bias, and the cultural differences in perception lies in the kind of open communication and creative dialogue which challenges the “tacit infrastructure” of ideas that guide contemporary education.

Education is essentially a communal social activity. Educational research which produces the most creatively productive insights involves communication within the whole educational community, not just the “authorities” recognized by mainstream educational interests. Education is a communication process and plays an essential role in every act of educational perception. There must be a “flow” of communication regarding the educational process among all educators as a result of internal dialogue, interactions among educators, publication, and discussion of ideas.

Many ideas based on the established “tacit infrastructure” of mainstream education have been embraced uncritically by educators. This situation, as it pertains to Indigenous education, limits creative acts of perception. A free play of thought and opening up of the field, which is not restricted by unconsciously determined assumptions, social pressures, and the inherent limitations of the currently established paradigms of contemporary education, needs to occur. It is only in realizing that there is a “tacit infrastructure” and then questioning it that a high level of creative thought regarding the possibilities and potentials of Indigenous educational philosophy can become possible. And only in realizing that Indigenous perceptions of education have traditionally been informed by a different “metaphor” of teaching and learning can more productive insights into contemporary Indigenous education be developed.

Traditional metaphors of education derived their meaning from unique cultural contexts and interactions with natural environments. Yet, many of these metaphors such as the notion of an interdependent, relational universe are held in common. In turn, the collective experience of Indigenous people and their elegant expressions of cultural adaptations have culminated in a body of shared metaphors and understandings regarding the nature of education and its “essential ecology.” The exploration of Indigenous education develops insights into the community of shared metaphors and understandings specific to Indigenous cultures yet reflective of the nature of human learning as a whole.

The next phase of the development of Indigenous education requires the collective development of transformative vision and educational process based on deep relevant dialogue. This kind of development requires that “new structures” and “practices” emerge from old ones through a collective process of creative thought and research. These kinds of new structures and practices can only be generated by an ongoing and unbiased process of critical exchange between modern educational thought and practice and the traditional philosophy and orientations of Indigenous people.

A new kind of educational consciousness, an “ecology of Indigenous education,” must be forged which allows Indigenous peoples to explore and express their collective heritage in education and to make the kinds of contributions to global education that stem from such deep ecological orientations. The exploration of traditional Indian education and its projection into a contemporary context is much more than just an academic exercise. It illuminates the true nature of the ecological connection of human learning and helps to liberate the experience of being human and being related at all its levels.

From this perspective, education takes on the quality of a social and political struggle to open up the possibilities for a way of education that comes from the very “soul” of Indigenous people. It also brings to the surface the extent and the various dimensions of the conditioning of modern educational processes that have been “introjected” into the deepest levels of their consciousness. They become critical observers of the modern education to which they have had to adapt and which demands conformity to a certain way of education that more often than not has been manipulated to serve only certain “vested interests” of Western society. Through the exploration of Indigenous education, they learn how to demystify the techniques and orientations of modern education. This understanding allows them to use such education in accord with their needs and combine the best that it has to offer with that of Indigenous orientations and knowledge. They cease to be “recipients” of modern education and become active participants and creators of their own education.

Indigenous Teaching and Learning Orientations

Idries Shah (1978) in his book *Learning How to Learn* illuminates some of the most important elements of Indigenous teaching and learning which revolve around “learning how to learn” which is more similar to the tenants of lifelong learning than simply the mechanics of teaching and quantitative assessment of learning. Learning how to learn is a key element in every approach to education. Therefore, the cultivation of the human capacities for listening, observation, experiencing with all one’s senses, development of intuitive understanding, and respect for time-tested traditions of learning naturally formed the basis for skills used in every process of Indigenous learning and teaching.

Indigenous peoples in both North and South America, New Zealand, Australia, Africa, Asia, the Pacific, Greenland, and Northern Europe developed a diverse

variety of approaches to teaching and learning. These approaches ranged from the loosely organized informal contexts for learning and teaching in hunter-gatherer tribes to the formally organized “academies” of the Aztecs, Maya, Inca, and other groups of Mexico and Central and South America. Whatever the approach, there was a continuum of education in Tribal American societies which involved an array of ritual/initiatory practices that closely followed the human phases of maturation and development. In each phase of this continuum, an important aspect of learning how to learn was internalized. Learning how to learn in Tribal societies may be seen to unfold around the following four basic areas of orientation.

First is the attention to real and practical needs of the Tribal society which systematically addressed learning related to physical, social, psychological, and spiritual needs of Tribal members, the most important of which were learning how to survive in the natural environment and learning how to be a productive member of the Tribal society.

Second is the teaching of individuals in individual ways when they showed the readiness or expressed the willingness to learn. The emphasis was on allowing for the uniqueness of individual learning styles and encouraging the development of self-reliance and self-determination.

Third is the application of special intellectual, ritual, psychological, and spiritual “teaching tools” which facilitated deep levels of learning and understanding. Indigenous teaching was throughout predicated upon three basic criteria: flexibility, viability, and effectiveness.

Fourth is the honoring and facilitation of the psychological and transformational process of “flowering” or opening up to a self-knowledge and natural capacities of learning. This was usually accomplished by helping individuals overcome their own self-generated impediments to learning and other obstacles to understanding.

The list of Indigenous axioms of teaching which follows represents a small portion of the storehouse of wisdom and creative approaches to teaching applied by Tribal teachers from throughout the world in creating an educational process that reflected a sophisticated culturally inspired “ecology of education.” Indigenous education allowed for such a diversity of sophisticated teaching “tools” that few modern educational approaches are able to duplicate in breadth and creativity. These interpretations of Indigenous teaching axioms are derived from a host of readings and observations related to Indigenous education. They are presented in a simplified form with a minimum of description in the hope that teachers will apply their own creative interpretations and implementations based the development of their own lessons and curricula. As processes, these axioms are applicable to the holistic presentation of any kind of content and adaptable to every age level and appear in many cultural traditions of teaching.

1. Tribal teachers begin teaching by building on the commonplace. We have common experiences, understandings, and human traits that can be used to pose a problem in terms, forms, or experiences that are familiar to students.

2. Remember that learning is a natural instinct and that success in learning something new is tied to human feelings of self-worth. Create a learning environment which flows with this natural current of humanness. Enabling successful learning is an essential step in cultivating motivation and enhancing self-confidence in learning.
3. Basic understanding begins with exploring “how things happen.” Observing how things happened in the natural world is the basis of some of the most ancient and spiritually profound teachings of Indigenous cultures. Nature is the first teacher and model of process. Learning how to see Nature enhances our capacity to see other things.
4. The focus of a teaching on a perennial phenomenon, such as solar and lunar cycles, stimulates the deepest level of “learning how to learn” and the development of self-knowledge.
5. Indigenous teaching focused as much on learning with the “heart” on learning with the mind. This was the pervasive affective dimension of Indigenous teaching and learning.
6. Indigenous teaching facilitated learning to see how one really was rather than an image manufactured through one’s or other’s egos. This realistic perception of self helped the student realize that they were essentially responsible for the barriers to their own learning.
7. The real situation provided the basic stage for most Indigenous learning and teaching. Overt intellectualization was kept to a minimum in favor of direct experience and learning by doing. Teaching through a real situation expanded the realm of learning beyond speculation and allowed the student to judge the truth of a teaching for themselves.
8. Readiness to learn was considered a basic determinant for the ultimate success or failure of a teaching. Indigenous teachers recognized that readiness for learning important things had to be conditioned for through repetition and the relative “attunement” of the student to the teaching. They watched for “moments of teach ability” and repeated the teaching of key principles in numerous ways and at various times.
9. Placing students in situations in which they constantly had to examine assumptions and confront preconceived notions was a regular practice of Indigenous teachers. Through facilitating this kind of constant examination of what students “thought they knew,” they remained open to new dimensions of learning and prepared for higher levels of thinking and creative synthesis.
10. Indigenous teaching is always associated with “organic development.” Indigenous teaching is planted like a seed and then nurtured and cultivated through the relationship of teacher and student until it bears fruit. The nature and quality of the relationship and perseverance through time determined the ultimate outcome of a teaching process. Apprenticeship and learning through ritual stages of learning readiness were predicated on the planting of seeds and nurturing the growing seedling through time.
11. Teaching is a communicative art. Indigenous teaching is based on the nature and quality of communicating at all levels of being. Indigenous teachers practiced

the “art” of communicating through language, relationship to social and natural environments, art, play, and ritual.

12. Teaching and learning is a matter of serving and being served. Service is the basis of the relationship between student and teacher. This foundation was exemplified most completely in the apprentice-teacher relationships found in all expressions of Indigenous education.
13. Indigenous teaching involved making students think “comprehensively” and facilitating their awareness of the higher levels of the content which they were learning and its relationship to other areas of knowledge. Such comprehensive thinking formed a firm foundation for the creative process of teaching and learning. That is, comprehensive preparation and immersion in a learning process invites new understandings and perceptions of dimensions of knowledge that are there all the time but need to be worked before they reveal themselves.
14. Indigenous practices such as creative dreaming, art, ritual, and ceremony helped the student externalize inner thoughts and qualities for examination. Such practices helped students to establish a connection with their “real” selves and learn how to bring their inner resources to bear in their lives. Helping students gain access to their real selves was part of the “transformative” education which was an inherent part of Indigenous teaching.
15. Indigenous teaching revolved around some form of work. Indigenous teachers recognized that work invites concentration and facilitates a quietness of the mind which in turn leads to illuminating insights about what is being taught.
16. Tribal teachers understood that all teaching is relative and that each path of knowledge had its own requirements which needed to be addressed. Flexibility and learning how to adjust to the demands of the moment were key skills that were cultivated throughout Indigenous education.
17. Learning about the nature of self-deception was a key aspect of Indigenous preparation for learning. A first step in understanding the nature of true learning was reaching a level of clarity regarding why one was learning. Students had to become aware that ambition, self-gratification, power, and control as purposes for learning were forms of self-deception which had to be avoided because they lead eventually to the misuse of knowledge and the further perpetuation of self-deception.
18. Tribal teachers realized that striving for real knowledge required a cultivated sense of humility. The human tendencies toward pride, arrogance, and ego inflation had to be understood and avoided in the search to find one’s true “face,” “heart,” and “vocation.”
19. Mirroring consequences of a teaching back to students in order to expand their perspective and deepen their learning was often used in Indigenous education. Tribal teachers facilitated learning through direct, and at times provoked, perception by setting up a situation which forced students to see the limitations of what they thought they knew. In this way, students were encouraged to reach deeper into themselves and realize the deeper levels of meaning represented by a

- teaching. This practice helped students cultivate a degree of humility necessary for maintaining an openness to new learning and the creative possibilities of a teaching.
20. The cultivation of humility correspondingly prepared a foundation for the students learning the nature of “attention.” Attention may be considered a foundation of Indigenous learning in that almost every context, from learning basic hunting and fishing skills to memorizing the details of ritual, to listening to story, and to mastering a traditional art form, relied on its practiced application. Attention in the Indigenous sense had to do with the focus of all the senses. Seeing, listening, feeling, smelling, hearing, and intuiting are the senses which were developed and applied in the Indigenous perspective of “attention.”
 21. Learning the nature of appropriate activity was a natural consideration of Indigenous teaching. Activity in Indigenous life always had a purpose. “Busy work” was not a concept Tribal teachers were interested in perpetuating, since helping students learn how to engage in effective activity appropriate to the situation at hand was a basic skill required for more advanced Indigenous teaching.
 22. Knowledge and action were considered parts of the same whole. Properly contexted and developed knowledge led to the same balance in terms of action. Therefore, in order to assure the integrity and relative “rightness” of an action, a great amount of time was spent on reflection and seeking broad levels of information and understanding before forming an opinion or taking an action. Prayer, deep reflection, patience, and “waiting for the second thought” were regularly practiced in Indigenous decision-making.
 23. A concept of “each person’s work,” akin to the Hindu concept of “karma,” was honored in the processes of Indigenous education. Indigenous teachers saw that each student was unique and had a unique path of learning which they needed to travel during their life. Learning the nature of that path was many times the focus of Indigenous rites of initiation and vision questing. The trials, tribulations, and “work” that become a part of each individual’s learning path constituted the basis for some of the most important contexts of Indigenous teaching and learning.
 24. From the Indigenous perspective, true learning and the gaining of significant knowledge did not come without sacrifice and at times “a deep wound.” Indigenous teachers realized that, at times, only by experiencing extreme hardship and trauma were some individuals ready to reach their maximum level of learning development. The ritual incorporation of this reality of life’s hardships into such ceremonies as the sun dance transforms the reality of wounding into a context for learning and reflection. In this way, the wound or traumatic life event was mobilized to serve as a constant reminder of an important teaching. As long as the wound or the repercussions of an event were used to symbolize something deeply important to know and understand, they provided a powerful source for renewal, insight, and the expansion of individual consciousness.

Conclusion

In summary, a primary orientation of many traditional forms of Indigenous education was that each person was in reality their own teacher and that learning was connected to each individual's life process. Meaning was looked for in everything, especially in the workings of the natural world. All things of nature were teachers of mankind, and what was required was a cultivated and practiced openness to the lessons which the world had to teach. Ritual, mythology, and the art of storytelling combined with the cultivation of relationship to one's inner self, family, community, and natural environment were utilized to help individuals realize their potential for learning and a complete life. Individuals were enabled to reach "completeness" by being encouraged to learning how to trust their natural instincts, to listen, to look, to create, to reflect and see things deeply, to understand and apply their intuitive intelligence, and to recognize and honor the teacher of spirit within themselves and the natural world. This is the educational legacy of Indigenous peoples. It is imperative that its message and its way of educating be revitalized "for life's sake" at this time of ecological and social crisis (Cajete 1994).

At a more inclusive level, exploration of Indigenous education liberates the learner and educator to participate in the kind of creative and transforming dialogue that is inherently based on equality and mutual reciprocity. This is a way of learning, communicating, and working of relationship that mirrors those ways found in nature. It also destigmatizes the Indigenous learner as being "disadvantaged" and the educator of the "provider of aid." Rather, it allows both the learner and educator to co-create a learning experience and mutually undertake a pilgrimage to a new level of self-knowledge. The educator enters the "cultural universe" of the learner and no longer remains an outside authority. By being allowed to co-create a learning experience, everyone involved generates a kind of critical consciousness and enters into a process of empowering one another. And with such empowerment, Indigenous people become significantly "enabled" to alter a negative relationship with their learning process. Ultimately, with the reassertion, contemporary development, and implementation of such an Indigenous process at all levels of Indigenous education, Indigenous people may truly take control of their own history by becoming the transforming agents of their own social reality.

In the final analysis, Indigenous people must determine the future of Indigenous education. That future must be rooted in a transformational revitalization of our own expressions of education. As we collectively *envision Indigenous education*, we must think of the seventh generation of Indigenous children for it is they who judge whether we were as true to our responsibility to them as our relatives were for us seven generations before. It is time for an authentic dialogue to begin to collectively explore where we have been, where we are now, and where we need to go as we collectively embark on our continuing journey "to that place that Indigenous people talk about." I hope that these thoughts will stimulate that kind of dialogue.

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Psychosocial Analyses and Actions for Promoting Restorative Schools: Indigenous Determinants Connecting Three International Sites

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Abstract

Changing demographic patterns around the world are posing new challenges to the constructions of being, belonging, and identity, demanding a deeper insight into the dynamics that test the resolve of people to coexist more amicably. For school communities this means adopting a stance that positions students and teachers within a safe and enabling educational environment. How disciplinary protocols are embedded and enacted within these environments is critical to how coexistence is manifested. Very often authoritarian disciplinary sanctions are operationalized with spontaneity and are seen as a preferred “quick fix” for student behaviors that are deemed unacceptable. However, a growing body of evidence indicates that such courses of action can seriously hamper, rather than improve, a student’s sense of being, belonging, and identity – by negatively impacting on their attitude, behavior, and performance. These long-term ramifications appear to be experienced in disproportionate numbers by students who are from minoritized ethnic groups and who may interpret these misconceptions as rejection of themselves or their ethnic group, often creating a self-fulfilling belief that their membership belongs somewhere else. Drawing on findings from three research projects located in three different parts of the world, this chapter describes how restorative responses to challenging behavior, when instantiated skillfully and with integrity, have the potential to bring about positive life-course changes. Common themes that underscore an approach that is used in all three settings are highlighted, linking several underlying constructs back to the key theoretical frameworks which inform them. The chapter ultimately illustrates how these frameworks have been actualized in school and community settings and points to Indigenous insights as being key determinants that drive the measures that are built into these frameworks. It is proposed that conventional approaches to responding to challenging behaviors regularly fail to meet the relational needs of learning and teaching in twenty-first-century schools. Increasingly, schools are searching for alternatives that work. To that end, they are finding restorative approaches more effective in establishing long-term, lasting changes in relationships, more connectivity among members of a school community, more inclusiveness of a range of voices, and more enhancement of ethics of care within school communities as a whole. Responding to these opportunities requires educators to reach beyond the auspices of conventional education protocols, toward more innovative perspectives that promote broader social justice and

equity within policies and practices. This chapter illustrates synergies across different geographic and cultural locations and brings attention to particular pedagogical practices which, even in widely diverse settings, are collectively associated with positive outcomes.

Keywords

Indigenous · Pedagogy · Restorative · Behavior · Identity · Equity · Belonging · Connectivity

Introduction

Globally, the speed and scale of social, political, technological, and cultural change poses a wide array of challenges (and opportunities) to educational practice in the twenty-first century. Engaging with the current pace of change requires educators to have an awareness of the national and international concerns that set the context for considering alternative and diverse approaches to learning and teaching. Shifts in societal patterns, cultural diversity discourses, and the tangibility of challenging behaviors have sparked new questions about inclusion and differentiation. Peaceful human coexistence continues to be a global aspiration but conflict, in a variety of forms, appears to have increased in recent years. Education settings covering the spectrum from birth to adolescence, while being places of value-building activities, appear to be increasingly a microcosm reflecting the aspirations, dysfunctions, and conflicts that manifest in communities and societies beyond. Additionally, many traditional educational practices are still lingering; practices that focus on delivering specific cognitively developmental and standards-assessed curricula which continue to promote levels of disparity, despair, and disengagement for many ethnic minorities. These consequences fuel a further fragmentation within communities. Changing demographic patterns around the world are posing new challenges to the constructions of belonging, being, and cultural identity, and demand a deeper insight into the various forms of relationships that need to exist between people (Macfarlane 2012). These changing patterns also present opportunities for innovation and envisioning.

The diverse range of twenty first-century challenges impels educators (researchers and practitioners alike) to find new ways of “doing school” in order for education to be the empowering, effective, and equitable force for reimagining people’s future. Interestingly, effectiveness and equity are often achieved by going back to traditional ways (in earlier times) of “doing school,” and this frequently means turning toward, and drawing from, Indigenous epistemologies. Effective education in the here and now appears to require an ecological and sociocultural positioning approach; one that facilitates and focuses on the essential holistic skills for wellbeing and social cohesion. Educators across the globe wishing to reposition to a more holistic pedagogy have a plethora of traditional and emerging theories to consider. They also have to assess the appropriateness and fit to their particular geographic, historical, and cultural

environment, while considering how a theoretical approach would actually be made real at their respective sites of learning and teaching.

Paradoxically, the global stage, wherein the educational challenges and opportunities reside, is also the context from which answers can and do emerge. Nieto Ángel and her colleagues have previously published in a Spanish language journal (Nieto Ángel et al. 2015) on two (Latin America and Aotearoa New Zealand) of the three projects that are discussed in this chapter, and they have highlighted successful holistic, Indigenous-embedded approaches to reimagining education. This chapter adds a third project (United States), thus enabling assessment of pilot approaches across sites in three continents. This chapter highlights the synergies that exist across three different geographic and cultural locations and draws attention to particular pedagogical practices which, even in widely diverse settings, are collectively associated with positive outcomes.

The diversity of settings includes the differing scale of research projects. Two projects were single school sites, a rural school in Aotearoa, New Zealand, and an urban school in the United States. The third project was large-scale and multisite, engaging with seven schools in five Latin American countries. Across these distinct differences, the commonalities in pedagogical practice and outcomes attract attention.

Drawing on a triangulated viewpoint to assess common challenges in diverse geographical settings, this chapter describes how effective responses, when instantiated authentically and with integrity, have the potential to bring about positive change. The chapter highlights common themes and approaches used in all three settings and links the underlying constructs back to the key theoretical frameworks which have informed them. The discussion ultimately illustrates how a cluster of theoretical frameworks has been actualized in school and community settings. Some of the conclusions point to emerging constructs and practices that have been associated with improved outcomes in these three distinctly diverse settings. These key constructs are offered as a means of assisting researchers, school leaders, and teachers in identifying approaches which may be consistently linked to improved educational outcomes. Specifically, the conclusions suggest that there is a need for more focus on relationships and access to holistic approaches for responding to wrongdoing, resolving conflicts, and restoring harmony within relationships in school communities. It is argued that these focus areas have resonance with traditional, Indigenous approaches. Traditional, Indigenous contentions are the *tapuwae* (footprints) upon which much of the thinking and theorizing relating to the three research sites reported on in this chapter are traced.

Ngā Tapuwae ō Mua: Footprints of the Past

There is a substantial body of literature on Indigenous Māori approaches to responding to social harm (see Cherrington 2009; Fergusson et al. 2014). The two key general premises are that: (1) systemic inequality, discrimination, dispossession, destitution, over-policing, and imposed cultural genocide are responsible for

imbalance, anger, and violence in communities and between individuals (e.g., see Durie 2007; Jackson 1988); and (2) an holistic approach is necessary to balance relationships and heal the colonial trauma that affects Indigenous (and non-Indigenous) peoples (e.g., see Durie 2003; Macfarlane et al. 2008). These two premises indicate that the explanations and solutions proposed are: systemic and holistic (rather than reductionist) (e.g., see Durie 1994), collectivist (rather than individuated) (e.g., see Rangihau 1975), and relational, which implies that the focus is not on individual thinking or behavior, but on existential, social, and cultural aspects related to connections with others and with the environment (e.g., Bateman and Berryman 2008; Reedy 1992). These understandings point to alternative strategies of prevention, intervention, and redirection of unacceptable behaviors.

The traditional Māori discipline model has four broad principles: consensus, reconciliation, examination, and restoration. These elements are critical to an effective outcome (Macfarlane, cited in Fraser et al. 2005). These four quintessential features illustrating traditional Māori discipline were also identified more recently by McElrea (1994) and Olsen, Maxwell and Morris (1995). These are:

- An emphasis upon reaching consensus and involving the whole community
- A desired outcome of reconciliation and a settlement acceptable to all parties rather than the isolation and punishment of the offender
- Not to apportion blame but to examine the wider reason for the wrong with an implicit assumption that there was often wrong on both sides and
- Less concern with whether or not there had been a breach of protocol or law, and more concern with the restoration of harmony

The use of what Māori refer to as *whakatika* (putting matters to right) to achieve satisfactory restoration via the model outlined above is implicit for Māori and many other Indigenous peoples. Their traditional societies “had this down to a fine art” and many examples are manifested magnificently in mythology, legends, and history. Contemporary Māori society, for instance, has retained an abundance of what *tipuna* (ancestors) had to offer, and this wisdom has guided much of the researchers’ deliberations in the three research contexts.

Framing the Three Contexts

The three research projects are geographically and culturally diverse, and each employed a contextually specific research design. In Latin America, the project was large-scale and multisite, involving approximately 7000 students in five countries. This project was designed to provide teachers with methodologies of care, while giving schools the capacity to transform their institutional culture, leading to enhanced social cohesion and more effective educational outcomes. The Aotearoa New Zealand project was a single school site, at a small rural school. The focus was on how the school community could create *manaakitanga* (the ethic of caring) in the school environment. The United States project was also a single school site but was

based in a large urban school. The purpose of this project was to learn how to change a school culture, which used punitive processes for discipline, into one where care prevailed. In the Aotearoa New Zealand and United States sites, there was a focus on culturally minoritized students. Additionally, in Aotearoa New Zealand, use of traditional Indigenous knowledge was a key element in the change process. Each of the projects achieved success with their objectives and, when the projects were compared, it became apparent that common themes resonated across the differing contexts. In presenting the research findings, this chapter explores the common preexisting challenges which the projects' aims sought to address, and offers a commentary of the respective constructs that underpinned positive change for participating schools and communities.

Recurring Challenges

Given the breadth of historic, cultural, and structural differences between Latin America, Aotearoa New Zealand, and the United States, it would be reasonable to anticipate a wide variety of educational challenges presenting across the three research sites. The data stories, however, revealed that impressively similar problems were faced by the schools in all of the settings. Specifically, conflict and contraventions within school settings were common issues, as were diminished opportunities for learning resulting from school discipline processes. Two other important factors were brought to the fore: achieving positive connections between the schools and local communities; and the focus of education on academic curriculum at the expense of social, relational, and emotional skill-building.

In the Latin American context, schools reported regulatory breaches among peers and vandalism toward property, which linked with student disengagement and drop-out recurrences – often culminating in a familiar cycle of segregation and delinquency (Martínez-Otero Pérez 2005). Additionally, a punitive approach to misbehavior often led to the exclusion of students from school, thereby decreasing opportunities and increasing vulnerability. The Aotearoa New Zealand context showed disruptive behavior was on the rise. Of further concern was the overrepresentation of Indigenous and minority cultures in data on students excluded from schools due to behavioral issues (Cavanagh et al. 2012). In the United States research site, wrongdoing and conflict at school were seen as a “pipeline to prison,” particularly for Latino/Hispanic students. Similar to the other two contexts, referrals for discipline resulted in detentions, suspensions, and expulsions and led to school drop-out (Cavanagh et al. 2014). At the commencement of all three projects, discipline procedures in participating schools tended to not include processes for restoring relationships and valuing the dignity of all individuals.

While there is a recognition of education as a responsibility of the whole society, Latin American schools have experienced difficulty integrating their local community and linking families to the school while also respecting and valuing the cultural and socioeconomic diversity these families represent. This subsequently impairs student development of knowledge and skills for broader participation in their

communities and society (Reimers 2008). At the Aotearoa New Zealand rural school of interest, Māori students comprised 45% of enrollments, which was well above the national average. The lack of culture integrated within classroom content was illustrated when a student indicated that the once-a-week school kapa haka practice (Māori arts performance) was the only element that connected being Māori with school life (Cavanagh 2009b). At the United States urban school, over 60% of the students identified themselves as Latino/Hispanic. The research project showed that the expectations and needs of the Latino/Hispanic parents and students were not reflected in the students' typical experiences at school.

All three sites tended to place emphasis on academic curriculum, ahead of social, relational, and emotional skill-building. The prevailing focus of education in Latin America was for employment, which did not encourage the holistic development of students (UNESCO 2007). Overall, it appeared that socioemotional and relationship skills had a secondary place in the school curriculum. In the Aotearoa New Zealand rural school, prior to institutionalizing the changes that are described below, learning was prioritized and care of the student as a person with a specific cultural identity was a secondary consideration. The priorities of the United States urban site were reflected in discipline procedures that excluded students from the learning environment and did not seek to restore relationships when these were harmed. Integral to the emphasis on specifically cognitive curriculum was the absence of an ethic of care (Noddings 1992) and this in turn was an impediment for culturally responsive pedagogy (Macfarlane 2007) to transpire. A further characteristic at the commencement across all of the research sites was that, while schools had procedures for attending to discipline matters, none appeared to be using restorative processes for enabling the development of peace-making and conflict-resolution skills.

Having noted three of the common challenges across the Latin American, United States, and Aotearoa New Zealand sites, the next section illustrates the diversity of the three projects while describing methodologies, processes, and results for each research project.

Latin America: Care at the Core

Over recent decades, Latin American schools have faced serious challenges related to creating spaces for inclusion, where people learn to live with others while also attaining academic success (Cabrol and Szekely 2012). As indicated above, schools have reported problems related to vandalism, aggression, lack of motivation, and, ultimately, dropping out of school. Also, schools had environments of tension between teachers and between teachers and administrators (Martínez-Otero Pérez 2005). Schools have struggled to integrate their local communities and make links with families while also respecting and valuing the cultural and socioeconomic diversity these families represent. In addition, where schools are weakened by an internal environment of conflict, their ability to respond appropriately to wrongdoing and conflict is compromised. As a result, students fail to develop the knowledge and

skills to be able to participate in a positive way in the economic, political, and cultural life of their communities and country (Alfonso et al. 2012; Bos et al. 2012).

Methodologies

The objective of the Pedagogies of Care and Reconciliation project (PCR) was to improve relationships among people in schools and understand how this can influence learning and improve educational quality. The conceptual and methodological frameworks for the work of PCR were based on three theoretical pillars: (1) the cultural politics of forgiveness and reconciliation (Narváez 2009), (2) the ethics of care (Cavanagh et al. 2012; Commins 2009; Noddings 2004), and (3) socioemotional education (Bradberry and Greaves 2009). The use of participatory action research (PAR) (Fals Borda 2001) was an appropriate methodology for achieving the PCR objective, particularly as the researchers proposed to build caring relationships with members of school communities as a model for how schools can strengthen their ability to transform systems, improve relationships, and increase the quality of education.

A prior intervention project by the PCR team led to the conclusion that at the root of social and school behavioral difficulties is a lack of care towards fellow humans and towards interpersonal relationships. At the time of this study, the prevailing focus of education in Latin America was for employment, and the ideal of providing holistic education had been abandoned in practice (Reimers 2008). The fundamental socioemotional skills of self-awareness and emotional self-regulation, and the ability to understand the emotions of others in relation to empathy had a secondary place in the school curriculum. While it was generally recognized that relationships between students and their teachers are a foundation for learning, little attention was paid to the development of communication and relationship skills in the training of pre-service and in-service teachers (Rodríguez-Ávila 2008; Tedesco and López 2013).

To test their initial conclusions regarding the role of relationships and care in education, the Foundation for Reconciliation developed a pilot project which was undertaken between 2011 and 2013. It included seven schools from five countries in Latin America, with a sample size of approximately 500 teachers and school administrators, and 7000 students.

The project used PAR methodology (Fals Borda 2001); however, each school community adapted and reconfigured the process to their local context. Two mutually reinforcing strategies were used: a whole-school intervention to change the existing institutional culture of participating schools and a program to develop the socioemotional skills of teachers so they could build better relationships with students and peers.

Part of the whole-school intervention was use of a tool entitled “Five Mirrors to Observe Ourselves and Dialogue” (Fundación para la Reconciliación 2012) to motivate dialogue in the school communities and gather emerging data. Activities associated with this tool provided opportunities for observing the everyday practices of teachers and students related to communication, participation, and regulation and

enabled the gaps between educational ideals of a holistic education and daily life at a school to be identified.

As part of the second strategy, all teachers were invited to participate in Schools of Forgiveness and Reconciliation (Escuelas de Perdón y Reconciliación, ESPERE) and socioemotional training sessions. Both processes share an experiential approach, with the aim of teachers making a narrative shift that allowed them to move from anger and resentment (ungrateful memory) to more compassionate attitudes. This, in turn, opens the way for building more positive and empathic relationships. Throughout the process, teachers were involved in dialogues to build a sense of meaning about the ongoing transformations, and they shared their personal and collective experiences through a virtual social network called “Youth Network for Reconciliation” (Red de Jóvenes por la Reconciliación).

During 24 months of the pilot, the Foundation for Reconciliation (the Foundation) worked alongside the schools, developing activities of socioemotional education, offering online support, and promoting school-community dialogues to build a sense of meaning.

Internal monitoring (Fundación para la Reconciliación 2014) and an external evaluation (Corporación Síntesis 2014) were used to assess the results in: the socioemotional competence of teachers, pedagogical style, institutional school culture, and educational quality. Insights, questions and accomplishments were shared with participating teachers by means of a further virtual social network – *Red para la Reconciliación* (www.perdonyreconciliacion.ning.com).

Data Stories

The Foundation accompanied school-facilitation teams in the analysis of findings. Information was collected in the form of interviews, questionnaires, observations, and use of a research game, “Five Pointed Star” (Nieto Ángel et al. 2013). This tool invited everyone in the school to indicate what they “like” and “dislike” about the school and enabled the whole community to learn about school climate. The answers were classified into five areas: school infrastructure, extracurricular activities, teachers, peers, and subjects.

Key findings showed that what students like are the teachers who care for them and who teach well. What the students like least are teachers who are disrespectful or intolerant, unfair punishment, peers mocking them in the classroom, and being labeled. Both students and teachers respectively perceive that their views are not taken into account during the process of deliberation and decision-making. Inconsistencies in the response to wrongdoing and conflicts were identified, and it was noted that staff, teachers, and students attributed different meanings to school rules.

Different voices within the school communities explained that interpersonal relationships are at the core of the quality of education. With regard to questions about the classroom environment and school climate, school community members typically referred to the communication patterns as well as relationships. A fifth-grade student said: “I don’t like it when teachers yell at me, because if I cannot

understand in class, I want them to explain things to me.” A second-grade student said what she likes about school is: “The teacher who helps me, who teaches me about sharing and being all together.”

Teachers spoke about the overloaded schedules and the number of administrative tasks. Moreover, teachers expressed frustration at not being able to put into practice the ideal of learner-centered education. When asked about the pedagogical model in school, a teacher said: “It is very good on paper, but to implement it consciously, to get familiarized with the child and have the opportunity to contextualize their life in the school, I need more time.”

Across the seven schools, participants enunciated the need to construct meaning about the essence and purpose of school regulations and benchmarks. This finding suggested that, in general, school regulations were not reflecting shared community values, which can be, in itself, the root of conflicts. One teacher stated that “There is not sufficient clarity about assessment parameters, one teacher thinks one way and another thinks different, and at the end children feel unfairly treated, and they are not engaged in school anymore.”

The in-depth observation of school life across five Latin American countries confirmed that schools found it challenging to be places of inclusion, where learning to live with others and achieving high academic standards are both possible. Despite debates related to “how” to achieve those purposes, it is commonly accepted that both educational objectives are valid and necessary: learning to live together and learning to learn. While most of these schools include the democratic ideals of education and student autonomy, they tend to systematically resort to punitive practices for handling wrongdoing and conflicts rather than implementing restorative justice options that are closer to the social ideal and an ethic of care. The use of punishment in response to behavior problems leads, in many cases, to the expulsion of students and eventually contributes to the antirestorative cycle of exclusion, vulnerability, and delinquency. Prior to PCR, none of the seven participating schools regularly used restorative justice practices; in fact, from the outset, several teachers expressed concern about the “blurred boundaries between care and permissiveness.”

Findings and Outcomes

Internal monitoring by the Foundation and external evaluation by Corporación Síntesis after 18 months of implementing PCR methodology in schools showed a range of positive outcomes (Fundación para la Reconciliación 2014).

Teachers had incorporated the language of care in their relationships with students and, when conflicts arose, both students and teachers were more willing to dialogue and restore relationships. A teacher who was asked to talk about caring practices with students answered, “Every morning students are received in the classroom with a gesture of affection, sharing lunch time with them, living, hearing their stories, and sharing mine too.”

Teachers had discovered the important role of emotions in education and made significant progress in personal self-awareness and self-regulation of their emotions. These new skills contributed to a positive classroom climate and better relationships

with colleagues and their own families. Additionally, the teachers experienced greater empathy with students and their unique ways of learning. Teachers observed that these changes had resulted in increased attendance and students being more collaborative with each other. One teacher remarked, “I reach out to my students because I want them to feel that I’m close to them, so if anyone is not coming to school, I would ask what happened, and they would know that we missed them.”

In light of the ideals of care and reconciliation, school teachers and administrators have continued to review their institutional culture and, in particular, the traditional school model based on “rights, duties, and punishments.” Participating schools are committed to introducing restorative practices and have put in place mechanisms to monitor the experience of teachers as they use new approaches. Dialogue to make meaning about these changes has fostered the construction of a new pedagogical identity.

An overall finding was that commitment to peaceful coexistence requires an understanding that although a caring environment might be endorsed, human interactions per se create care-less situations, breaches, and misunderstandings, which affect the dignity of people. Consequently, to make an ethic of care possible, the two key strategies of forgiveness and reconciliation are needed for restoring dignity and relationships.

When an ethic of care and reconciliation guides relationships across schools, a harmonious coexistence, conducive to effective education, is possible. Improving educational quality requires positioning care at the core. From that core, notions of care can be articulated across the whole school and be used to integrate what is often a clutter of fragmented school activities. Care at the core means a more organic and less segmented education.

Aotearoa New Zealand: Care Before Censure

Māori are the Indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand; a people who retain a rich knowledge base and worldview that has endured for many centuries within te ao Māori (the Māori world). In recent times, te ao Māori has been identified as a source of effective responses to address ongoing issues of inequity that perpetuate since European colonization.

In response to the arrival of European settlers to Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori signed a treaty with the British Crown (Treaty of Waitangi, 1840), based on the principles of partnership, protection, and participation. The Treaty promised to be the foundation for a bicultural nation. However, colonization practices, such as illegal land acquisition and cultural erosion of Indigenous people, created conflicts that are still focal in Aotearoa New Zealand. The result has been “the domination of Pākehā (European; non-Indigenous; new settlers) in political, social, and economic fields, the consequent marginalization of the Māori people” (Bishop and Glynn 1999, p. 50), and perpetuating problems of inequity.

Similar to the experience of other Indigenous peoples in the world, significant disparities emerged and continue to exist in socioeconomic indicators, including education. The academic performance of Māori students and minority cultures in Aotearoa New Zealand is lower than that of students from the majority Pākehā culture (Macfarlane et al. 2007). In addition, increasing levels of challenging and

disruptive behaviors at school are reported among culturally minoritized students. Recent decades have seen increased attention, from Māori and non-Māori alike, on drawing from Indigenous Māori knowledge and solutions to address these inequities. There is also greater recognition of the effectiveness of such approaches for students and teachers of Indigenous and non-Indigenous cultures (Smith 1997).

Methodologies

A single-site research study was undertaken in a rural area school (with primary and secondary students) in the North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand. PAR was chosen as a working methodology (Kemmis and McTaggart 1998) and work was grounded in a culturally responsive conceptual framework (Bishop and Glynn 1999; Smith 2005). These two approaches jointly underpinned development of the research study, including the research proposal, and the professional development training project. The overall project focused on understanding what the school community was doing to create a culture of care – based on the Māori concept of *manaakitanga*. A teacher described *manaakitanga* as “care and support for those who come to our family.”

At this research site, Māori students comprised 45% of enrollments, which was above the national average of 15%. The objective of the study was to legitimize the voices of Māori students and their teachers regarding the importance of building and maintaining relationships based on trust and caring relationships – expressed in Māori terms as *whakawhanaungatanga* (Bishop 2005; Macfarlane 2004) – and to restore relations when they had been affected by conflict and wrongdoing.

The PAR methodology provided a useful framework to achieve the defined objectives as it allowed Māori students and their teachers to elucidate problems related to their experience in school and make suggestions for improvement. Ultimately, the purpose was to gain an understanding about the phenomenon of interest from a Māori perspective. As a result, students and the school community assumed an informed position from which to respond to the social justice issues that were impacting learning.

Interviews, observations, and field notes, generated intensively throughout one school year and with less intensity over the three subsequent years, provided information that was analyzed from an appreciative inquiry (Patton 2003) perspective. This led to the formulation of a plan of work based on the strengths of the school community. The information collected was deconstructed into units of analysis for coding purposes and subsequently organized into themes according to the patterns observed in the codes.

Data Stories

Analysis of the data, using the process described above, clarified two key themes: *whakawhanaungatanga* (build and maintain relationships) and *manaakitanga* (extend holistic care). These themes subsequently provided the basis for describing the findings.

Whakawhanaungatanga (Build and Maintain Relationships).

Students at the school explained that interpersonal relationships with teachers directly impact their learning processes. They expect teachers' care and attention not only in learning (caring for the learning) but also as having a cultural location (caring for the person as a culturally located individual) (Valenzuela 1999). One student said, "With some teachers I learn and not others. With teachers that explain well and with whom I feel comfortable, yes, I learn."

The centrality of relationships to learning arose in the following sentence from a student: "What helps me learn is to have a good connection between the teacher and me." Another student explains this connection in terms of friendship: "I do not want to see my teacher only as a teacher, I also want him as a friend" (Cavanagh 2009b, p. 56). A key element in this teacher–student relationship is trust. As one teacher explained "Community is a safe and friendly environment where people live healthy relationships based on mutual care and support, a family atmosphere, a place where everyone knows each other and care about each other and their surroundings and where links between each and all things are created" (Cavanagh 2009b, p. 71).

These approaches enliven the whakawhanaungatanga concept, which is described in the literature as the sense of collective identity of a person that is grounded in partnerships established with their ancestors and their connection to the land (Macfarlane et al. 2014). Ultimately, building and preserving these relationships should be the core work of the school (Cavanagh 2009a).

Manaakitanga (Extend Holistic Care)

Students clearly expressed their expectation of being cared for by their teachers not only in their studies but also in cultural positioning (Macfarlane 2004). When asked "What does being a Māori student at this school mean?," one student explained that school only comes to life for her on Tuesday afternoon during the school kapa haka practice (Māori arts performance). The student wanted to indicate that to succeed in school she must leave her identity as Māori at the school gate (Cavanagh 2009b, p. 69).

As part of the project, the teachers created a new policy which they called "care before censure." This new policy offered alternatives to traditional forms of discipline and punishment and, additionally, generated in the school community the capacity to handle conflicts in nonpunitive ways (Cavanagh 2009a). Four principles underpinned this new vision of "care before censure": (1) the answers to behavioral problems should be individualized and appropriate to the harm caused; (2) behavior problems are usually symptoms of other problems; (3) it is likely that students lack the language to express their feelings and concerns; and (4) misbehavior is an opportunity to learn better ways of acting (Cavanagh 2009c, p. 57).

Findings and Outcomes

This study concluded that interpersonal relationships are at the heart of a school, involve every person in the school community, and are the fundamental reason why

students attend school and strive to succeed. Prior to institutionalizing the culture of care at school, based on the principles of *whakawhanaungatanga* and *manaakitanga*, learning was prioritized and the care of the student as a person with a specific cultural identity was secondary. Rather than the traditional way of doing education, emphasis was converted to the development of respectful and caring relationships between students and teachers; therefore, there is a commitment to a cultural change that focuses on school communities that are welcoming for children and young people. In this new community of relationships, power is shared, based on the self-determination of learners together in interdependence (Young 2004), the dignity of each person is respected, and the sense of solidarity is reaffirmed and contributes to the welfare of all.

United States of America: Culture of Care

This Culture of Care research and professional development pilot project took place at an urban high school in the state of Colorado. Approximately 2000 students attended the school, with over 60% of those students identifying themselves as Latino/Hispanic, about 27% of those students being classified as having limited English proficiency, and about 75% being eligible for free or reduced-cost lunch.

The project sought to address a critical problem regarding the achievement and retention of Latino/Hispanic students at the selected high school. The project was planned to span 3 years in three phases: 2011–2012 needs assessment, 2012–2013 capacity building, and 2013–2014 sustainability.

A qualitative research approach was used, based primarily on an ethnography research design (Patton 2003), since the purpose of the pilot project was to learn about and then change the culture of the school from a traditional culture focused on rules and punishment to a culture of care.

In addition, the guiding methodology for collecting and analyzing data was participatory, based on the collaborative interactions of university researchers, Latino/Hispanic students, their parents, and teachers (Moll and Cammarota 2014). The intent was to paint a portrait of what it was like to be Latino/Hispanic at the school of interest when the project first began and for the next 3 years as the culture at the school changed (Lawrence-Lightfoot 1983).

Building positive and caring relationships was at the core of creating a culture of care at the school. However, there was a lack of understanding regarding how to create a culture of care at the school that would benefit Latino/Hispanic students. Therefore, the project sought to not only introduce the theory of a culture of care to educators at the school but also to gather evidence for gaining an understanding on how to create that culture of care. The culture of care aimed to help Latino/Hispanic students flourish, not only at the school but beyond, in the workplace, college, or university.

Data Stories

The first year of the project focused on needs assessment. The central question was: What are the perceptions of Latino/Hispanic students, their parents, teachers, and school administrators regarding the experiences of these students at school?

The emerging evidence showed tensions or differences between the Latino/Hispanic students, their parents, and school administrators on one hand and at least some teachers on the other hand. The evidence suggested that teachers often failed to take agency in making a difference for their students of color because the students came from homes of poverty. That position led these educators to focus on deficit theorizing about these students (Valencia 2010). Overall analysis of the data revealed that creating a culture of care at this urban high school would require deliberate actions on the part of every person in the school community. A set of recommendations was made in order to bring the profound change required to: (a) meet the needs and expectations of Latino/Hispanic students and their parents, (b) reduce the tensions that exist at the school, and (c) focus on enacting these changes in the classroom.

The first recommendation was to focus on building the capacity of teachers and their students to respond to wrongdoing and conflict in the classroom in such a way as to address the harm that results within relationships. This was best accomplished by training teachers and students about the preferred practices of restorative conversations and talking circles. The aim was for referrals to be greatly reduced and hopefully eliminated so that Latino/Hispanic students spent most of their time in school devoted to learning.

The second recommendation was to revise the discipline policy to support restorative justice practices as the first option for responding to wrongdoing and conflict, and discourage the use of referrals by teachers. At the end of the 2011–2012 school year, a cadre of people was instructed on how to train others in these skills. These trainers were then able to help build the capacity of students, their parents, teachers, staff, and administrators in the use of these practices based on principles of restorative justice.

The third recommendation was to continue the Culture of Care research and professional development project in the 2012–2013 school year. The recommendation included continued work with the 15 teachers who participated in the project in the 2011–2012 school year and inviting more teachers to participate in the project in the upcoming school year. This approach was chosen as being the most likely to change the culture of the school and improve educational outcomes for Latino/Hispanic students.

Capacity building was the focus for the second year. Learnings from the needs assessment in the first year, primarily emerging through the voices of the Latino/Hispanic students and their parents, were the basis for building the capacity of educators at the school.

Restorative justice professional development training was held for 12 educators prior to the commencement of the second school year. The training was held at the request of the Latino/Hispanic parents and funded by a grant obtained by these

parents. Subsequently, restorative justice practices were shared with members of the school community, including students, their parents, teachers, administrators, staff and community members, and an observation tool and a self-assessment tool were introduced. In addition, monthly meetings were convened by an Equity Team, whose role was, among other things, to monitor progress that would ensure particular ethnic groups had a voice and were not seen to be disadvantaged in any way.

Sustainability was the focus for the third year of work at the school. The idea was to sustain the capacities built in the second year, particularly where these capacities legitimated the voices of the Latino/Hispanic students and their parents which had been gathered in the first year of the project.

Supported by the research team, the school's Equity Team initiated the ongoing use of an "Equity in Action Walk Through" using a culture of care observation tool that had been introduced during the prior school year. After the observations were carried out, a debriefing session was held to consider the identification of strengths, drawbacks, and next steps. As the participants left the debriefing session they were asked to write on "post it" notes what was in their head, what was on their heart and what they wanted to put into action based on what they had just learned (what was "on their hand").

In addition, further restorative justice training was facilitated with students, parents, teachers, administrators and community members, under the direction of the dean of students. In particular, the use of talking circles for resolving conflicts and responding to problems gained widespread use both inside and outside of the classroom. In fact, the use of restorative justice practices at the research school site became so widely known that they were highlighted on PBS *NewsHour* (a high-profile nightly television news broadcast).

Findings and Outcomes

The primary goal of this pilot project was to improve the amount of time Latino/Hispanic students spent in the classroom learning. The objective was to build the capacity of students and teachers at the school to respond appropriately to wrongdoing and conflict in the classroom so that the number of referrals would decrease. A decrease in the number of referrals would indicate that students with discipline issues, who were traditionally referred to discipline experts outside the classroom for the administration of punishment, were being kept in the classroom and, as a result, had increased time for learning.

The quantitative data demonstrated that the effect of introducing restorative practices at the school was marked. With the introduction of restorative justice practices in the 2012–2013 school year, the use of restorative justice practices increased, and disciplinary events decreased. However, while disciplinary events, other than those related to the use of controlled substances, continued to decline, the use of restorative justice outside of the classroom also declined. The inference is that fewer students were being referred for discipline issues to administrators outside the

classroom as a result of building the capacity of teachers and students to respond to infractions and conflict using restorative justice practices, inside the classroom.

A local university had sponsored this pilot project with the idea that a change in the culture at this school within its catchment area might result in more Latino/Hispanic students graduating from high school and being eligible to attend a university. Therefore, there was an interest in how the pilot project might have affected high-school graduation rates.

Data showed that at the same time as referrals declined, the graduation rate increased. Indeed, the graduation rate improved from about 65% the year before the Culture of Care initiative was introduced at the school to nearly 80% by the end of the 2012–2013 school year.

The Culture of Care research and professional development project was conducted as a pilot project. Therefore, the emphasis in these conclusions was on what lessons were learned through this three-year project that would help in the implementation of the project at other schools in the future.

When the project was proposed, 3 years was postulated as a timeframe to enable outcomes for key project objectives. The pilot project demonstrated that 3 years was adequate time to change the culture of this school through use of the following stages: (a) needs assessment, (b) capacity building, and (c) sustainability.

These stages were supported by the participation of Latino/Hispanic students and their parents. In the first year, the focus was on legitimating their voices (Bishop 2005; Bishop and Glynn 1999). Focus group interviews were used to create “testimonios” (Gutiérrez 2008) to legitimate the experiences of these students in school in terms of what it was like to be Latino/Hispanic at the school of interest. The second year continued the process by activating the voices of these students and their parents (Freire 2005). The findings from typological and inductive analysis (Hatch 2002) of the focus group interview data created the framework for professional development of teachers during the second year in order to build their capacity to engage with these students in a culturally relevant manner (Gay 2010; Gere et al. 2009) and move away from deficit-based pedagogies (Valencia 2010). In the third year, a culturally sustainable pedagogy was created at the school that supported the Latino/Hispanic students and their families by building upon the cultural and linguistic capacities they brought with them to school and, at the same time, providing these students and their families with access to competencies valued by the dominant culture in the United States (Paris 2012).

Discussion

Each of the research projects had a central objective regarding care or the ethic of caring within a school culture. However, when compared, a series of further commonalities emerge and these are of interest, especially as each project had no preexisting collaboration with the other two sites.

Common Modes

A range of process elements or modalities were common to all three projects. All of the projects sought a shift in whole-school culture, not just new approaches to discipline or teaching practice. The three sites used multiple strategies that were mutually reinforcing. Professional development for teachers was a part of all the projects, as was the integration of restorative justice practices within school procedures and culture. The methodology of participatory action research was common to all three projects, while appreciative inquiry was also used in the Aotearoa New Zealand site. These approaches allowed the gathering of local voices within a specific context while simultaneously giving agency to the participants.

Common Themes and Constructs

The common themes that emerge across the different projects are underpinned by a number of constructs. Many of these constructs overlap or cannot be easily disentangled from each other. A set of the key constructs is discussed below.

A central construct is the fundamental role of relationships in the learning environment and culture of the school. In these paradigms, “relationship” is taken to mean an emphasis on the dignity of each person and the importance of building and maintaining interactions which uphold that dignity. The PCR work in Latin America observed that human interactions per se create care-less situations, breaches, and misunderstandings, which affect negatively on the dignity of people. As a consequence, a further construct in all the projects was the need for forgiveness and reconciliation to affirm dignity and to make possible an ethic of care. Understanding that harm occurs within a relationship and that this needs to be put right was implicit in changing attitudes to conflict and wrongdoing. For all the participating sites, a crucial component to changes in attitudes and school culture was the integration of restorative practices within school procedures, including processes to enable forgiveness and reconciliation.

Placing an emphasis on relationships and restoration inherently positions schools as places where we learn to live together, not just where we learn to learn. The repositioning of school priorities regarding cognitive curriculum and the inclusion of relational and socio-emotive skill-building were other important phenomena within all projects. Further, an emphasis on relationships intrinsically recognizes individuals as members of families that have a cultural and community orientation. All of the site work described above involved the schools undertaking extensive engagement and dialogue with families and communities. Central to engagement was the provision of opportunities to strengthen the voice and agency of students and families as well as those of teachers and staff. Processes such as the research game “Five Pointed Star” in the Latin American project gave whole communities input to reshaping school and classroom culture. Similarly, at the urban school in the United States, the Latino/Hispanic parents were given voice within the school environment, which included input on professional development. In Aotearoa New Zealand and the United States in particular, this dialogue legitimated the voice of students and

families from minority cultures, and helped teachers cross the cultural boundaries that separated them from their students. Overall, the engagement with Indigenous and minority culture students and families assisted schools to create more culturally responsive pedagogies. Finally, the projects used reflection processes and dialogue to engage in critical thinking. That critical thinking led to agency through the use of action plans and creating new school priorities, such as the “Care before Censure” policy in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Common Theoretical Frameworks

All three projects draw from ethic of care theory which emerged as a body of literature in the 1980s. The ethic of care in education was particularly developed by Noddings (1984), and contributed to by thinkers such as Held (2006) and Slote (2007). Noddings emphasizes the centrality of caring in the role of teachers and schools, and observes that the ideal of caring evolves from a natural sympathy that human beings innately feel for each other (1984, 1992). Care is conveyed on many levels, including both the institutional and individual levels, and Noddings contends that “[p]ersonal manifestations of care are probably more important in children’s lives than any particular curriculum or pattern of pedagogy” (1995, p. 1). Awareness that another person may have a different way of seeing the world is the catalyst for Noddings’ call for a shift away from the motto of “Do unto others as you would have done unto you.” The caring approach, she advises, prefers the language of “Do unto others as they would have done unto them” (Noddings 2012, p. 56). An earlier expression of the ethic of care is the *te ao Māori* value – *manaakitanga*. Macfarlane (2004) describes *manaakitanga* within the classroom setting as including caring processes, culturally safe environments, and sound intercultural communication. In the concept of *manaakitanga*, “caring is obligatory and has reciprocal ramifications, suggesting that teachers who value others will be valued in return” (Macfarlane 2004, p. 81).

The projects also draw on sociocultural theory. A starting point for defining sociocultural theory suggests that it is an interdisciplinary scientific entity which seeks to understand the nature of the interaction between two principal constructs: social and cultural (Macfarlane et al. 2015). As such, sociocultural theory has areas of overlap with ethic of care theory but significantly enlarges the sphere of interest. In particular, sociocultural theory is based on the way Indigenous and culturally diverse people see the world (Feryok 2013; Smith 2012).

As human beings, we inherently desire to live in relationship with other people. Those relationships are based on the recognition that a person’s dignity is a birth-right, and no person has the right to attack that dignity. Consequently, the behavior of a person needs to be viewed separately from who they are as a person. Rather than seeing behavior of children as a snapshot, people embracing sociocultural theory view behavior more in line with a video of the child over a lifetime. Macfarlane and colleagues suggest that “socioculturalists seek to acquire basic knowledge about how people think about, feel about, relate to and influence one another in a socially and culturally specific context – and why they do so” (Macfarlane et al. 2015, p. 20).

As illustrated in the research projects discussed above, this wider perspective embraces and elevates the role of local, cultural communities, and the families of ethnically diverse children and young people attending the school, in determining what being culturally responsive means for the local school community.

Within sociocultural theory, teachers are also seen as responsible for, at least in part, and contributors to the behavior and the academic achievement of the children they teach. This viewpoint enables issues related to behavior to become an opportunity for learning rather than a barrier to learning. In the research projects discussed above, changes in school culture and procedures enabled behavior matters to become a context for growth rather than abrogation. A shift in the way educators traditionally think, talk and act with regard to schooling is implicit in sociocultural theory.

Similarly, Freire's humanizing theory of education, described in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1992), also calls for a philosophical shift in educational understanding and practice. Freire argues passionately for a humanizing education, one counterposed to the dehumanizing practices he saw in "traditional education" – what he calls "banking education." For Freire, "banking education" is dehumanizing in that it focuses on the dispassionate acquisition of "formal" knowledge, which is presented as static and externally generated. The teacher's role is to then transmit this "knowledge" to students in ways that focus on unquestioning acceptance of "things as they are," and which tend to serve the social status quo. Such education is dehumanizing, Freire argues, because it discounts the lived experiences and emotions of both teachers and students. Moreover, he notes that this traditional form of education is often underpinned by punitive, authoritarian forms of institutional control. Freire argues instead for an educational process of conscientization which enables students and teachers to develop a critical consciousness of the world. This, in turn, allows them to take action in their world and potentially bring about transformation. The underlying implication is that teachers are not the sole bearers of knowledge; rather, students and teachers are both engaged as educators and learners (Fickel 2008).

The schools described in the research sites confronted many of these challenges of the traditional "banking education" and sought new ways of engaging and responding to their students and communities. In seeking these new ways, the schools began their journey by engaging teachers in self-reflection exercises and set about changing school cultures to reflect a more critical consciousness of the world pertinent to their context. In this way, their stories of change illuminate the process of "humanizing education" by offering up for consideration pedagogies and practices that ensure all members of the school community have voice, are affirmed in their identity, and have a sense of agency (Nieto Ángel et al. 2015).

Ngā Tapuwae Mō Muri: Footprints into the Future

The conceptualizations that emerged in the processes associated with these research sites culminated with interrelated understandings of restorative justice thinking and practice with young people within and external to their schooling experiences. Both Indigenous and non-Indigenous worldviews were integrated in the schools' processes,

often subconsciously. The first conceptualization of restorative thinking and practice is based on the use of restorative justice that is in contrast with punitive retributive justice and focuses on the needs of the wider community in terms of *whakatika* (putting matters to right). The second conceptualization is based on approaches related to culturally responsive and relational restorative thinking and practice. This approach offers a more complex and wider analysis of the reasons why certain groups of young people are more prone to wrongdoing and to be stigmatized. This analysis emphasizes historical, social, and cultural processes of reproduction of systemic marginalization and exclusion that affect and disadvantage disproportionately different social groups and create conditions where young people are placed at risk. The notion of restoration, in this case, emphasizes that young people themselves are casualties of systemic inequalities, and focuses on restoring their balance, wellbeing, and self-esteem through establishing safety and positive relationships in their immediate environment. This analysis implies that internal balance and a relational focus that compels a reorientation towards the common good will address the conditions that prompted the contravention and prevent repeating of the unacceptable behavior. These conceptualizations are attuned to the “traditional Māori discipline model” referred to earlier in the chapter (see Olsen, Maxwell, and Morris (cited in McElrea 1994)).

The third conceptualization of restorative thinking and practice has resonance with the Ka Awatea research project (Macfarlane et al. 2014) and the literature on global youth justice, self-reliance, and complex societies (Andreotti 2010). This literature extends the deliberations to include the need for young people to build self-reliance to contribute to social prosperity grounded on a commitment to the common good. In contrast with individuated or individualist ideals of the stigmatization of some sections of young people in society, this analysis highlights the potential for young people to change the system from within and gives them an active role in addressing injustices and inequalities in solidarity with people in their communities and with people in other parts of the world. The notion of restoration is related to systemic justice (not just individual or communal justice). Based on Indigenous views, this analysis implies that restoring systemic justice in the long term will cease the reproduction of the conditions that create injustices, inequalities, and disadvantage, which are the key factors influencing high rates of youth contraventions. The involvement of young people in this process emphasizes their agency, their capacity and potential to create change, and their responsibility to decelerating systemic cycles of injustice. It gives them a space where they can safely exercise dissent, a meaningful social role and a relevant place oriented towards the collectivity in society. Each of the three understandings of restorative justice, rooted in Indigenous epistemologies, complements and expands the scope of the others, offering a pathway towards social balance and integration.

Conclusion

The global imperative to consider new ways of “doing school” has become evident as conflict levels increase and educational disparities fuel a fragmentation of societies. School leaders and teachers, positioning themselves to respond to the twenty-

first-century dynamics of change, face a complex landscape. This landscape includes a range of recent theoretical frameworks which may inform these challenges and a raft of possible school practices and activities. This chapter has sought to illuminate the emerging landscape by identifying common points at issue associated with positive outcomes in three globally diverse school settings. Significant constructs emerged in the form of the fundamental role of relationships in the learning environment, the necessity to employ restorative approaches in fostering these relationships, and positioning schools as places where families and communities are engaged and where students successfully live to learn and learn to live.

Young people are our future. Ensuring all young people transition to adulthood on a trajectory to an inclusive and successful life will benefit all aspects of development – health, economy, and, of course, education. This chapter has signaled that when research reveals authentic frameworks emerging from ethical values and culturally responsive positions, the quest for better futures can indeed become a reality.

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Keomāmalama: Catalysts for Transformative Change in Hawaiian Education

45

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Abstract

Keaomālamalama describes the reinvigoration of Hawaiian consciousness as a metaphor for enlightenment through a transformative process that recenters, reshapes, and rejuvenates responsive Hawaiian educational models and initiatives towards sustaining vibrant and abundant communities. This chapter utilizes Indigenous Empowerment Theory (IET) to analyze the transformational nature of education in Hawai'i. Six catalysts, over four major historic periods of time, are discussed in terms of the ways they have impacted the vitality of Hawai'i's people and society. Four case studies provide "mo'olelo (narratives) of practice" as evidence to illustrate the educational change experienced over the last two generations. These examples are grounded in a 'ohana (family) mindset as the lens from which Hawaiian education has impacted educational reform, leadership, and policy in Hawai'i. The chapter concludes with Keaomālamalama, a series of four summit gatherings among educational leaders, organizations, and critical community and institutional partners towards a vision, "*O Hawai'i ke kahua o ka ho'ona'auao*" (Hawai'i is the foundation of our learning) for recalibrating the direction of Hawaiian education. The key elements and lessons learned will be discussed as closing insights—*i ke ao mālamalama* (towards an enlightened world).

Keywords

Hawai'i · Native Hawaiian Education · Culture-based education · Language revitalization · Charter schools · Educational theory · History · Transformative change

Wehena: An Opening, an Introduction

Kau e ka wena o ke ao i ka lani.

The announcement of dawn appears as a glowing streak across the [night] sky.

He wekeweke i ka pō pilipuka.

It is a narrow opening in the darkness heralding the day.

He 'elele o ka poniponi hikina.

It is a messenger of the lavender glimmer from the east.

Kau ke kāhe'a wana'ao i ka 'āla'apapa,

Streaks of red color long cloud formations,

La‘i ana i luna o ke kūkulu o ka lani lā.

Reposing serenely upon the pillars holding up the heavens.

‘O ka‘u ia e huli alo nei i ka ulu ē.

I turn to gaze upon this, focusing on the growth and the rising of the new day.

‘Ae, ua ao ē.

Yes, a new day has arrived.

Hō mai lā kō mālamalama

Bestow upon us your radiant light

I ka honua nei i ka maui ola.

Here on earth filled with the spirit of life.

Ua ao Hawai‘i ke ‘ōlino nei.

Hawai‘i is in the brightness of day, it shines brilliant.

Mai ka pi‘ina a ka welona a ka lā,

From its boundaries at the sun’s rising to the sun’s setting,

Kāhiko ‘ia i ka ‘ike manomano,

It wears as its finery a myriad of knowledge,

Ka ‘ike kōli‘u mai o kikilo mai.

Of deep insight from the depths of antiquity.

‘O ka‘u nō ia ‘o ka pūlama

My sole duty is to embrace and to cherish

A pa‘a ma ka ipu o ka ‘ike ē.

So it may be firm in the repositories of enlightenment.

‘Ae, ua ao ē.

Yes, a new day has arrived.

He mele no Hawai‘i ua ao.

This is a poem for Hawai‘i which has seen the light of day. (Kimura 2016)

Ua Ao Hawai‘i, Hawai‘i has dawned into a new day. This mele (chant) can be heard in many schools across Hawai‘i as part of the morning school protocol and often at Hawaiian education events. The words call out to acknowledge and embrace the presence of a new day. Kimura (2016), the composer of this mele, reminds us that “with the dawning of each new day we can consciously decide to live through our own distinct language and culture to maintain our Hawaiian identity and Hawaiian well-being. . . we have the choice between a vital Hawaiian identity or an unconscious merging into homogeneity” (p. 30).

Keaomālamalama (dawning of enlightenment) sets the direction for Hawaiian education grounded in our sense of place, language, culture, genealogy, aloha, and connection to Hawai‘i through an ‘ohana (family) mindset as a foundation for transforming education in Hawai‘i. Through a series of Hawaiian educational summits, Keaomālamalama continues to provide a critical space for community voice to co-create and advance a shared vision for Hawaiian education (Watkins-Victorino et al. 2014). As members of Keaomālamalama, the authors of this chapter offer a theoretical framework that describes the pendulum shift of Hawaiian education through a historic perspective for consideration.

Highlighted examples through mo'olelo (narratives) of practice illustrate the progress and transformational change of education in Hawai'i through culture-based educational models and initiatives that meld traditional understandings into current day critical strengths-based practice.

Indigenous Empowerment Theory (IET): Native Control of Native Education

Theories and paradigms offer particular representations of how the world operates that impact research studies (Merriam 1998; Patton 2002; Bogdan and Biklen 2007). Embedded within are the values, ways of being and knowing, and worldviews of its creator (Patton 1978) and as such should be examined and understood before use (Lincoln and Guba 1993).

Smith (1999) has highlighted the difficulties of using theories and paradigms that inadequately describe the state of indigenous peoples. Freire (1996) posited that the knowledge about those who have been oppressed and subjugated has been used to reinforce theories of supremacy and discrimination rather than understanding or emancipation. In the case of Native Hawaiians, theories perpetuating deficiencies in students and their families canvassed research and publications for decades like a "worm that will not die though cut shorter and shorter by logic and evidence" (Tharp et al. 2007, p. 272). Moreover, Kaomea (2003) has also noted the many ways negative stereotypical practices considered "Hawaiian" have maligned and distorted the cultural and linguistic integrity of the indigenous peoples of these islands.

Denzin and Lincoln (2011) have argued for critical, indigenous, decolonizing theories that "articulates...ontology based on historical realism, an epistemology that is transactional and a methodology that is performative, dialogic, and dialectical. It values ethical systems embedded in indigenous values. It transfers control to the indigenous community" (p. 22). More importantly, unlike a singular theoretical lens to explain what Hawaiians are, as well as how they think, act, and believe, research and theories must not only emancipate but also re-empower native communities.

The authors of this paper have examined and utilized the journey of Hawaiian education – from a state of powered wholeness (pre-Western contact), through colonization and disempowerment and regenerated power, to a future state of re-empowerment (renormalization of language, culture, and identity) – to generate the Indigenous Empowerment Theory (IET). Like research framed in Empowerment Theory that challenges and disrupts oppression and prejudice (Perkins and Zimmerman 1995; Zimmerman 2000), IET can be used to inform the knowledge surrounding individual and community change.

As with the counter narratives of Ogbu (1978), Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995), and Demmert (2001), Indigenous Empowerment Theory suggests that a pattern exists in the decline and rise of a native people's ability to control and strengthen their well-being. Unlike past theories used to underplay two centuries of Hawaiian orthography under colonial rule, IET liberates the underground movement of Hawaiian nationalism carried by families and communities. It dispels conventional

theories that describe Native Hawaiians as passive, voiceless receptors of American rule and highlights the continual challenging of nonindigenous control and rule. IET expands empowerment theory to include collective action found in families and communities that continued traditional practices, the use of Hawaiian language, and other epistemological understandings (Meyer 2003). Fueled by a greater desire to take back control of education, political, economic, and social arenas that govern and impact these islands, IET seeks to torch worm-like deficit theories and replace them with a roadmap that describes the rise of Native Hawaiians through its families and communities.

So, what are the components of this Indigenous Empowerment Theory? IET offers an analysis matrix – six catalysts make up its vertical axis and four time periods or eras across its horizontal axis – to assist researchers in uncovering the historic events that have impacted the education of Indigenous peoples. In terms of the catalysts, Plank et al. (1996) Punctuated-Equilibrium Theory presented five key catalysts for change and reform – political, social, cultural, economic, and educational. Kahumoku (2000) presented a similar set of five catalysts – *politics* and political powerbrokers, *societal* and demographic influences, *cultural* and linguistic circumstances, *economic* conditions, and *educational* movements – that predicated the development and articulated the impacts of two language education policies. A sixth catalyst – *familial* and native knowledge transference – has been added to represent the impact of families and other community knowledge keepers who held onto native cultural and linguistic practices in spite of assimilatory practices of colonization.

IET defines these six catalysts as:

- *Politics and political powerbrokers*: activities of political elite who control the governance of a country through a set of public policies and who have the responsibility to remediate conflict among its people.
- *Societal and demographic influences*: spiritual, physical, emotional, and social factors – housing, agriculture, health and medical practices, others – that impact the well-being of a community and/or nation.
- *Cultural and linguistic circumstances*: the state of native knowledge, practices, language use, and other factors that sustain native identity.
- *Economic conditions*: The influence of industry, employment, and other economic factors that impact indigenous people.
- *Educational movements*: English-only policies, crusades to remediate the savage native, push for the building of boarding schools to train Christian educators, and other large-scale school reforms that affect the education of native students.
- *Familial and Native Knowledge Transference*: Indigenous practices, language, belief systems, and other culture-based ways of being that were generationally passed down in homes and communities and survived colonial efforts to, as Adams (1988) writes, wash the native out of the native.

Along the horizontal axis of this matrix are four eras or time periods. These four eras – powered, disempowered, regenerated power, and the future state of

empowered – represent four distinct time periods in Hawaiian history. IET defines these four eras as:

- *State of Being Powered*: a time in history prior to Western contact where a native people controlled its own ways of being and believing. While IET acknowledges that interactions with others impacted a people's self-determination and sovereignty, analysis begins when an indigenous group considered itself as whole and intact.
- *Disempowered*: a time period when Western influences increasingly supplant a native people's right to self-determination over its system of government, resource management, religious and cultural practices, worldviews, and others. Whether by force or gradual acquisition, nonnatives become the powerbrokers that control all or most of a society that was once native.
- *Regenerated Power*: a period of time where conflicts and clashes occur between natives and nonnatives over critical issues affecting the well-being of that indigenous population. This era marked by advocacy and protest by natives for control over systems that were once under the authority of their ancestors – education, land use, traditional knowledge, language revitalization, and the like.
- *Empowered*: a future state where natives once again control the systems that sustain their well-being. During this era, native self-determination over government, economy, society, family life, and other systems ensure continued strengthening of their indigeneity and overall well-being.

Indigenous Empowerment Theory provides a way to examine what has occurred to Hawaiians and other native communities across the world (Fig. 1). For instance, Adams (1988) and others (Dehlye and Swisher 1997; McCarty 2009) have chronicled the impact of public policy on the education of American Indians. At the

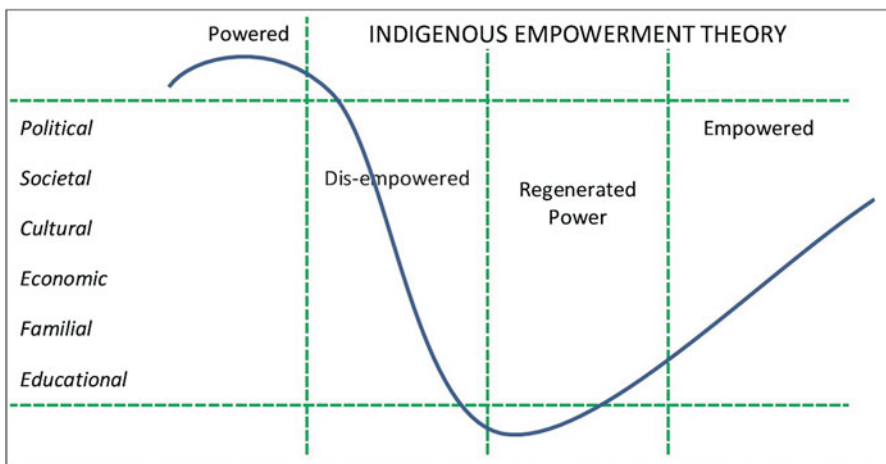


Fig. 1 Indigenous Empowerment Theory Catalysts

height of westward expansion during the 1800s, Congress authorized the Indian Removal Policy that relocated, at times forcibly, American Indian tribes like the Cherokee, Muscogee, and Chickasaw from the Southeast to the Midwest. Also, throughout the latter nineteenth and well into the twentieth centuries, Indian children were taken from their homes, at times forcibly, with the intent to civilize and Christianize the native out of the them (Adams 1988).

Benham and Heck (1998) and others (Kuykendall 1953; Daws 1968; Fuchs 1984; Kahumoku 2005) illustrated the impact of capitalism on Native Hawaiians when they studied the importance of sugar and the plantation economies in Hawai‘i. Power elites, many of whom were either transplants to the islands or the sons or grandsons of protestant missionaries, persuaded the Hawaiian monarchs to fund a system of education patterned after its American counterparts.

This school system was dedicated to producing a workforce for the plantations that could understand their English-speaking bosses. In turn, by 1896, these policy brokers enacted Act 57 that outlawed the use of Hawaiian as the medium of communication in Hawai‘i’s classrooms (Kahumoku 2005).

Newson (1985) outlined the devastation caused by European entry into the Americas. Systematic killing, enslavement and ill treatment, and the terminal spread of epidemic diseases of which indigenous populations had little immunity led to the widespread decimation of natives throughout the Caribbean and the Americas. In the Caribbean, whole cultures disappeared just within a few decades after European contact. Altman et al. (2003) documented the Spanish use of Catholicism as an institutional force to subjugate and indoctrinate, at times forcibly, natives. Utilizing the Catholic Church and its schools, Spanish language and culture spread rapidly throughout regions under conquistador rule.

The value of this theoretical model is twofold: first, it delineates those key events – contextualized within the six catalysts and four eras – to provide a comprehensive view of a native people’s journey. Second, IET’s era of empowerment allows for articulation of a future where an indigenous community re-gains power and control to sustain the well-being of its people.

Methodology: Theoretical Framework for Analyzing the History of Hawaiian Education

As previously presented, the Indigenous Empowerment Theory is founded on the journey of Native Hawaiians but also has application to other indigenous communities who have experienced a similar journey. This theory, formulated as a matrix, requires examination of educational transformation through the charting of historic, present, and future punctuated events.

As such, this chapter addresses the historic and current events that have contributed to the amazing educational journey of Native Hawaiians. This diagram illustrates the various Hawaiian eras as metaphorically connected to the traditional names for the periods of the Hawaiian day as it moves from night to mid-day. Each of the five phases of the day – Pō (Robust Hawaiian Society), Wana‘ao (Rising

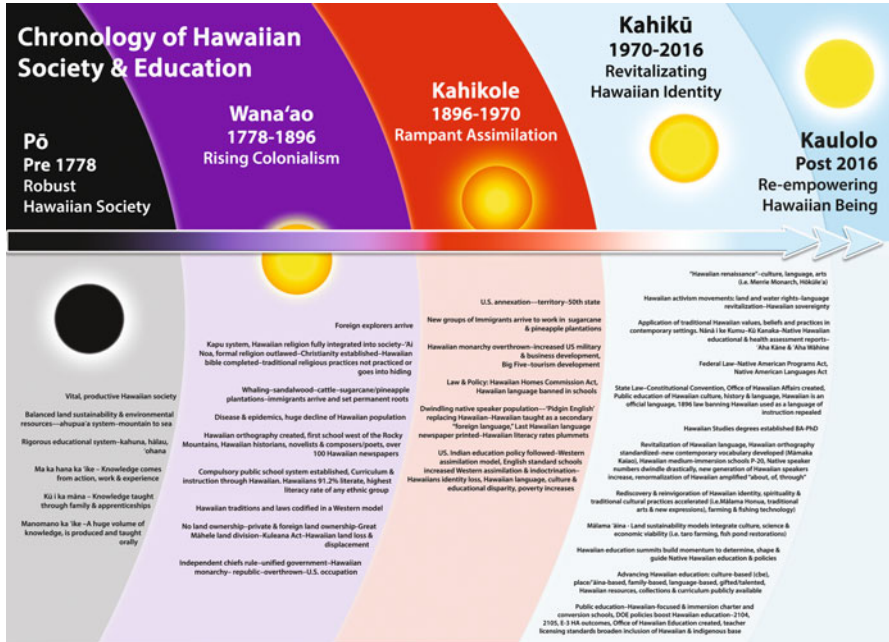


Fig. 2 Chronology of Hawaiian Society and Education

Colonialism), Kahikole (Rampant Assimilation), Kahikū (Revitalization of Hawaiian Identity), and Kaulolo (Re-empowering Hawaiian Being) – align with the four eras found in the IET (Fig. 2).

The Era of Pō (pre-1778): Robust Hawaiian Society

The Hawaiian context begins with a description of the era prior to Western contact when Native Hawaiians operated in accordance to their own ways of being and believing. Living on one of the most isolated landmass on the planet, it had been centuries since Native Hawaiians had contact with others and as a society; they were sovereign, whole, and intact. Much of the existing information about precontact Hawai'i i derived from the rich body of knowledge found in traditional forms of communication like mo'olelo (story, account, history) and mo'okū'auhau (genealogy) as well as studies and publications written by native and nonnative authors. For the estimated 200,000 to over a million natives living in the islands at the time of Cook's arrival in 1778, they passed down through a strong oral tradition their history, worldviews, and ways of being. As David Malo (1951) writes, "Memory was the only means possessed by our ancestors of preserving historical knowledge" (p. 1) and much of what we know today has been transmuted through generations of familial transference.

One of the finest examples of Hawaiian oral history that survived western contact was the *Kumulipo* – a Hawaiian creation chant. Beckwith (1970) credited King Kalākaua for initiating the written version of the *Kumulipo*, printed in 1889, and his sister and successor, Queen Lili‘uokalani, for its 1897 English translation. The *Kumulipo* – over 2,000 lines long – is one of the earliest texts that illuminate the important coexistence of the natural world and native Hawaiians.

The māka‘āinana (commoners) were organized by communities of ‘ohana that served as the basic social unit in Hawai‘i. Symbolically, ‘ohā are found in many deep and meaningful idiomatic wise sayings that poetically compare this regeneration to the progression and growth of children within traditional family structures. ‘Ohā is the basis by which the Hawaiian familial structure was named, ‘ohana. Handy and Pukui (1972) explained that the word, ‘ohana, itself is associated to the kalo (taro) plant.

‘Ohā means “to sprout,” or “a sprout”; the “buds” or off-shoots of the taro plant, which furnished the staple of life for the Hawaiian are called ‘oha. With the substantive suffix na added, ‘oha-na literally means “off-shoots,” or “that which is composed of “off- shoots.” This term, then, as employed to signify the family, has, precisely, the meaning “the off-shoots of a family stock (p. 3).

Handy and Pukui (1972) described these communities of ‘ohana – relatives by birth, marriage, and adoption – as living in an ahupua‘a (land division usually from the uplands to the sea). Handy and Handy (1972) noted that while some families were fishermen, most were planters. Van Dyke (2008) recognized that “the essential nature of pre-contact society was collective and cooperative through the ‘ohana structure” (p. 13). Handy and Pukui (1972) noted that the unifying power of the ‘ohana: “. . .was. . .constituted [in] the community within which the economic life moved. . .Equally the ‘ohana functioned as a unit in external economic and social affairs” (p. 6).

Within families, education began from the moment of conception when the young were guided by their mākuā and the rest of their ‘ohana. Handy and Pukui (1972) presented, “boys and girls acquired knowledge and skills by natural process, rather than by artificial means as in formal education” (p. 177). Also, while young ali‘i were raised by guardians or tutors (kahu), in simpler households, grandparents (kūpuna) tutored the young. Upon reaching adulthood, young adults – based on their strengths and proclivities – were sent to kahuna (experts) who selected advanced and specialized learning and training (Pukui and Elbert 1986; Handy and Pukui 1972).

Politically, Van Dyke (2008) estimated that around 1300 A.D., a hierarchy of ali‘i (chiefs) had emerged and held power and oversight responsibility for the maka‘āinana (commoners) and ‘āina (land). As the ruling elites, these chiefs in concert with their kāhuna (priests) instituted a kapu (prohibition) system that regulated and guided every aspect of Hawaiian life – e.g., appropriate planting and fishing seasons as well as the behavior of all social classes. Though they had great power and enjoyed the privileges of their class, they did not “own” the land or even the people on it (Van Dyke 2008). Handy and Handy (1972) even characterized the ali‘i’s role as that of “a trustee” (p. 63). Kamakau (1961) explained,

True the chiefs had the right to the fruits of the land and the property of the people. . . But it was they [the chiefs] who were the wanderers; the people born of the soil remained according to the old saying, 'It is the top stone that rolls down; the stone on the bottom stays where it is' [O ko luna pōhaku no ke ka'a i lalo, 'a'ole i hiki i ko lalo pōhaku ke ka'a]. Some chiefs laid claim to certain land sections in old days, but it is not clear that the residents born on the land held no rights therein. At any rate there were families who have lived on the same land from very ancient times. In that way the land belonged to the common people. (p. 376)

Archaeological data confirmed that Hawaiians had highly developed agricultural skills and systems. Kirch (2015) reported that in Kohala, the dryland agricultural system was "...densely planted in sweet potatoes, dryland taro, sugarcane, and other crops. This flourishing...system... [covered] roughly sixty square kilometers" (p. 283). Integral to the relationship between nature and native Hawaiians, agriculture worked in conjunction with the contours and resources found in the natural topography.

Without a doubt, the *maka'āinana* (the people *attending* to the land), organized in 'ohana units, provided the *kahua* (foundation, base) that supported and sustained Hawaiian society. When the 'ohana structure began disintegrating, particularly following Captain Cook's arrival in the islands in 1778, it eroded the core Hawaiian society – the family unit. As the next section illustrates, the impact of Western contact was severe and devastating.

Wana'ao (1778–1896): Rising Colonialism

Though the History Channel's website erroneously lists British captain James Cook's entry into Hawai'i as a European discovery, Native Hawaiians had already established for more than 800 years a vibrant, dynamic society (History Channel 2016). Once foreigners became aware of these islands, more poured in, recognizing this port of call a way point to refuel supplies and provisions before setting sail for another destination. They saw the archipelago's rich natural resources as commodities and quickly sought permission from island and regional rulers to harvest the whales in its waters and the sandalwood in its forests (Daws 1968; Kuykendall 1938). The island's economy quickly moved from sustainable subsistence to one based on the capitalism of whaling and deforestation.

During this same time period, a young Kamehameha Nui (the first) began his campaign to bring the islands under one rule. Kamakau (1961) reported that through each campaign, first on his home island and then onto other islands throughout the archipelago, Kamehameha I blended traditional warfare practices with foreign weaponry and battle tactics. But he also strictly maintained a traditional regulatory or Kapu system and was considered by many of his subjects to be the epitome of pono (righteous) ali'i (Kame'eleihiwa 1992). By his death in 1819, the Kingdom of Hawai'i had been established.

Regrettably during this same time period – 1778 to 1820 – hundreds of thousands of natives perished. By 1819, fewer than 135,000 natives remained alive (Crosby 1992). In

comparing the death toll due to Western contact in other Pacific island nations, Stannard (1989) writes: “Although the causes of some of these catastrophes included a combination of disease, warfare, enslavement, or other factors, the overwhelming cause in every case and the sole cause in most was newly-introduced infection” (p. 48).

In 1820, two critical events occurred that would also contribute to sharp erosion of Hawaiian belief systems. The first, the formal end of the kapu (traditional set of laws, policies) system, destabilized Hawaiian society. According to Kame‘eleihiwa (1992), when Kamehameha II (Liholiho) ascended to power and the devout Christian Queen Ka‘ahumanu became regent, the King sat with his regent to partake a meal, something that was forbidden by traditional practice and belief. The act abrogated the ‘Aikapu (eating taboo) and in effect shattered the traditional political system of laws, religious practice, and chiefly rule. While this lone event did not translate into the surrendering of religious practices and beliefs among the maka‘āinana, immediately following the act, Ka‘ahumanu and other chiefs also systematically began destroying religious sites (heiau) and images of Hawaiian Gods.

The second event was the entry of Protestant missionaries in 1820. According to Benham and Heck (1998), the missionaries were directed to “obtain adequate knowledge of” the native language to create its written form, produce the Bible in Hawaiian, “and above all, to convert them from their idolatries and superstitions and vices, to the living and redeeming God” (American Board of Commissioners 1838, pp. 27–28). Kame‘eleihiwa (1992) criticized that following the destruction of the kapu and religious systems, Christianity and the accompanying American values taught by the missionaries swiftly replaced native understandings about what was pono (right) as well as the very societal structures and mana (spiritual power) that held Hawaiians.

Churches and church schools began dotting the Hawaiian landscape and the production of Hawaiian speaking clergy led to the establishment of Hawai‘i’s first school – Lahainaluna (Maui) – in 1831 (Kahumoku 2000; Osorio 2002). Under Kamehameha II’s rule, sweeping laws were enacted – like the strict observance of the Sabbath that was decreed in 1824. “Unfortunately, included in the set of unlawful activities were the indigenous traditions such as the hula, oli (chant), and mele (song, poetry)” (Kahumoku 2000, p. 85). In a span of 20 years – 1820 to 1840 – schools expanded and a system of formal Western education was instituted within the Kingdom. According to Kahumoku (2000), the first institution enrolled 40 adult learners in 1820. By 1831, nearly 45,000 were taught in 908 mission/church schools and reached almost all of the adult population.

Once the adults learned to read and write, they lost interest and left (Daws 1968), requiring the missionaries to change tactics and focus their proselytizing on the young (Wist 1940). The Kingdom passed laws aimed requiring school attendance (Kahumoku 2000) and by 1840, some 15,000 native children attended the Kingdom’s public school system. As a vehicle to transmute ways of knowing, being, and believing, education, formerly held within the ‘ohana, now was controlled by foreigners whose intention was to replace indigenous ways with Western and Christian ones (Kahumoku 2005).

Politically, in 1839, the Kingdom of Hawai‘i passed its first Declaration of Rights and in 1840, its first constitution. Three branches of government were formed: judicial,

executive, and legislative. For the first time, commoners were granted the right to elect men to represent them and the power to authorize the laws of the land rested no longer with the monarch but in the hands of two legislative bodies – a house of nobles and one of representatives. Kame'eleihiwa (1992) argued that these democratic ideals perpetuated in these new laws also countered traditional Hawaiian lines of authority and relationships. Osorio (2002) suggested that the 1840 constitution and its representative government profoundly impacted Hawaiian society. While foreigners viewed the new set of laws as a way to sustain Western practices and ideals and thereby release the native commoner from the “ignorant and lethargic servitude to the status of free men,” for many Hawaiians, they clung “even harder to the chiefs whose exercise of power they, at least, knew and understood” (p. 42). Whether because of the continual threat of foreign takeover by England, France, or the United States – the three great powers in the Pacific – or that missionaries replaced Hawaiian ali'i as trusted advisors to the monarch, the 1840 Constitution codified democratic, Christian principles into law.

Meanwhile in society, the death toll among natives continued to rise. According to Kame'eleihiwa (1992), in 1823, protestant missionaries recorded 134,925 Hawaiians alive. By 1876, the Kingdom counted only 53,900 (full-blooded) natives and it is not until the 1930s that the Hawaiian population – the majority now of mixed ethnicities – rose to 400,000 (Stannard 1989). “The great dying disrupted the faith that had held Hawaiian society together for centuries” (Osorio 2002, p. 10).

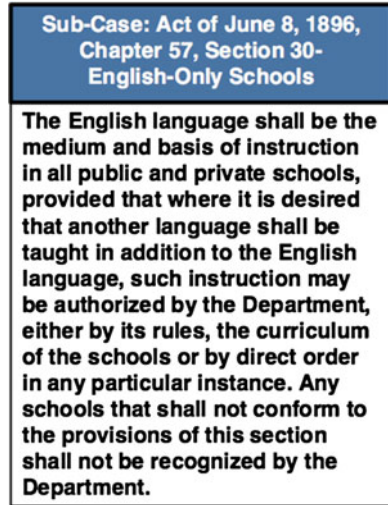
In 1850, the Kingdom's legislature allowed foreigners unrestricted rights to buy and sell land as well as allow commoners, the *maka'āinana*, to claim their own land awards (Osorio 2002). Non-Hawaiians began to accumulate property, and by the mid-1800s, large-scale production of sugar was well underway. As the islands' economy moved away from subsistence to capitalism, commoners left their lands and sustainable ways of life for work on the plantations and in turn, plantation owners began possessing more land – much of which was deemed as abandoned (Kuykendall 1938). Fueled by the expanding agricultural industry, the first contract laborers from China began arriving in the islands in 1852. They were followed by others like the Japanese, Portuguese, and Filipino. By the Kingdom's overthrow in 1893, Hawai'i was no longer home to only its indigenous population; Hawaiians became one of many who resided in these islands.

Several other significant developments occurred in the years leading up to the overthrow of the Hawaiian kingdom and the islands' eventual annexation to the United States in 1900. First, though the printing press was brought to Hawai'i as a means of Christianizing the heathens, Hawaiians swiftly took its possession and began publishing Hawaiian language newspapers (Kahumoku 2005). Between 1830 and 1846, 12,751 books were published and an estimated 65,000 pages of printed materials written in Hawaiian were produced (Kuykendall 1953).

According to Silva (2004), Hawaiians utilized print as a means of understanding the world and chronicling important matters of the day, recording Hawaiian knowledge, and protesting against the growing power of nonnatives.

A second development during that latter half of the nineteenth century was the displacement of Hawaiian language with English. In 1841, King Kamehameha III, Kauikeaouli established the kingdom's public compulsory education system.

Fig. 3 English-Only Schools, Subcase 1896 (Kahumoku 2000, p. 36)



All subjects academic and vocational were instructed through the Hawaiian language. Silva et al. (2008) stated that by the late 1800s, the Hawaiian literacy rate of among Native Hawaiians was over 91% and, “at the time exceeded that for any ethnic group in Hawai‘i, including Whites” (p. 7). Wist (1940) articulated that the number of English-medium schools “took a considerable leap during the decade between 1878 to 1888” (p. 72). Correspondingly, the number of schools (called Common Schools) teaching through the Hawaiian language dropped from 412 in 1854 to 36 in 1890 (Schmitt 1977). A year after the overthrow in 1893, there were merely 18 in existence and by 1896 when Act 57 banning the use of Hawaiian language in schools was passed, no common schools were operating (Fig. 3). Also, official documents that were once written in both English and Hawaiian were now written only in English. “Whether the displacement of the Hawaiian language by English was a product of or a step toward annexation is still debatable. What must be acknowledged, however, is that the movement to place English as the language of choice and its end product, Act 57, left devastating imprints on the Native Hawaiians” (Kahumoku 2000, p. 136).

Kahikole (1896–1970): Rampant Assimilation

Emerging from Wana‘ao, the period of Kahikole at the turn of the nineteenth century continued to bring dramatic changes for Native Hawaiians. Politically, Osorio (2002) – recognized that in the decades leading to the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, control over the government transferred from Hawai‘i’s sovereign monarchs and to white businessmen who sought markets for their industry – especially sugar. At the turn of the twentieth century, as Hawai‘i’s Territorial Government is established, the island’s white power brokers controlled not only the government but also much of Hawai‘i’s economy, society, and education.

Although Asian immigrants entered Hawai'i prior to 1900, arrivals intensified during this era as sugar, pineapple, and later tourism continued to transform the islands' landscape. Takaki (1983) noted that in the time between 1836 when the first sugar plantation opened in Koloa, Kaua'i to 1920, over 90,000 Chinese and Japanese immigrants arrived for work. At the turn of the century, large scale pineapple plantations ushered in another wave of immigrants from the Philippines and by 1930, more than 50,000 Filipino contract laborers lived in Hawai'i (Cooper and Daws 1990). To fuel these large scale agricultural ventures, tunnels and canals to transport much needed water from wetter areas to drier climes were built. As a fallout, native Hawaiians who were still cultivating kalo [taro] – a native dietary staple – found their lo'i (kalo beds) dry and unusable (Perry 1914).

By the mid-1900s, agriculture gave way to tourism. In 1921, some 8,000 tourists arrived in Hawai'i (Mak 2015). By 1949, 34,000 tourists visited and by statehood in 1959, over 243,000 vacationed in the islands (Tisdell 2013). The dramatic spike in tourism after statehood was due in part to America's strong postwar economy and the introduction of commercial jet service to the islands (Tisdell 2013). By the close of this period – 1970 – much of Hawai'i's economy was based on tourism.

In the midst of economic and political change between 1900 and 1970 – from traditional sustainability to agrarian to tourism-based economies and from a monarchical kingdom to US territory to US state – the societal transformation of the islands was equally historic. Social issues such as low income, high unemployment, family violence and abuse, substance abuse, and Hawaiians being incarcerated grew alarmingly. According to Alu Like (1985), during the period between 1949 and 1962, Native Hawaiian males had the highest suicide rate while 22.5% of them took home earnings that qualified them impoverished. By the mid-1970s, the native Hawaiian unemployment rate almost doubled that of the state (11.6% vs. 6.5%, respectively).

In addition to the economic, political, and social blights faced by Native Hawaiians, from 1900 through the post-World War II industrial boom, Hawaiian family structures continued to disintegrate. McCubbin et al. (2010) noted that those of Hawaiian ancestry had lowest socioeconomic status, had fewer support mechanisms to help families deal with major life challenges, were more apt to be multiethnic as well as multiracial, and were more prone to be dysfunctional.

In terms of the education, during this era, Hawaiians were being assimilated into an American way of life (Kahumoku 2000). The creation of English standard schools in 1924 separated those who could successfully pass an English proficiency test and enter these specialized schools from those who could not and thus had to attend public common schools. One of the intended goals, according to Hughes (1993), was to educate Hawai'i's children in American values and some who attended these institutions considered them as a means to social and economic stratification.

In addition, Hawaiian cultural and language education during this time existed in very small enclaves, and if taught at all, the contents were based on the notion that Hawaiians as a race were long gone (Kahumoku 2000). It is not until Hawaiian authors like Pukui and publishing houses like the Bishop Museum that cornerstone Hawaiian texts became available and accessible for public consumption. Even

against the wishes of many natives who advocated for keeping native wisdom hidden, Pukui and her counterparts began publishing the Hawaiian dictionary and other books. They are now credited for the Hawaiian Renaissance movement of the 1970s and their foundational texts have become “must reads” for understanding Hawaiian culture and language.

Finally, hidden from rampant American assimilation, Hawaiian homes across the islands inaudibly nurtured and perpetuated ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language) and ‘ike Hawai‘i (Hawaiian knowledge) (Kahumoku 2000). Hula, traditional fishing methods, the growing of kalo, and other Hawaiian practices were passed down through generations of Hawaiian families, outside of the purview and regulation of those who controlled formal education. While Hawaiian identity during this era is reduced in general society to a few Hawaiian place names, practices, and values, it is in strength of key ‘ohana – the waihona (keepers) of Hawaiian knowledge, language, and culture – that the architects of the Hawaiian Renaissance built the foundations to a Hawaiian controlled system of education we see today.

Kahikū (1970–2017): Revitalizing Hawaiian Identity

Over the last 125 years of Western assimilation (following the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarch), Hawaiians experienced a massive loss and disconnection to their language, culture, and land. Education played a key role in the painful dismembering of the “native” within the Hawaiian. The acculturation process indoctrinated a Western mindset as the mainstream culture for which student standards of success were directed and measured. Hawaiians struggled to successfully navigate through an education system that was not responsive to their needs and fundamentally different in its valued individual driven system of the “me” over the “we.” As a result, focusing on a deficit model approach created gaping educational disparities among Native Hawaiians in academic achievement, school engagement, school retention, and graduation (Kawai‘ae‘a 2012; Kamehameha Schools 2011, 2014).

Kahikū is a new era beginning with the “Hawaiian renaissance” in the 1970s. It was period of cultural resurgence, a revitalization of the Hawaiian identity that through the last half a century has reawakened, reclaimed, and regenerated the Hawaiian maui (life force). It has been a journey of reaching back and bringing forward timeless traditional understandings in an “ancient is modern” application to revitalize Hawaiian identity that honors and cares for the welfare and well-being of its land, people, language, and culture (Kawai‘ae‘a 2012).

The Hawaiian Renaissance was a broad cultural movement that regenerated pride and aloha for those things Hawaiian. It gave rise to political activism which has led to deeper and more critical questions on Native Hawaiian rights, self-determination and political control over resources, rights and education in the 1980s and into the millennial. Kahikū, represents this significant period of time where Native Hawaiians have accelerated engagement with political power, economic solvency, social capital, cultural and linguistic understanding and application, and self-determined education (Meyer 2003; Wilson 1998; Kanahale 1982).

Mo'olelo: Narratives of Transformations in Hawaiian Education

The amplification of an “‘ohana mindset” built upon Hawaiian values, beliefs, perspectives, and practices has led way to new innovations that reclaim and reposition Hawaiian education as a valid, effective, and critical strategy for education. Four inspirational mo'olelo (narratives) in practice illustrate the transformational journey of Hawaiian education upon a strengths-based foundation for rebuilding vibrant and abundant communities.

Mo'olelo 1: Renormalizing the Hawaiian Language: Two Official Languages, Two Pathways of Education

Language is the piko (umbilicus) of the culture. Through language we express our worldview, thoughts, and connections to our past, present, and future. The 'ōlelo Hawai'i (Hawaiian language) movement has brought Hawaiian from the brink of extinction to increasing numbers of Hawaiian speakers, showing promising signs of healthy language shift across multiple generations. Wilson and Kamanā (2001) state, “Hawai'i has the most developed movement in indigenous language–medium education in the United States.” The story is an incredible testament to the strength of 'ohana, community, and government – to reawaken, reclaim, and regenerate – its invaluable cultural resource.

In 1978, the Hawaiian language became an official language of the State of Hawai'i. The new law served as a pivotal turning point for the Hawaiian language at a time of rapidly dwindling numbers of Native speakers into near extinction. Hawaiian was no longer the common language of the home, community, commerce, or education. Although Hawaiian was taught in a few high schools and at the college level, it was not producing enough proficient speakers of Hawaiian to sustain the language into the next generation.

Serving the community as a family-based education model, the first Pūnana Leo (language nest) Hawaiian medium preschool began in 1983. The Pūnana Leo schools became the launching point of what has been called the aukahi 'ōlelo Hawai'i (Hawaiian language revitalization movement). Kawai'ae'a et al. (2007) have explained that at the beginning of the movement there were fewer than 50 speakers of minor age children who spoke Hawaiian and an estimated 3,500 native kupuna speakers. The Hawaiian language movement grew out of a desire to bring Hawaiian back to the 'ohana – by focusing on the keiki (children) as the new generation of Hawaiian speakers. Through a 'ohana mindset, the desire of the 'ohana to bring the 'ōlelo (language) back into the 'ohana, mothers became the teachers and administrators and the families began to reestablish the 'ōlelo into the home.

In 1986, nearly one hundred years later, the 1896 law banning instruction in schools through Hawaiian was repealed. Public demand sent a strong message to reinstate Hawaiian medium education into public education. In 1987, the Hawai'i Department of Education (DOE) launched the Papahana Kaiapuni Hawai'i (Hawaiian Language

Immersion Program) as a pilot program beginning with the kindergarten–first grade on O‘ahu and Hawai‘i islands (Kawai‘ae‘a mā 2018).

Hawai‘i is in a unique position as the only state government in the USA to have two education systems – the Department of Education and the University of Hawai‘i system – housed within a single state structure. The DOE administers lower education from kindergarten through high school (K-12) grades. The University of Hawai‘i maintains the public higher education system through campuses statewide. The combination of lower and higher education levels creates a P-20 pipeline for options to learn “about, of and through” ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i. In 2015, Hawaiian language data reported 16,365 students of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i registered in either ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i coursework – the learning “of” Hawaiian – and Hawaiian medium-immersion students – the learning “through” Hawaiian (SR 97 Working Group 2016).

In addition, public charter schools were created through state law as a venue for community control of education through independent governing boards under the State Public Charter School Commission. Both Hawaiian medium-immersion DOE and public charter schools are available as a viable option for students to learn “through” Hawaiian. There are currently 13 Pūnana Leo preschools and 24 Hawaiian medium-immersion DOE and public charter schools.

The Hawai‘i State legislature established Ka Haka ‘Ula O Ke‘elikōlani College of Hawaiian Language at UH Hilo in 1997 through Act 315. The college functions included laboratory schools, a language support center (Hale Kuamo‘o), Hawaiian medium teacher education, and Indigenous language outreach. The expansion of Hawaiian medium education into the tertiary levels provided a continued pathway for students to pursue degrees – bachelor to a doctoral – primarily through Hawaiian with support functions for Hawaiian medium-immersion P-12 schools.

It is important to note the timing of the Hawaiian revitalization movement occurred during a critical time in the decline of the Hawaiian language. The call to action galvanized families and communities creating new laws and policies to protect and support the Hawaiian language.

Beginning as a family-based community movement, Hawaiian medium-immersion education has expanded across both public and private education P-20. It is a viable option – a language renormalization platform – supported through law and education as two official languages, two pathways of education from preschool through doctoral degree programs.

Mo‘olelo 2: Reestablishing Hawaiian Education through Hawaiian-Focused Charter Schools

Established through public law Act 272 in 1994 (Hawai‘i State Legislature 2016), the State of Hawai‘i created the mechanisms that would, in 1999 through Act 67, allow for the establishment of twelve Hawaiian culture-based charter schools. These schools like Kanu i ka Pono in Anahola, Kaua‘i, Ke Kula ‘o Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau in Ko‘olaupoko, O‘ahu, Kua o ka Lā in Puna, Hawai‘i, and Kanu o ka ‘Āina in Waimea, Hawai‘i, were founded in communities across the

archipelago with high concentrations of Native Hawaiians. They were also founded on principles of culture-based education. Kana'iaupuni and Kawai'ae'a (2008) describe culture-based education as,

The grounding of instruction and student learning in the values, norms, knowledge, beliefs, practices, experiences, places, and language that are the foundation of a culture, in this case Hawaiian indigenous culture. Culture-based education may include teaching the traditions and practices of a particular culture, but it is not restricted to these skills and knowledge. More important, culture-based education refers to teaching and learning that are grounded in a cultural worldview, from whose lens are taught the skills, knowledge, content, and values that students need in our modern, global society. (p. 71)

Each K-12 school was designed to resituate Hawaiian pedagogical methodology within the unique environmental and cultural landscape in which it resides. For example, in 2001, Ke Kula 'o Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau, a Hawaiian language immersion school, entered into partnership with volunteer community members who were working to restore a 700 year old, 88 acre fishpond. Together, they designed and implemented curriculum and instructional strategies that empowered students to access 'ike kūpuna (ancestral knowledge), 'ike 'āina (knowledge of place and land), and contemporary knowledge systems to benefit the overall productivity of the fishpond, its surrounding geographic community, and its community of learners. Those approximate 30 students of Ke Kula 'o Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau were the first recognized contemporary learners to earn course credits in both science and social studies through 'āina-based education at He'eia fishpond (Paepae o He'eia 2016).

The early success of this integrated 'āina and culture-based model has had a noticeable impact on the proliferation of K-12 schools and their 'āina-based studies through fishpond restoration and management (Kamehameha Schools 2016). Today, more than 12,000 learners participate annually in educational experiences at He'eia fishpond alone (Paepae o He'eia 2016). It is estimated that another 20,000 learners engage in science, math, language, and social studies content entirely through culture-based fishpond experiences at more than 25 fishponds which have been reclaimed by volunteer community and 'ohana groups over the past 5–7 years. Like the fishpond restoration movement and the educational environments they have created, the inextricable connection between culture-based education and community 'āina-based resource management has generated learning opportunities in other traditional Hawaiian disciplines including voyaging and way-finding, hula and textile arts, and agriculture and ahupua'a-based management.

The Hawaiian-focused charter schools are part of an alliance called, Nā Lei Na'auao. They constitute 17 of the 37 start-up charter schools serving 4,200 students statewide. The Native Hawaiian enrollment is over 91% the highest in the state. Hawaiian-focused charter schools provide a critical base for student success and engagement as Hawaiian culture-based models that feature, interdisciplinary and interactive education, hands-on activities, project- and place-based learning, and multiage groupings. Curriculum, instruction, and assessment are culturally grounded through Hawaiian strength-based approaches that are also community-based

and culturally sensitive to student and family needs (Kanu o ka ‘Aina Learning ‘Ohana 2017). In fact, students of culture-based charter schools regard their kumu (teachers) as extended ‘ohana, and many of them frequently refer to school staff and faculty as Uncle and Auntie instead of Mr. or Ms. This formal reference to extended ‘ohana reinforces the kuleana (responsibility and privilege) between kumu, keiki (child), and makua (immediate parents) to nurture the well-being and potential of the keiki. The ‘ohana mindset continues to pervade Hawaiian-focused charter school curriculum, design, instruction, assessment, and operations. In addition to serving as proof points to spawn ‘āina-based learning in both rural and urban settings, Hawaiian culture-based charter schools serve as critical accelerators to reinvigorate comprehensive, whole person learning that is uniquely Hawai‘i.

Mo‘olelo 3: Reestablishing Hawaiian Education through Connection with Land, ‘Āina

At the core of ‘āina- and culture-based learning, as previously mentioned, is the *kalo*, Hawai‘i’s staple crop. As the ancestors planted *kalo*, they knew that from that one plant would emerge a bounty of new originations of *kalo* for future generations of people. Children learned that each generation of *kalo* was named and honored for its perpetual affect on the sustenance and survival of humanity. Through these teachings, a child’s education begins as they learn about the interconnectivity between one generation and the next and their specific responsibility to the past as well as the future. Adults also learn that, *maika‘i ke kalo i ka ‘ohā*, that our worth as mentors rides on the ultimate grounding and knowledge of our children.

Within the ‘ohana, positive relationships were at the core. To secure this form of positivity, individual roles and responsibilities were selected in accordance with individual strengths and abilities to fulfill the necessities of the entire ‘ohana. Thus, the betterment of the collective was the priority above individual need and desire. From this perspective, the ‘ohana maintained traditions and practices that galvanized the community and perpetuated the ability of the ‘ohana to function as a unit. Some of the major precontact practices of the ‘ohana Hawai‘i were fishing and farming. These practices were founded upon the physical, emotional, and spiritual connection of the ancestors to the ‘āina. Over the last 100 years, they have been a foremost catalyst by which ‘ohana have continued this relationship with our land and sea and have held the remnants of our culture together. Within our recent educational history, these practices have been the platform by which many of our cultural curricula have been built.

As a direct result of these curricula, Native Hawaiians have progressed through the last 30 years learning and teaching more about the land and sea. Many of our flora and fauna have been restored and revived through educational research, development, and praxis. This focus on restoration has led to the reconstruction of traditional farming sites and the religious structures that coincide with these practices. The aforementioned *kalo* has been reestablished as a staple food within Hawaiian homes through the vast cultivation within these rebuilt traditional farming

sites, or lo'i kalo. The most important outcome, however, of this reestablishment of 'āina-based education has been the reconnection of the next generation to a different expectation of education. New definitions of success are being adopted that are based on a more indigenous belief.

As lo'i kalo are established, new considerations also arise which affect the relationships between land and water. On the island of Maui, kalo farmers are battling sugar planters in hopes of establishing equitable water rights that no longer allow the re-directing of stream water from one area to another for big business. On the island of Hawai'i, activists battle for the establishment of a moratorium on the construction of telescopes on Mauna Kea without fully understanding its impact on the island's water table. As kanaka Hawai'i (Native Hawaiians) have continued the pursuit of a greater connection to land, so has the awareness increased about the interconnectedness of land, water, and kanaka.

Like the water that flows from Hawai'i's streams into the lo'i kalo, cultural connectedness and revitalization efforts have also reached the ocean and the propagation of fish. Many of Hawai'i's Hawaiian language and culturally focused schools have constructed curriculum that centers learning on our traditional fish propagation ponds, or loko i'a. Through the restoration of the fish ponds, kanaka Hawai'i learn about the innovation of the ancestors and the inherent effects of land management on the ocean. With this movement to restore native fish ponds, kanaka Hawai'i have been entrenched in the complex systems of traditional cultivation and the intrinsic political struggle that ensues to ensure the survival of traditional structures in a contemporary legal system.

At its core, Hawaiian education has spent a lot of time and space relearning the historical importance of our connection to 'āina. Students have learned from the 1970s how the 'āina has been mistreated while under foreign control. From the bombing of Kaho'olawe to the militarization of Makua valley, contemporary Hawaiian education has been charged with investigating native pathways to educate communities about land restoration and control. These pathways, ultimately, stem from the perspective of collectivity of 'ohana Hawai'i and our native desire to care for everyone and everything.

Mo'olelo 4: Reexamining Education and Policy: Advocacy for Improvement Through HĀ (Breath)

Courage is the backbone of indigenous struggle. In recent history, native courage has lead Hawai'i to some substantial achievements. Similar to the philosophy held within *Te Aho Matua*, a guiding framework for Maori language schools in Aotearoa, or the *Kumu Honua Mauli Ola* philosophy in Hawai'i, Hawaiian educators coalesced under the ideology that collective empowerment was the superlative avenue by which to achieve the most for our future generations (Horomia 2008; Ka Haka 'Ula O Ke'elikōlani and 'Aha Pūnana Leo 2009). One of the substantial achievements of this reformative shift in collective philosophy was the creation of the Office of Hawaiian Education (OHE). This office was a response to the rallying cry that

resounded from our communities to move towards native influence and ultimate control of our educational pathways.

The journey to this new office was an arduous one that started many years ago. However, the growth in recent years was an accumulation of policy changes that were initiated through collective activism. The primary catalyst that resulted in the ultimate inability of Hawai‘i’s state educational system to disregard Hawaiian educators was accountability. The Hawai‘i Department of Education (DOE) toiled through discussions with the Hawaiian language community about the State’s responsibility to native language revitalization efforts in a state with two official languages. These discussions basically spelled out for the DOE the fundamental issues of equity for both languages along with potential legal implications. From these discussions, the State DOE and Board of Education (BOE) also realized the significant desire of Hawaiian language educators to properly assess language programs with rigor.

This mo‘olelo (narrative) is a description of how collectivity brought our communities together. At this point, however, our sense of ‘ohana started to grow past our native communities and began to encompass members of the State’s system. These discussions built relationships of truth and honor. Inevitably, these relationships flooded out into other arenas and aspects of Hawai‘i’s system of education. The BOE established a committee to redraft the verbiage of the policies pertaining to Hawaiian education. The redrafts centered on common values and beliefs about education and, ultimately, provided a more secure foothold for our native efforts to thrive.

Concurrent to the policy redrafts, another movement formed within the Hawaiian educational community. Educators began to communicate and collaborate in ways that were never recounted before. During these summits, facilitated discussions unearthed the overwhelming yearning of our communities to normalize native language and knowledge. The native educators unified around the concept that natives in Hawai‘i deserve something different for our children that better reflect us.

Upon the solidification of these unified community strategic goals, the BOE responded by collecting influential native and nonnative educators together to design a new philosophy that would permeate the entire system. After a year of effort, this committee developed proficiency outcomes that affect all layers of system, from administration to students. These outcomes were adopted through BOE policy E-3 and called Nā Hopena A‘o, or HĀ (Hawai‘i Department of Education 2015).

HĀ: Culture-Based Learning

HĀ symbolizes the collective efforts of Hawai‘i’s native education community along with members of the State DOE to construct an educational experience for Hawai‘i’s youngsters based on our collective value of aloha. The characteristics HĀ honor timeless tradition relevant in contemporary contexts. The HĀ or BREATH components serve as underpinnings to ‘āina- and culture-based learning that is facilitated by Hawaiian-focused charter schools, Hawaiian language immersion schools, as well as a wide array of other public and private institutions from preschool through tertiary. HĀ’s six outcomes are:

- A Strengthened Sense of *Belonging*: I stand firm in my space with a strong foundation of relationships. A sense of *Belonging* is demonstrated through an understanding of lineage and place and a connection to past, present, and future. I am able to interact respectfully for the betterment of self and others.
- A Strengthened Sense of *Responsibility*: I willingly carry my responsibility for self, family, community, and the larger society. A sense of *Responsibility* is demonstrated by a commitment and concern for others. I am mindful of the values, needs, and welfare of others.
- A Strengthened Sense of *Excellence*: I believe I can succeed in school and life and am inspired to care about the quality of my work. A sense of *Excellence* is demonstrated by a love of learning and the pursuit of skills, knowledge, and behaviors to reach my potential. I am able to take intellectual risks and strive beyond what is expected.
- A Strengthened Sense of *Aloha*: I show care and respect for families, communities and myself. A sense of *Aloha* is demonstrated through empathy and appreciation for the symbiotic relationship between all. I am able to build trust and lead for the good of the whole.
- A Strengthened Sense of Total Well-Being: I learn about and practice a healthy lifestyle. A sense of Total Well-being is demonstrated by making choices that improve the mind, body, heart, and spirit. I am able to meet the demands of school and life while contributing to the well-being of family, 'āina, community, and world
- A Strengthened Sense of *Hawai'i*: I am enriched by the uniqueness of this prized place. A sense of *Hawai'i* is demonstrated through an appreciation for its rich history, diversity, and indigenous language and culture. I am able to navigate effectively across cultures and communities and be a steward of the homeland.

This historical summary not only tells of a movement to build stronger and more genuine relationships with each other, native to native, it also describes the powerful nature of native unity and courage. The courage to advocate for educational betterment has inspired the entire State system to examine the direction of education for future generations and rally around building a system that reflects our environment. Likewise, this unifying movement has encouraged native educators to determine the fundamental characteristics of Hawaiian education as well as decipher the aspects of Hawai'i that make these islands unique. Examination of key elements of our recent history allows us to properly construct our pathway into the future.

A Precursor to Keaomāmalama: Gathering Community Through Native Hawaiian Education Summits

In 1981, the United States Senate instructed the Office of Education (predecessor of the United States Department of Education) to submit a comprehensive report on native Hawaiians in education. This seminal report, *Native Hawaiian Educational*

Assessment Project (July, 1983), funded by the Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauhi Bishop Estate and submitted to Congress, found that Native Hawaiian students scored below other ethnic groups in almost every educational category and faced substantial challenges both in and outside of school that impeded their ability to do well academically (Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauhi Bishop Estate 1983). The report provided a compelling rationale for the federal government to provide financial resources to address these academic disparities. Then Kamehameha Schools/Bishop Estate Trustee Myron B. Thompson, after meeting with other native Hawaiians, considered a second intent of the report – to solidify a trust relationship between the federal government and the Hawaiian people, much like that established for American Indians.

In 1988, the US Congress passed the Native Hawaiian Education Act (NHEA) which focused on improving Hawaiian educational achievements in five distinct areas: preschool, elementary (through curriculum development), special education, higher education, and gifted and talented. Subsequent legislation continued to recognize a trust obligation between the United States government and native Hawaiians. The Native Hawaiian Health Care Act of 1988 (reauthorized in 1992), the Department of Housing and Urban Development Reform Act of 1989, and the Native American Languages Act of 1990 are just a few of US Congressional legislation aimed at improving the welfare of native Hawaiians.

During this era, Hawai‘i’s Congressional delegation and educational community realized the need to convene and discuss those critical educational challenges facing Native Hawaiians and develop solutions to them. Since the early 1990s, six Native Hawaiian Educational Summits have provided educators and others from the community a venue to discuss and generate solutions to the most pressing of educational programs. The summits also allowed for presentations that vaulted Hawaiian pedagogy and theory, the primacy of ‘ohana in the educational process, and Hawaiian epistemology.

In April of 1993, the 2-day Native Hawaiian Education Summit (1993 Summit) convened, bringing together over 200 Native Hawaiian educators, administrators, parents, students, and community members. This opportunity opened access to data about the progress achieved under the Native Hawaiian Education Act during its first 5 years as well as updates on the 10 years following the Native Hawaiian Educational Assessment Project. Sadly, while some progress had been made in certain areas such as more Hawaiian entering higher education, in general, Native Hawaiians continued to lag behind their counterparts.

Among the priority recommendations issued forth from this first summit’s report it recommended the establishment of a “. . . Native Hawaiian Education Board to ensure quality, accountability, coordination and self-determination in all educational efforts for Native Hawaiians” (p. 10). In contrast to the 1983 report, the recommendations from the 1993 Summit focused on the strengths and assets found within the Hawaiian community. In the report’s introduction, it states (Native Hawaiian Educational Summit Planning Committee 1993; Native Hawaiian Education Council 2016):

The Native Hawaiian Education Summit is a critical step in the process of self-determination. . . . We must, as a native people, strive in the continuing pursuit of education and cultural and spiritual enlightenment—'Imi Na 'auao. . . [it] rekindles the light to guide the steps of our native people. We will continue to reconnect and recommit to the richness and dignity of our heritage, and with this inner strength, we will plan for the education of our people. With the ancestors guiding and anchoring our footsteps, the hope and vision of Hawaiian education is clear and limitless. (p. 6)

The 1993 Summit produced three significant guiding principles (in the order of priority):

1. The 'Ohana and Native Hawaiian Communities shall determine, shape, and guide the education of our people.
2. We shall establish an educational system which embraces, nurtures and practices our traditional foundation as embodied in our language, culture, values, and spirituality.
3. We shall establish an educational system which empowers Native Hawaiian people to be the contributors, active participants and leaders in our local and global communities.

In response to the recommendations which emerged from the 1993 Summit, Congress amended the Native Hawaiian Education Act in 1994 with the following provisions: extend its authorization through the year 1999; provide for the creation of community-based education learning centers within rural Hawaiian communities; and expand Native Hawaiian curriculum development, teacher training, and recruitment. It also authorized the establishment of the Native Hawaiian Education Council (NHEC) and Island Councils which had responsibility for collecting information on programs for Native Hawaiians in island communities across the State; improving such services; outlining a strategic plan to dispense federal funding; and preparing Native Hawaiian education status reports for Congress. Island Councils representing seven island communities were created as a working section of NHEC.

The 1997 2-day Native Hawaiian Education Summit included many of the participants from the previous event as well as new individuals who represented other parts of the broader Native Hawaiian community. At its opening ceremony, the Chairman of the Hawai'i State Senate Committee on Higher Education announced that the Hawai'i Legislature had approved the establishment of and funding for Ka Haka 'Ula o Ke'elikōlani, College of Hawaiian Language at the University of Hawai'i-Hilo. As the first indigenous language college in the USA, this landmark announcement galvanized the participants' resolve to build upon the strengths-based, self-determination priorities of the previous Summit. The 1997 Summit report voiced the belief that instead of operating from a Western educational mindset that disconnects family – the first educators in a child's life – from what happens in the classroom, the education Hawaiians receive should be grounded in the 'āina (land base) and 'ohana (family). The report strongly suggested the inclusion of everyone in a child's education because of their unique talents and strengths. When

approached in this manner, a student would apply what was learned in school and at home to fulfill her/his *kuleana* (responsibility) to family and community. The report emphasized positive, appropriate Hawaiian values and characterizations (as opposed to negative characteristics or stereotypes), the important role of the ‘ohana, acceptance of family-based holistic approaches, and community- and place-based learning.

The Creation of Keomālamalama

In 2013, sparked by the expanding Hawaiian Education movement, a planning committee with members representing major players in education (e.g., Kamehameha Schools, Office of Hawaiian Affairs, Native Hawaiian Education Council, State of Hawai‘i Department of Education Hawaiian Studies and Language Programs, ‘Aha Kauleo, ‘Aha Punana Leo, Halau Ku Mana) convened to create the 2013 Native Hawaiian Education Summit. This Summit provided participants an opportunity to understand Federal and State policies affecting Native education as well as devoted space and time for groups to engage in project work. For instance, the Hawaiian Language Immersion Program (HLIP) developed their Strategic Plan, a Board of Education (BOE) member led a feedback and discussion session on the revised 2104 (Hawaiian language) and 2105 (Hawaiian studies) policies, and Hawaiian focused Charter Schools continued work on their indicator model. This section articulates the important events leading to the development of Keomālamalama – a group dedicated to improve Hawaiian education through a strong grounding in Hawaiian ways of knowing, believing, and being.

Following the 2013 Summit, the project work materialized with the approval and implementation of the HLIP Strategic Plan, adoption of the revised BOE 2104 and 2105 policies, establishment of the Office of Hawaiian Education (OHE) under the Superintendent of the State of Hawai‘i’s Department of Education (HiDOE), and a DOE contract with the University of Hawai‘i – Mānoa (UHM), College of Education (COE) to develop a Native Hawaiian assessment in language arts for grades 3 and 4. These landmark events contributed to advancing Hawaiian education, particularly in terms of native control over native education. Moreover, educational organizations and systems serving Native Hawaiians worked more collaboratively toward advancing culture-based and language immersion approaches.

Prior to the 2014 Summit, organizers from the previous year established several key Summit Outcomes: (1) celebrate the accomplishments of the past as foundational to current successes, (2) establish as a collective educational community the vision and goals for the next decade of work, and (3) ensure that community leaders were made aware of and had opportunity to respond to this vision and the accompanying goals. The goal was to gather educational leaders and critical community partners – kūpuna, mākuā, haumāna (students), kumu, and others – to create strategic goals for Hawaiian education that would be executed in 10 years. At the end of the 3 days, the participants of the 2014 Summit collectively agreed to the following vision, mission, and goals.

Vision Statement

'O Hawai'i ke kahua o ka ho'ona'auao. Hawai'i is the foundation of learning.

Mission Statement

Inā makahiki he 10 e hiki mai ana e 'ike 'ia ai nā hanauna i mana i ka 'ōlelo a me ka nohona Hawai'i no ka ho'omau 'ana i ke ola pono o ka mauli Hawai'i.

In 10 years, kānaka will thrive through the foundation of Hawaiian language, values, practices and wisdom of our kūpuna and new 'ike to sustain abundant communities.

Goal 1: 'Ōlelo Hawai'i – In the next 10 years, our learning systems will:

Advance 'Ōlelo Hawai'i Expectations.

Develop and implement a clear set of expectations for 'ōlelo Hawai'i that permeates all levels of education.

Actualize a Hawaiian Speaking Workforce.

Increase a prepared 'ōlelo Hawai'i workforce to ensure community and 'ohana access and support.

Amplify Access and Support.

Increase 'ōlelo Hawai'i context & programming to support the kaiāulu.

Achieve Normalization.

Pursue normalization of 'ōlelo Hawai'i.

Goal 2: 'Ike Hawai'i – In the next 10 years, our learning systems will: **Actualize 'Ike Hawai'i**

Increase use of knowledge from traditional and diverse sources.

Amplify Leo Hawai'i

Increase 'ohana and kaiāulu learning and participation.

Advance Hana Hawai'i

Increase resources to support practice and leadership.

Given the success of the 2014 Summit and participants' desire to remain connected to the Summit work and outcomes, the planning committee conducted a retreat to discuss its role and responsibilities to not only continue the Summits but also to systemically advance Hawaiian education. Held in Punalu'u, O'ahu in December 2014, members at this retreat explored answers to three essential questions: Who are we? Why are we doing this work? and What are our responsibilities? Retreat organizers realized that an opportunity existed to transition the group from an event planning committee to something more systemic and powerful. The setting and the activities were intentional; the 2-day discussion produced an emerging organizational construct that included a group identity, name, logo, purpose rationale, responsibilities, and organizational construct as well as joint commitments by all to establishing this new entity.

The process of naming in the Hawaiian culture – naming of a child, a group, an effort, and the like – involves several dimensions, processes, and understandings. For example, the process of naming this new entity was vital to its future validity and as such, had to be grounded in traditional processes.

Attendees took inspiration from their own education, life experiences, the surrounding place of Punalu'u, cultural framing, nā piko 'ekolu (value the past, act in

the present, for the future), dual concepts of *ao* (light) and *pō* (darkness), and the future impact of the work together. The result was the name Keaomālamalama. In its logo are beliefs and understandings about the entity's purpose (Fig. 4). Behind the logo's design are concepts like the center ban represents the idea of *mo'ō* worthiness – that in the stories are embedded the guides to effective, *pono* work; and *nā piko 'ekolu* – the three points of connection – represent past, present, and future generations impacted by this entity's work. The color green invokes thoughts of lush life, growth, renewal, and new beginnings while the added triangles at the top of the logo represent both *mauna* (mountains) and rays of light or *kukuna* of the various work that will be tackled.

As a working *hui* (group), members of Keaomālamalama have agreed to individually and as a collective: respond to the *kāhea* (call) of the work; commit to fostering and maintaining a strong foundation of trust; lead as servant leaders in service to the advancement of Hawaiian education; believe in the collective ability and power to have systemic impact; and dream, working toward and seeking new avenues to develop abundant, healthy people, and communities. Participants articulated that answering a “call” to the work and persisting through its realization will advance Keaomālamalama's vision and mission and, in the process, revolutionize education for Native Hawaiians. Together, we can generate collective impact that will sustain our young for years to come. Strategically, Keaomālamalama is set to: affect systems change via the Hawaiian Education movement; convene and collaborate (vs. implement) toward the realization of the 10- year strategic direction; define, drive, and be responsive to larger, system-wide landscapes educational, political, economic, and international; create spaces for families and communities to voice their *mo'olelo*; and support (vs. replace) other Hawaiian and educational organizations push to improve education for Hawai'i's young, especially in the case of native Hawaiians.

Operationally, the *hui* meets face to face at least once a quarter to organize, shepherd, and manage work, priorities, and upcoming events as well as focuses on identifying and reporting progress on key milestones and markers for the years leading up to the fruition of the 10-year vision. Members acknowledge that at its core, they must operate from a place of *pilina* (relationship) that is founded on trust and respect. To operate well, business is to be conducted in safe spaces that enhance and promote the synergy between all. There is common belief that all have strengths and critical connections that extended the ability of Keaomālamalama to advance Hawaiian education.

Directly after this retreat, work commenced to produce the 2015 Summit. Traditional wise sayings – *A'ohē 'ulu e loa'a i ka pōkole o ka lou* (There is no success

Fig. 4 Keaomālamalama
Logo



without preparation) and *Huli ka lima i lalo* (Add your hands to the growth of the māla) – framed this event and over 2 days, more than 300 participants engaged in facilitated conversations and interactive agreements to discuss their individual and/or organizational progress toward achieving the 'ōlelo and 'ike Hawai'i goals established in the 2014 Summit. They heard from four panels that contextualized the contemporary space within which Native Hawaiian education exists. The purpose of this Summit to determine as a collective a set of native-grounded cognitive/academic and noncognitive success indicators to be used by school systems to determine student growth. The collective ratified adoption of Nā Hopena A'o's six outcomes that were produced earlier that year.

Keaomalamalama's convening work continued by hosting the 2017 Summit in which the theme of *E lauhoē mai i ka wa'a; i ke kā, i ka hoe; i ka hoe, I ke kā; a pae aku i ka 'āina* (Everybody paddle the canoe together; bail and paddle, paddle and bail, until the land is reached) framed the continuing work of families and communities to advocate for and progress toward abundant and thriving communities.

Keaomāmalama is coming into its own as an entity whose mission is to advance Hawaiian education via its vision: *'O Hawai'i ke kahua o ka ho'ona'auao*. Hawai'i is the foundation of learning. The hui has the inevitable work of moving educational systems toward achieving this vision in the next eight-plus years without actual authority or substantive power and control to do so. It relies on native ways of operating that in turn becomes a beacon for other native Hawaiian organizations and individuals to not only follow suit but join in the forward momentum. There is much work to be done. But the strength of this entity is its ability to stay the course by trusting, joining hands with others, and keeping steadfast.

Kaulolo – Re-Empower the Hawaiian Being: Conclusion and Future Directions

Kaulolo – the graduating season – metaphorically describes the shine of the mid-day sun, which left no shadow on the graduate. The year 2017 represents this mid-day sun in the juxtaposition of the history of Hawaiian society and education and the voice of Hawaiian families and communities. Since the arrival of Cook in 1778, the metaphorical rise of American influences and impacts on Hawai'i and Hawaiians, map to an inverse decline in Hawaiian families and communities' political, societal, economic, cultural, educational, and familial power, voice, and overall well-being. In the kaulolo year of 2017, Hawaiian families and communities (i.e., graduates) have no shadow to impede realization of the Native Hawaiian education vision and mission in the next decade, despite the brewing storm of international, national, and state conflicts and threats to Hawaiian families and communities' beliefs and practices.

Indigenous Empowerment Theory (IET) has provided an indigenous framework for examining the historic transformations experienced by a native people. No longer is there need to rely on deficit theories that continue to label, disempower, and dominate indigenous ways of knowing and believing. This framework utilizes six catalysts combined with four eras to analyze the impact of public policies on native

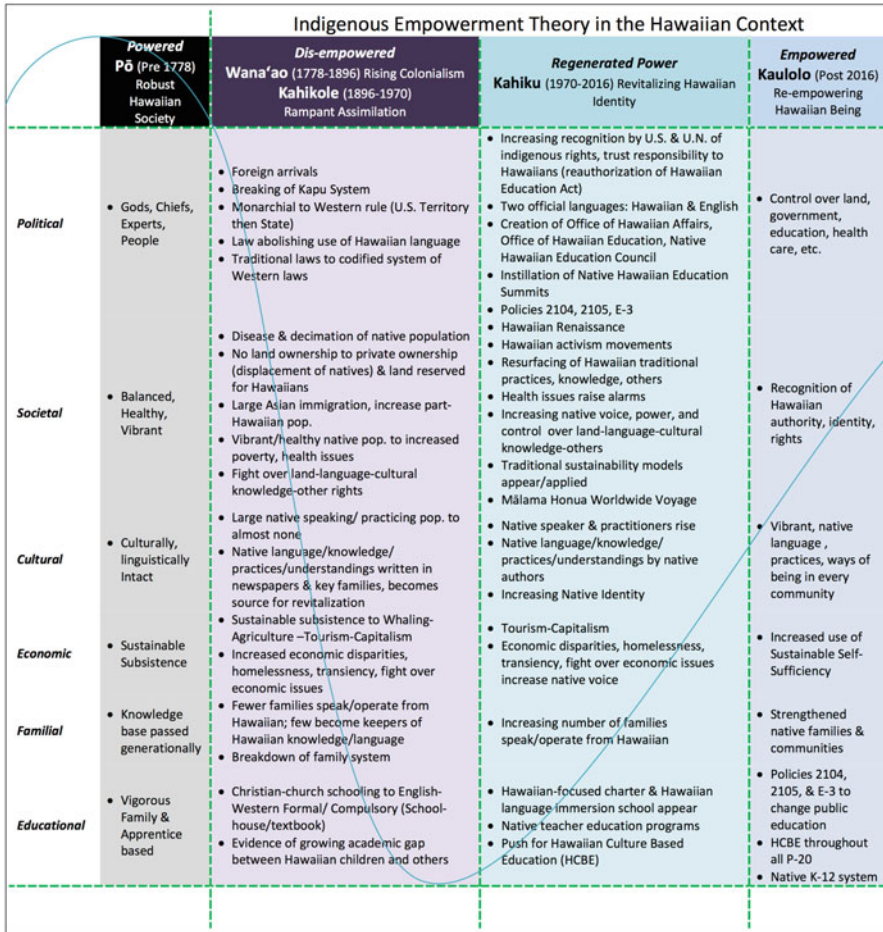


Fig. 5 Indigenous Empowerment Theory diagram

peoples over a large span of time (Fig. 5). For instance, it has helped the authors of this chapter to discover the influence of a century of United States’ nationalism on Hawai‘i and Native Hawaiians.

The authors of this chapter acknowledge that just as the confluence of these catalysts and eras led to where Hawaiians are situated today, they hope that the upward swing of power will produce a future where native Hawaiians control not only the education of their young but also improve the well-being of all. Merriam-Webster’s Dictionary (2016) defines the phrase *perfect storm* as: “a critical or disastrous situation created by a powerful concurrence of factors.” While 2017 may be viewed as a kaulolo (noon) era in the continuing transformation of Hawaiian society and education, it is a pivotal and punctuated perfect storm for Native

Hawaiians. At the confluence of growing awareness for the power of Hawaiians in their homeland, the authors of this chapter, also recognize the growing urgency to take control of the catalytic arenas – politics, society, economy, and education – by growing the importance of native culture, practices, language, and the like. It is through the mounting critical mass of amplified and shared voice which enables Hawaiians to have increased influence and power.

As recent history indicates, this strengthened voice and power appeared when Hawai'i's BOE passed policy E-3, Nā Hopena A'o (HĀ) in 2015. This public policy provides a step toward ensuring that public education in Hawai'i will be based on a set of Hawaiian values and outcomes. In addition, the creation of the Office of Hawaiian Education (OHE) in the Department of Education's Superintendent's office ensures that a Hawaiian voice is at the decision-making table.

As far as cultural and linguistic vibrancy, Hawaiian-focused public charter and Hawaiian immersion schools along with Hawai'i's tertiary education systems are growing the number of learners and their families who 'ōlelo Hawai'i (speak Hawaiian), actively operate from a Hawaiian way of being, and advocate for more funding and resources to expand culturally relevant, culture-based education. In turn, more work in the future on ways to recognize and affirm Hawaiian authority, identity, and rights will hopefully lead to increased vibrancy in Hawaiian communities. If Hōkūle'a's Mālama Honua worldwide voyage is an indication of a more robust Hawaiian identity, then all avenues that improve the sustainability of not only these islands but the entire planet will bring about self-sufficiency and well-being for its inhabitants.

In the next decade, Keaomālamalama seeks to fulfill its vision for Hawai'i – *'O Hawai'i ke kahua o ka ho'ona 'auao* (Hawai'i is the foundation for our learning) – by continuing to affect systems – political, societal, cultural, economic, and educational – transformation through the advancement of Hawaiian Education. Keaomālamalama will coordinate, convene, and collaborate with others so that its 10-year mission – *kanaka* will thrive through the foundation of Hawaiian language, values, practices, and *kupuna* (elder) wisdom and new *'ike* (knowledge) to sustain abundant communities – will be realized. Through the fulfillment of its two goals – *'Ōlelo Hawai'i* and *'Ike Hawai'i* – there is hope that Native Hawaiians will once again stand proudly and securely, empowered to control the next two centuries of transformation.

Over the last two generations, education has served as the vehicle to heal the cultural and linguistic trauma grounded through an 'ohana mindset to reconnect the ancestral voices, traditions, practices, and beliefs as the foundation from which innovation and transformation continue to flourish. Kawai'ae'a (2012) explains that Hawaiian education has served to, “shift educational paradigms and redirect the historic deficit model to a strengths-based approach— academically, social-culturally, emotionally, physically, and spiritually” (pp. 106–107). The work ahead is best described by Kana'iaupuni and Kawai'ae'a (2008) as a, “journey of rediscovery to reclaim an indigenous sense of well-being through the language, culture, values, and traditions; a groundswell that directs improved educational outcomes and school success for Native Hawaiians” (p. 68).

Moving into kaulolo, we envision a ‘ohana to ‘ohana educational system that begins with strong ‘ohana in the home and community and spans across the formal education system through college, into the workforce and back into the community. Towards kaulolo, we envision community and ‘ohana working together as a cohesive collective towards strengthening vibrant and resilient communities for future generations. While more Hawaiian families have risen out of poverty and homelessness, there are still many who are on or near the poverty line. The authors of the chapter realize that much more must be done to advance Hawaiian education and the wellbeing of its people. *Ua ao Hawai‘i ke ‘ōlino nei mālamalama*, Hawai‘i is enlightened, for the brightness of day is here.

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The Va'atele Framework: Redefining and Transforming Pasifika Education

46

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*E kore ahau e ngaro; He kakano i ruia mai i Rangiatea.
I will never be lost; I am a seed born from Rangiatea (our ancient Pacific homeland).
He mihi mahana ki nga tangata whenua o tenei motu
We acknowledge and greet the people of this land
He uri matou no Ngati Raukawa, no Tuhourangi, no Fiti (Fiji),
no Ngati Kahungunu, no Hamoa (Samoa)
We trace our ancestral lines to Raukawa, Tuhourangi, Kahungunu, Fiji and Samoa.
Tena koutou katoa, ni sa bula vinaka, malo le soifua.*

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Abstract

To successfully transform current notions of culturally responsive practices for Pasifika learners, teachers and educational leaders must move beyond practices that hinge on Pasifika learners adopting majority culture language, literacy, and identity in order to achieve academic goals. This chapter explores the process and outcomes of transforming education and schooling to better meet both the learning and cultural aspirations of Pasifika peoples in Aotearoa, New Zealand. A Pasifika metaphor of the *Va'atele* is offered as a framework for Pasifika learners' success in order that schools and educators might understand how it is possible to both privilege and utilize students' linguistic and cultural resources within curriculum learning at school. (*Va'atele* is the Samoan name for the ocean-voyaging double-hulled canoe of Pasifika peoples.) In this way, Pasifika learners can make meaningful connections between home and school funds of knowledge, and are able to experience success in both domains. We present evidence from two distinct but related case studies that draw attention to the central roles teachers and school leaders play in enabling Pasifika learners to connect, rather than replace, the worldviews, languages, literacy practices, and experiences of their homes with the valued knowledge and literacy practices of school. The enactment of linguistically and culturally responsive pedagogies raises students' linguistic and literacy achievement and acts as catalyst for the development of stronger connections between home and school domains.

Keywords

Pasifika · Linguistically and Culturally Responsive Pedagogies · Va'atele Framework

Introduction

This chapter introduces the Pasifika metaphor of the *Va'atele* to reflect on and theorize the journey of Pasifika learners through the New Zealand schooling system as bilingual/bicultural people. Their journey is likened to the building, launching, maintenance, and sailing of the double-hulled deep-sea canoe (*va'atele* in Samoan, *ndrua* in Fijian, *tongiaki* in Tongan). The ocean voyaging of our Pasifika ancestors, or their *folauga* – their “navigational journeying” – is symbolic of Pasifika people's successful advancement through life. The people of the Pacific Islands are known as the canoe people and, for the Polynesian seafarers who sailed further to the east than any other people group, ocean voyaging was about survival, the search for land and food, for sovereignty, and the right to self-determination. Many of the migrant

parents and grandparents of the Pasifika learners in classrooms in Aotearoa came to New Zealand with the same aspirations as their ancestors – the desire for improvement and for a “better life” for their children (Si'ilata 2014).

The double hulls of the *Va'atele* are compared with the two worlds of home and school that Pasifika learners are navigating. One hull may be seen to represent the language, literacy, culture, and worldview of home, while the second hull is representative of the language, literacy, culture, and worldview of school. We argue that in the same way that the twin hulls of the *Va'atele* provide greater strength and safer passage through the unknown of sea voyaging, a culturally responsive environment that privileges bilingual and biliterate goals over monolingual goals are more likely to elicit effective outcomes. In order for Pasifika learners to be successful in the dual (and often multiple) worlds they inhabit, effective teachers should acknowledge, strengthen, and build students' capacity and capability in both (Si'ilata 2014).

The New Zealand Context

The twentieth-century migrations of Pacific peoples from their island homelands into English-speaking Pacific Rim nations such as Aotearoa New Zealand began in the 1950s. The main sources of migrant flows included the island nations of New Zealand's colonial administration, such as Western Samoa, Niue, Tokelau, and the Cook Islands. Pacific migrants were encouraged in order to meet the unskilled labor shortage of the 1950s and 1960s. The established connection between these Pacific Islands and New Zealand provided a sense of familiarity with the language and culture between both groups. They established lives for themselves within the towns and cities of New Zealand and, as others joined them over time, cohesive island-based communities were established. For many Pacific nation migrants, heritage languages and culture were maintained within the home and church, thus shaping their collective identities in relation to the wider society around them.

The Establishment of a Pacific Population

For much larger nations such as the United States and Australia, Pacific settlement has had a barely discernable impact on the population profile at the national or state level. In New Zealand, however, Pacific peoples are the third largest ethnic minority and are highly visible in the national socioeconomic indices. Pacific communities became established in New Zealand after World War Two with particularly significant levels of migration occurring in the 1960s to the mid-1970s. To illustrate, in the national census of 1945 there were 2159 “Pacific Polynesians.” Just over a decade later, there were 8103; in 1966, there were 26,271; and in 1976, this figure stood at 65,694 (Statistics New Zealand 1997). (The term used at the time to distinguish Pacific island immigrants from Māori, the indigenous Polynesian population.) Since the 1970s, the Pacific population has grown and become more diverse. Statistics

New Zealand and the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs (2010) note that the current Pacific population is mostly young, urbanized, and New Zealand-born.

A number of factors account for the diversity of Pasifika peoples (Samu 2015). First, each Pacific group has unique social structures, histories, values, and identities although some forms of identity are not exclusive to any one Pacific cultural tradition. Two further significant features of New Zealand's Pacific population are worth noting here. First, a recent feature of this population is the growing proportion with multiple heritages or identities. (This stood at 37.2 percent in 2013 (Statistics New Zealand 2013).) Multiple heritages reflect growing levels of cross-cultural and cross-ethnic relations within New Zealand society. Second, of the seven largest Pacific heritage groups in New Zealand, three have more members living in New Zealand than in the home nation – namely, the Cook Islands, Niue, and Tokelau. The New Zealand resident communities of Cook Islands Māori, Niue, and Tokelau peoples have become critical locations of language and culture transmission, even revival, for their respective Pacific diaspora as a whole.

According to the most recent census, Pacific peoples in New Zealand form the third largest ethnic minority group (7.1% of the total population) after Māori (14.9%) and Asian (11.8%) (Statistics New Zealand 2013). Much of this population increase has been due to natural increase, rather than immigration. This accounts for why 62.3% percent of Pacific peoples are New Zealand born (Statistics New Zealand 2013). The Pacific population is very youthful with the median age of 22.1 years, compared to 41 years for the dominant European population (Statistics New Zealand 2013). Given the population now includes third and fourth generations of New Zealand-born Pacific peoples, this group can no longer be considered as an immigrant minority population.

There is a degree of variability in the formal terms used by different government institutions to describe Pacific peoples. What remains consistent, however, is the administrative practice of identifying the various groups, and their New Zealand-born descendants, under one broad category. For example, the terms “Pasifika peoples” or “Pasifika” are used by the Ministry of Education (2009b) while the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs uses the terms “Pacific peoples” and “Pacific population.” (It is worth noting here that “Pasifika” is also used by the local government for the city of Auckland, which has the world's largest population of Pacific peoples. See: <http://www.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/EN/AboutCouncil/Pages/Home.aspx>; See: <http://www.mpia.govt.nz/pacific-peoples-in-new-zealand/>) “Pacific peoples” is also the main term of reference used within the New Zealand Ministry of Health (<http://www.health.govt.nz/>).

The use of such blanket terms can unintentionally camouflage the distinctiveness of the different Pacific linguistic and cultural groups. A “vigorous if softly spoken debate” (Perrott 2007, p. 8) exists within Pacific communities about the use of terms with a pan-Pacific scope. In terms of education, Manu'atu and Kepa (2002) expressed concern for the learning needs of specific students (e.g., Tongan) because they are rendered invisible when grouped together under such umbrella terms. Samu (2015), however, stated,

Sometimes the main advantage of a unifying concept is the countering effect it has against oppositional forces such as neo-colonialism – or for migrant community groups such as Pasifika in New Zealand, countering oppositional forces such as assimilation and social/economic/cultural marginalisation. (p. 7)

The use of such blanket terms will continue to be problematic. That is why it is important for writers to explain whichever collectivizing term they have determined to use. Pasifika Education is the term used in the remainder of this chapter to refer to the education and development of the Pacific diaspora resident within New Zealand.

The Position of Pasifika Languages, Cultures, and Identities

For many Pasifika peoples, the movement away from home represented acts of betterment for both individuals and their families. It was a movement made in the collective belief that the social and economic prospects of both those who remained, and those who left and resettled elsewhere, would be enhanced. The broader macrolevel process that enabled such transnational movements of labor has been explained as the political economy of labor migration (Ongley 1996). Hauofa (1993) described it as the process of “world enlargement” – the deliberate and purposeful extension of the scope and reach of Pasifika extended families. For most migrating Pasifika peoples, there was no intention to cut off all ties with home, or, conversely, to wholeheartedly assimilate into the host nation. Concerted effort was made to maintain their respective languages, cultures, and identities.

The transmission of language, culture, and traditional forms of identity on to the next generation was more problematic. Pasifika migrants tended to locate in the same suburbs, find employment in similar areas of the labor market and often worship in heritage island groups, in their traditional languages. Their children were exposed to wider influences, including the powerful process of state schooling. Tongan American educator-activist, ‘Anapesi Kaili (2012), while speaking of her experiences in the US context, also describes the overall consequences of Pasifika children’s exposure to mainstream education in New Zealand:

We have criticized them for not knowing their language and culture, yet we don’t take the time to teach it. I have been in numerous meetings where administrators and teachers clearly do not see a need for multiple histories or epistemologies or anything that is not in par with mainstream culture and values. Yet, the minute our young people show any sign of resistance in this mainstream classroom they are labeled as having a behavior disorder, tracked into ESL and special education courses and their Pacific cultures blamed for their so-called failures. The same culture that they are not allowed to practice or even emulate. The same culture that they hardly even know!

The influence of state schooling was to have a powerful impact on the language, culture, and identity of migrant children and the subsequent New Zealand-born generations.

Framing Pasifika Education

Many Pasifika children in the 1960s and up to at least the mid-1970s experienced the kind of schooling that delivered a Eurocentric school curriculum (MacPherson 1996) where teachers advised their immigrant Pasifika parents to speak only English to their children at home (Anae 1998). However, the current schooling situation in Aotearoa, New Zealand, while not perfect, contrasts significantly with those earlier times. Both policy and practice reflecting cultural responsiveness of curriculum and pedagogy emerged in the late 1970s and 1980s, due to the influence of multicultural theories and ideologies (Coxon et al. 1994). Such changes signaled a state-influenced shift away from a Eurocentric education system toward the recognition and inclusion of minority languages and cultures in the curriculum. The only directive from the Ministry of Education, in terms of the education of Pasifika learners, was via the social studies curriculum in which a Pacific-centered topic was to be taught at least once every 2 years across both primary and junior secondary schooling levels (Samu 1998). This was to change remarkably from the mid-1990s onward and can be understood in three progressive phases.

Three Phases in the Development of Pasifika Education

The first phase of state-funded and -directed programmes of research and development that influenced, rather than deliberately targeted, Pasifika learners commenced in the late 1990s. The impetus was low-performing schools located within “two of New Zealand’s most entrenched areas of urban socioeconomic disadvantage and white/middle class flight” (Thrupp 1998, p. 198). Highly publicized debate merged as a consequence of a report in 1996 by the Education Review Office, which argued that chronic issues of low student attainment, truancy, poor teacher morale, and recruitment in these schools were caused by poor school performance. School and community leaders argued the issues were due to the sociopolitical context (Thrupp 1998). The majority of students in these schools were Pasifika.

The second phase was an intensification and consolidation of state funding in national policy, research, and development. The release of the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development’s (OECD) first Program of International Student Assessment (PISA) results in 2000 accelerated this process. New Zealand student performance was both exemplary and concerning. Those students who performed poorly were shown to be disproportionately Māori, Pasifika, and children with special needs (Alton-Lee 2005). This international measure of literacy and numeracy positioned New Zealand as having the second largest gap in terms of equity, of OECD member nations. It led to Pasifika targeted systemic change and development by the MOE including: the first 5 year Pasifika Education Plan; the first comprehensive literature review of research on Pacific education and the development of the nation’s first Pacific Research Guidelines – a document defining Pacific research in general, and ethics of good practice (Anae et al. 2002).

The third, and current, phase is characterized by a reduction in research and development contracts and a significant increase in professional learning and development (PLD) projects, informed by the evidenced-based research outcomes of phase two. The Ministry of Education identified three key priority learning groups: Māori, Pasifika, and children with special needs. This has become so much a part of the language of practitioners within the compulsory education sector, that the terms Māori, Pasifika, and special needs are often dropped. “Priority learners” on its own is sufficient for researchers, practitioners, and policymakers alike to know which group is the focus.

The rich and comprehensive research carried out over these three phases has established that for Pasifika learners, culturally responsive pedagogies are of crucial importance and at the heart of such approaches, are responsiveness to Pasifika cultures, languages, and identities. The major professional challenge for teachers is to manage simultaneously the multifaceted strengths and learning needs of Pasifika learners. Quality teaching is seen as a key influence in attaining high-quality outcomes for Pasifika students at all levels of learning (Alton-Lee 2003).

What Constitutes Pasifika Success?

Success for Pasifika peoples and their children should be considered holistically, relative to the multiple worlds they live in. Generally for Pasifika communities, academic success is not only about the success of the individual but is also reflective of the success of the family and the community from which they come. To be deemed fully successful in Pasifika contexts, Pasifika children are encouraged to strengthen and build capability in the “valued knowledges,” and “ways of being” of their family/community domains, as well as the valued knowledge of school. Ideally, success achieved in one domain should have benefits or “capital” in the other domains in which learners are socialized.

Transformative education that enables Pasifika learners in classrooms in Aotearoa, New Zealand, to see their languages, cultures, and identities represented in the “valued knowledge of school,” and to be utilized as a normal part of language and literacy learning in their classrooms suggests that their perceptions of success will include, rather than exclude, their linguistic and cultural identities. The continued development of Pasifika languages and literacies not only enables learners to be successful in the worlds of their families and communities, but also has direct impact on their successful acquisition of English language and literacy (Baker 2011; Cummins 2008).

Pasifika Languages Policy

The New Zealand Ministry of Education’s current policy stance within English-medium education focuses on the learning of “additional” or “new” languages, under the “Learning Languages” learning area of the New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry

of Education 2007), rather than on supporting community language maintenance of languages: “Learning a new language extends students’ linguistic and cultural understanding and their ability to interact appropriately with other speakers” (p. 24). Included are international “high status” languages, and some Pasifika community languages, including Cook Islands Maori, Niuean, Samoan, and Tongan taught as separate curriculum subjects to “new learners” of that language. Although the Learning Languages learning area states that Pasifika languages have a special place “because of New Zealand’s close relationships with the peoples of the Pacific” (p. 24), the reality in many schools with high numbers of Pasifika students is that they are given no greater (and sometimes less) prominence than languages such as French, German, Mandarin, and Spanish.

Within English-medium education, the Ministry of Education promotes the utilization of family language resources to support successful transition to English. There is minimal systemic support for ongoing Pasifika language maintenance, or for biliteracy development through Pasifika bilingual/immersion education. As stated in a 2014 Ministry of Education (2014) “request for proposals” for teacher PLD in the utilization of dual language texts in English-medium education, “Teachers need to build on all of the Pasifika children’s language knowledge, skills and experiences to support English language learning and literacy” (p. 6).

In 2015, 47 schools offered Pasifika bilingual/immersion education including 32 primary schools, 14 secondary schools, and 1 composite school. Sixty-six percent of those schools (31 out of the 47) were in the Auckland region, with Samoan being the most common Pasifika medium of instruction. Thirty-five out of the 47 schools delivered curriculum through the medium of Samoan, and ten schools offered bilingual/immersion education in two or more Pasifika languages (Education Counts n.d.). The provision of Pasifika medium education is the result, in many cases, of community concern about language loss, and of goodwill toward the maintenance of Pasifika languages, on the part of schools. Language shift and loss among New Zealand Pasifika communities are occurring at an alarming rate. Concerns about Pasifika language loss have been expressed within educational forums for many years: “According to New Zealand Census data (2006), all Pasifika languages in the Realm of Aotearoa New Zealand are showing significant signs of language shift and loss” (Post Primary Teachers Association 2010, p. 1).

Historically, the Ministry of Education has provided Pasifika language texts (Tupu Readers) in the five main language groups of Reo Maori Kuki ‘Airani (Cook Islands Maori), Vagahau Niue (Niuean), Gagana Samoa (Samoan), Gagana Tokelau (Tokelauan), and Lea Faka-Tonga (Tongan); online support through the LEAP – Language Enhancing the Achievement of Pasifika website (McComish et al. 2008); language learning material for new learners of those languages, but not necessarily speakers or members of those speech communities (Ministry of Education 2009a); and PLD provision for Pasifika bilingual teacher aides (Ministry of Education 2007; Si’ilata 2007). However, there is currently no further development of instructional reading material in Pasifika languages to enable biliteracy development within the schooling sector. It is necessary, therefore, to consider notions of

“Pasifika success” within English-medium education, where the majority of Pasifika learners are schooled.

Biliteracy Development

Pasifika bilingual learners are able to draw on language resources that include their receptive and productive capabilities in their Pasifika heritage languages, as well as a repertoire of sociolinguistic registers in their English language proficiency. When students are supported to access their common underlying proficiency (Cummins 1980, 2000), their bilingualism, biliteracy, and academic development can develop simultaneously rather than sequentially (Baker 2011; Garcia 2009). The implications of the common underlying proficiency construct require teachers to actively *teach for transfer* of linguistic, metacognitive, and metalinguistic knowledge. The theoretical rationale for this teaching for crosslinguistic transfer originates from several sources. Hornberger (2003) first proposed that both literacies are interconnected in the unconscious mind of the learner, cannot be separated, and have to be viewed as a single biliteracy system. This means that rather than ignoring what students know in their heritage language, teachers in English-medium contexts should draw on, make links to, and build on students' language, literacy, and curriculum content knowledge in their heritage languages and show students how to transfer skills, strategies, and content learned in English to their other language (Cummins 2007, 2008, 2011).

In English-medium and bilingual classrooms, the “monolingual principle” has dominated, meaning that students' first languages are often ignored and are kept rigidly separate from the learning of English and content (Cummins 2008; Si'ilata 2004). Cummins argues that when educators are freed “from exclusive reliance on monolingual instructional approaches, a wide variety of opportunities arise for teaching bilingual learners by means of bilingual instructional strategies that acknowledge the reality of, and strongly promote, cross-language transfer” (Cummins 2008, p. 65). In order to achieve biliteracy within bilingual or immersion classrooms, teachers need to make strategic use of the first language resource to support second language acquisition.

Many researchers in the area of language and literacy development emphasize the importance of utilizing learners' linguistic and cultural resources in teaching and learning interactions in schools. Dickie (2010), for example, described the “out of school” literacy experiences of Samoan children “reading passages of the Bible aloud with perfect accuracy; and *tauloto*, which are passages from the Bible to be memorised” (p. 25). Dickie argued that Samoan church literacy practices maintained a strong focus on comprehension, as well as memorization, and that being informed about these practices could enable teachers to link to and build on these strengths in their classrooms.

Subtractive bilingual contexts for Pasifika learners were identified by McComish et al. (2008), as being those where bilingualism is seen as a negative phenomenon in wider society; the learner's first language is not valued and encouraged, and is replaced by the dominant language (English). In these contexts, bilinguals will not

learn to use both languages extensively and are unlikely to have high proficiency in both languages (McComish et al. 2008, p. 17). These authors maintain that regardless of the language skills of bilingual (and other) learners, teachers should build on those competencies as a basis for further teaching and learning. They outline some key principles for teachers working with Pasifika learners. Two of the principles foreground the importance of creating opportunities for Pasifika learners to utilize their languages to support learning: “the languages that bilingual (or *Pasifika*) students bring with them are a key linguistic resource and a crucial foundation for their learning” and “Bilingual (or *Pasifika*) students learn better when they are able to use their first or home language at school” (p. 2).

The need for teachers to utilize linguistically and culturally responsive pedagogies when teaching Pasifika learners is highlighted in Chu et al. (2013) summary of Pasifika education research literature. Their findings revealed widespread consensus in New Zealand “that culturally responsive pedagogies are important to support learning but the focus of research in this area has been primarily on Maori rather than Pasifika” (p. 2), and that there is “growing evidence of the importance of teacher skills and understandings in culturally responsive pedagogies for enhancing educational outcomes for Pasifika learners” (p. 24). Not surprisingly, Ferguson et al. (2008) identified the need for further research and development, including responsiveness to the prior knowledge and experiences that Pasifika learners bring to the teaching and learning context and how this affects opportunities to learn.

Dimensions of Effective Practice for Pasifika Learners

Dimensions and indicators of effective practice for Pasifika learners were developed from the literature and from the research findings, and were used to analyze teacher practice. The dimensions included:

- Knowledge of Pasifika learners
- Expectations of Pasifika learners
- Knowledge of Pasifika bilingualism, second language acquisition, and literacy learning
- Instructional strategies, including Pasifika languages as resources for learning
- Pasifika connections with texts, world, language, and literacy knowledge
- Partnerships with Pasifika families/aiga and community knowledge holders

This set of six dimensions of effective classroom practice for Pasifika learners, each elucidated by two indicators, was used to consider all of the evidence collected and was then applied to the Va'atele Framework. The description of effective teacher practice described in the dimensions and elucidated through the indicators was developed primarily through a top-down process informed largely by the relevant research literature. However, these indicators were checked in a more bottom-up process against the practices of the effective teachers, who were known to be successful in promoting accelerated student achievement in literacy. The original

six “dimensions of effective practice” for learners in general are described in *Effective Literacy Practice in Years 1–4* (see Ministry of Education 2003, p. 12).

The six dimensions of effective literacy practice were modified to make them more specific to Pasifika learners and to validate the utilization of their linguistic and cultural resources within the New Zealand education space (see Table 1). These Pasifika-specific dimensions were used as the overarching framework for the analysis of teaching practice, and form the lens through which the data from teachers and the observations of their practice have been analyzed and the results articulated. The way in which teachers demonstrated the aspects of these dimensions are described in vignettes below.

Case Studies

The next section presents two illustrative case studies that report on interventions to Pasifika student achievement in English medium primary schools. Case study 1 introduces the Va'atele Framework as a metaphor for Pasifika success, with two of its indicators under the “connections” dimension being described through illustrative vignettes, in order to exemplify what effective teaching for Pasifika learners might look like in practice (Si'ilata 2014). Case study 2 provides a further illustrative narrative of one of the Va'atele dimensions: Instructional strategies, including Pasifika languages as resources for learning. It is based on research undertaken with year 1–2 teachers of Pasifika learners who participated in a professional learning and development programme that was focused on utilization of Pasifika dual language texts to support literacy learning at school. (The New Zealand Ministry of Education has developed Pasifika dual language texts in five Pasifika languages: Gagana Sāmoa, Gagana Tokelau, Lea Faka-Tonga, Reo Māori Kūki 'Airani, Vagahau Niue. See <http://literacyonline.tki.org.nz/Literacy-Online/Planning-for-my-students-needs/Pasifika-dual-language-books>) Initially, Samoan/English texts were piloted with Samoan children and were followed by the development of dual language texts in four other Pasifika languages. Teachers are now able to use specific dual language texts with different children, depending on their heritage language resource.

Case Study 1

The research in this case study was located in literacy teaching and learning practices in primary schools. The work in the schools was based on the six (generic) dimensions of effective literacy practice identified from the research and brought together in a resource developed under contract to the New Zealand Ministry of Education (2003, 2005). These six dimensions formed the basis for the Literacy Professional Development Project intervention, the research site for case study 1 (Ministry of Education 2003). The resource includes a section on the importance of teachers making links between learners' home and school contexts “in ways that are visible

Table 1 Dimensions of effective practice for Pasifika learners (Si'ilata 2014)

Dimensions of effective literacy practice	Dimensions of effective practice for Pasifika learners	Indicators
Knowledge of the learner	Knowledge of Pasifika learners	(1a) Teachers analyze and use English language and literacy data in their practice. (1b) Teachers analyze and use Pasifika home language data and family/cultural funds of knowledge.
Expectations	Expectations of Pasifika learners	(2a) Teachers set high, informed expectations for student learning which build on Pasifika learners' aspirations and values. (2b) Teachers build effective teacher-student relationships that focus on learning and build Pasifika learner agency.
Knowledge of literacy learning	Knowledge of Pasifika bilingualism, second language acquisition, and literacy learning	(3a) Teachers know about Pasifika bilingualism, second language acquisition, and literacy learning. (3b) Teachers use evidence from student data and from practice to design learning sequences, and monitor progress in relation to Pasifika learners' language and literacy needs.
Instructional strategies	Use of instructional strategies including Pasifika languages as resources for learning	(4a) Teachers explicitly teach English language and vocabulary by building on Pasifika home languages and oral practices. (4b) Teachers explicitly teach strategies for written language, including use of Pasifika literacy practices.
Engaging learners with texts	Supporting Pasifika connections with text, world, language, and literacy knowledge	(5a) Teachers support Pasifika learners to make meaningful connections with Pasifika cultures, experiences, languages, literacies, texts, and worldviews. (5b) Teachers provide opportunities for Pasifika learners to transfer knowledge, languages, and literacies from one context to another.
Partnerships	Partnerships with Pasifika families/aiga and community knowledge holders	(6a) Teachers collaborate with Pasifika families/aiga in identifying student learning needs and valued outcomes. (6b) Teachers build reciprocal relationships with Pasifika families/aiga and community experts to utilize their knowledge at school.

Adapted from 'The Dimensions of Effective Practice' Ministry of Education (2003, p. 12)

and significant for the child”(p. 117). For Māori and Pasifika learners, in particular, the writers suggested that this could be done by incorporating and building on familiar content in classroom practices, including “using texts that reflect the cultural values and perspectives of Pasifika students, building on Pasifika children’s expertise in recitation, developed through church and family literacy practices, by including recitation among classroom activities and by building on the concept of tuakana-teina relationships” (p. 117). It states further that teachers should encourage bilingual students to use their first language as a foundation on which to build their knowledge of English and that learning to read in their first language supports a child in achieving success with reading in a second language. Beyond these general statements, however, there is little in the way of specifics to guide teachers about how to do this.

The overarching purpose of this research, therefore, was to identify the specific actions of effective teachers of Pasifika learners in English-medium primary schools in Aotearoa, New Zealand, that led to acceleration of their language and literacy learning and achievement, and ultimately to the promotion of equitable outcomes and their success at school.

Methods and Data Sources

The study utilized a case methodology, supported by both quantitative and qualitative research methods in order to answer the research questions. The study itself developed out of the results of a prior literacy intervention where the lowest achieving students, including Pasifika learners, made the greatest progress: between 2.4 and 6.2 times the expected rate. Five effective teachers and five improvement teachers were identified and participated in the study over a 2-year period. (The five effective teachers were located in four “existing schools” that had joined the literacy project a year prior to the schools in which the improvement teachers were located. The effective teachers had already completed 1 year of professional learning when the Pasifika research began. They had reasonable numbers of Pasifika learners, and having produced accelerated gains, were selected as being among those particularly successful with Pasifika learners. The five “effective teachers” were chosen because of their Pasifika learners’ achievement levels related to those schoolwide gains. The five “improvement” teachers were located in three schools that were new to the literacy project in 2009. These “new schools” had considerable numbers of Pasifika learners and the school leaders wanted to address issues of Pasifika achievement. The improvement teachers were volunteers who were willing to be interviewed and have their practice observed.) The research questions posed in this study were focused on inquiring into four areas:

- Effective teaching of Pasifika learners
- Improvement of teaching for Pasifika learners
- Leader and facilitator actions that enabled improvement
- Leadership practices that promoted reciprocal partnerships between schools and their Pasifika communities

Results

The effective teachers taught in schools that showed higher effect size gains in reading than improving teachers' schools at comparable points in time on the intervention. The effective teachers' schools showed progress substantially above the usual rate, while the improvement teachers' schools took the first year to accelerate to the national average rate of progress, and almost doubled this in the second year. Similarly, in writing, the effective teachers' schools also had higher rates of progress. The rates of progress in writing among these schools were very high in all 3 years, with the large effect sizes most likely to be at least in part due to the very low baseline. Although the progress among the improvement teachers' schools was lower, progress was still around double the rate indicated in the norms.

Two illustrative vignettes are now described from the effective teaching section, including the theories of practice held by the identified "effective teachers" of Pasifika learners, with illustrations of their observed practice, supported by the voices of their Pasifika learners. Data relating to the effective teachers' theories and practices were obtained and analyzed through observations of, and interviews about classroom practice. The observed or reported practices of all case study teachers were described in relation to the dimensions and indicators of effective practice for Pasifika learners, with examples drawn from the observations of their practice at Times 1, 2, or 3.

Dimension 5: Supporting Pasifika Connections with Text, World, Language, and Literacy Knowledge

Indicator 5a) Making Meaningful Pasifika Connections

Kat was a teacher of a Year 1 class at School 2. She was particularly astute at supporting her students to make meaningful connections between their existing linguistic and world knowledge and the world of school. Her writing text purpose was linked strongly to her oral language programme and to the current topic focus, as well as having an authentic rationale that often included making connections with *aiga* (Family) and home. To illustrate: the literacy focus of one of Kat's lessons was persuasive writing and entailed students writing a letter to persuade their *aiga* to take them to the public library. Kat encouraged her students to connect their home funds of knowledge with school and to make school learning relevant and meaningful for home. Kat also made strong connections with her Pasifika learners through the use of their first languages as part of everyday communication in the classroom, rather than as "standalone" language lessons:

I use Māori and Pasifika languages because I guess it respects those cultures. . . and I quite like the idea of not just saying, 'Right now is the Māori lesson'. It is integrated and it makes things a bit more interesting. . . and the children really like it. They like learning a new word in Samoan or a new word in Māori. They like to say, 'Oh we learnt something new'. It's really good for children like Sione – me saying I don't know. . . but for the status to change and for me to be a learner and for Sione to be the teacher. It was really good for him to be the

expert and for me to say, 'You teach us what it is called', and you could see he was making all these little connections to do with 'fala', and I think things like that are really good to empower students.

Kat recognized the value of connecting with students' languages and experiences and focused on enabling students to make connections between their first language and their English language development:

On my door every week we have a word focus and we learn it . . . So every week we think of a word that we use at school and then we look it up [in our Samoan and Māori dictionaries] . . . The children are supposed to pick me up every time, like if it is 'book' and if I accidentally say book they are supposed to try and remind me that we are supposed to say 'pukapuka' or 'tusi'. I suppose it validates, I mean it is all really good learning because all the children are really keen to learn all these new words regardless of what their background is and it helps validate those Samoan speakers and maybe increases their sense of belonging. I bring it into topic work by looking, for example, at the verbs – what the Māori word and Samoan word for those things are and now it is set up. Yesterday at home time they all had to go and get their shoes and Student 2 just came up with 'Oh the Samoan word for shoes is 'se'evae' and we practised saying it altogether . . . by me initiating initially I guess they know that it will be encouraged and welcomed. So now it happens spontaneously as well with those boys. I can see them just kind of beaming with pride that they are teaching.

Kat's ability to enable her students to make meaningful connections and to transfer knowledge between their school and home lives by ensuring their language learning experiences and literacy products were significant in both domains meant that their literacy learning was relevant and authentic to their lived experience.

Indicator 5b) Transferring Pasifika Knowledge, Languages, and Literacies

This illustration provides an example of a Samoan teacher regarding her articulated knowledge of her students' home language and literacy practices and how she utilized that knowledge to create meaningful bilingual opportunities in the classroom to build her students' literacy in English. Va was a Years 5/6 teacher with predominantly Pasifika students in her class. She was cognizant of the language and literacy practices held by her Pasifika students, and believed that some non-Pasifika teachers held incorrect assumptions about Pasifika students' language and literacy capabilities and were not aware of the funds of knowledge held by them outside of school (Gonzalez et al. 2005):

I think we bring a lot of wealth and knowledge when we start school. You know a lot of teachers will say Samoans don't know how to read, they don't know how to write, but we have had our literacies forever and a day. We have our White Sunday, when our children learn their taulotos (memory verses) and have to read the Bible. So at five years of age we are learning how to sit down with Mum and Dad and learn John 3:16 "For God so loved the world. . .", and this is in Samoan. So I think the more teachers know about that and can make the time to find out a bit more about our children. . . the better teachers we can become. . . I think a lot of teachers group them and go, 'Oh he's a Samoan and all Samoans learn like this', or 'Tongans learn like this'. I'm not saying all teachers do that, but I think it is a mindset that is definitely out there and before we head in that direction I think we as teachers need to stop and let's just find out about the lives of our children because there's so much wealth;

there's so much that we can tap into, in relation to their successes. As professionals we have all these big discussions, what do we need to hook them in? Well let's find out about their backgrounds – what they know that is relevant to their worlds and then let's bring that in and celebrate it and look at it. Let's dissect it and analyse it in class: that is what we need to do.

Va described how she used Samoan to support teaching and learning, while at the same time creating opportunities for other bilingual learners to utilize their first languages. She focused on creating a classroom environment where learners' bilingualism was celebrated, encouraged, and “normalised”:

I don't ever stop using Samoan. I use it with my non-Samoan children as well. All my children know what 'Nofō i lalo (sit down), tu i luga (stand up), fa'amolemole (please), fa'afetai (thank you), tapuni fai toto'a (shut the door), tapuni fa'amalama' (shut the window). Cos I'll say it and then, 'I beg your pardon, that was Samoan for please sit down'. . . We do a lot of this in our classroom – I'll say the Samoan word is 'this', and then my Arabic child says – 'In Arabic it's this', my Sudanese child will say, 'It's this'. I'm no longer saying 'What's your word?' I'll say 'Great, can you come and write it up and she'll come and write it up in Arabic and we'll look at the letters, I'll say, 'Wow look at this alphabet, so different from ours.'

Va used her expertise adaptively by recognizing and connecting with the bilingual and biliterate skills that her Samoan students held in their total language resource. She determined individual students' language and literacy capability by utilizing her Samoan language with learners requiring first language support. She recognized that a learner's lack of proficiency in English did not necessarily equate to illiteracy. Rather she sought to ascertain, connect with, value, and utilize Pasifika learners' total linguistic and literacy resource in the classroom:

I speak Samoan to children who have just come straight from Samoa who have no idea of what is happening. So I try to explain it in Samoan as best as I can and if I could do it in any other language I would. I have one student in particular who has just come from Samoa this year. . . I will often give instructions to her in Samoan. I will explain a task to her in Samoan. I will even carry out testing in Samoan with her. I have done numeracy testing with her in Samoan and for running records I have prompted her and spoken to her before the reading in Samoan. . . I have found because this is the second year I have had my class, a lot of my New Zealand born children who last year wouldn't dare to speak Samoan have become a lot more comfortable in speaking Samoan in class. So that is fantastic. . . I just promote that it is nothing to be embarrassed about and it doesn't matter if your mum or your Nana can't speak English properly... So rather than mock and laugh, don't be embarrassed, be proud that you can speak two languages.

During the second observation of her teaching, Va had a major focus on the teaching of academic vocabulary and language features. She clarified the structure of a recount through a language experience activity by making three types of sandwiches to illustrate levels of weak to strong narrative writing. She implicitly used a Samoan communicative device (use of metaphor to make a point) that her students connected immediately to their knowledge of effective narrative writing. In Samoan oratory and discourse, the use of proverbs, metaphor, and subtlety in language are highly esteemed as forms of communication.

Although the teacher did not explicitly articulate to her students that she was using the sandwich making activity as a metaphor to demonstrate weak to strong models of narrative writing – they implicitly understood that that was what she was doing. They were able to independently describe what each sandwich represented:

- Va:* *We are thinking and we are talking about recounts and I want everyone to be thinking, ‘What could bread have to do with recounts?’*
- Student:* *The first bread is for the beginning – like the introduction and the last bread is for the conclusion.*
- Va:* *What do you think all my separate ingredients represent on my plate? My marmite, my jam, my peanut butter, my mayonnaise...*
- Student:* *They are all mixed up – like they are not in the right places.*
- Student:* *Lots of information but no order of events.*
- Va:* *Can you tell me why you said that Student 1?*
- Student:* *Because they are all mixed up.*
- Va:* *So what does this (other) sandwich show?*
- Student:* *The introduction and the order of events and the conclusion.*
- Va:* *Fantastic and this is what I wanted to show you. See all my ingredients here: did I just throw them all onto one plate and then throw them onto the bread?*
- Students:* *No.*
- Va:* *No I layered them one by one.*

Following the modeling and discussion of the correct structure of a recount, the teacher provided another opportunity “for authentic language use with a focus on learners using academic language” [ESOL principle 5] (Ministry of Education 2006), by reinforcing the learning gained from this “metaphorical” language experience. She shared a personal recount of her recent trip to Samoa for a family bereavement. The sequence was jumbled and students needed to collaboratively “un-jumble” it. She created opportunities for tuakana/teina pairings with “more able” students providing support to “less able” students to complete the narrative-sequencing task. Toward the end of the lesson, Va explicitly referred to one of the language features evident in recount writing: “metaphor” (which had been demonstrated previously through the visual language “sandwich making” experience).

- Student:* *She was like a sister to you?*
- Va:* *Yes absolutely, what sorts of words tell you that? You are right about “darkest”, anything else? Oh, “my heart was about to explode”. So what sort of word is it called when you say something like, “I couldn’t think or read, instead my heart and head felt like they were about to explode?” What is that called when you use language like that?*
- Student:* *A metaphor.*
- Va:* *And what does a metaphor mean again?*
- Student:* *It is something that isn’t real.*

Va: Right so a metaphor is like when something is going to happen but it can't really happen because my head and my heart can't really explode. Is there any other language in there that . . . shows you a metaphor?

Student: "The world stopped".

The teacher's willingness to share about her family bereavement created an authentic focus for her literacy teaching and meant that her students were fully engaged, because she had been absent for an extended time and they wanted to hear about her trip. The interactive language tasks enabled her Pasifika learners to draw on their own world and literacy knowledge and to use their explicit knowledge of the structure of a recount to write about a shared language experience (the weekend school gala) situated within their current class writing purpose. The purpose for the writing was authentic in that the teacher had not been present at the gala and wanted her students to provide her with an account of it.

In the final observation of her teaching, Va demonstrated strong practice in the explicit teaching of language and vocabulary and in making meaningful connections. She supported her Pasifika learners to make connections across writing purposes, using knowledge gained from the structure of a recount to inform their knowledge of the structure of an explanation. Va also seamlessly embedded the use of humor, within the body of her lesson, a practice perceived by students in the Pasifika Schooling Improvement project (Amituanai-Toloa et al. 2009) as being a strong motivational tool. They reported that students articulated that they preferred teachers who were organized, firm, clear, and demanding but also had a sense of humor. The importance of oracy underpinning literacy development and the value of strengthening reading/writing links was evident throughout the observations of Va's teaching where Pasifika learners were provided with multiple opportunities to work in communicative pairs or groups and to negotiate their understandings of academic vocabulary within meaningful contexts prior to writing.

Case Study 2

Dimension 4: Instructional Strategies, Including Pasifika Languages as Resources for Learning

Indicator 4b) Teachers Explicitly Teach English Language and Vocabulary by Building on Pasifika Home Languages and Oral Practices

The following case study is drawn from pilot research undertaken with year 1–2 teachers of Samoan learners who participated in a professional learning and development programme that was focused on utilization of Samoan dual language texts to support literacy learning at school (Si'ilata et al. 2015a, b).

The case focuses on what enabled teachers of Samoan children to change their beliefs and practices in relation to the use of Pasifika languages as resources for

learning. The preeminence of the role of pre-existing knowledge as a foundation for learning has been well documented by Bransford et al. (2000) who emphasize three requirements for effective learning: (a) engaging prior understandings, (b) integrating factual knowledge with conceptual frameworks, and (c) taking active control over the learning process through metacognitive strategies. The inquiry and knowledge building cycle from the best evidence synthesis on teacher professional learning and development (Timperley et al. 2007) connects strongly with Bransford et al.'s thinking about how people learn. The synthesis identified how cycles of teacher inquiry and knowledge building can improve learners' engagement, learning, and wellbeing. The stages of the inquiry cycle focus on teacher inquiry in order to meet student-learning needs: identifying valued outcomes and student learning needs; identifying professional learning needs; engaging in professional learning to deepen knowledge and refine skills; engaging in new learning experiences; and assessing impact and re-engagement in the next cycle.

In order for teachers to learn effectively, it is vital that their existing beliefs in relation to their students' learning are surfaced and engaged (Bransford et al. 2000). If teachers' existing beliefs about their students' ability to learn, and about what is important for their students' learning, are not surfaced and challenged, it is unlikely that they will engage in the next stage of deepening their pedagogical content knowledge because their existing beliefs may prevent them from doing so. In relation to their Pasifika learners, this would mean surfacing existing teacher beliefs and assumptions about the ways in which Pasifika learners learn, about what helps them to learn, about their families' aspirations for their learning, about their abilities and experiences outside of school, and particularly about their languages, family, and cultural backgrounds.

The overarching principle of the PLD program, encapsulated in each of the workshop underpinning principles and outcomes, was the *integration of home and school 'funds of knowledge' and utilization of Samoan children's total language and literacy resources (TLLR)*. This focus on utilizing Samoan children's funds of knowledge, rather than maintaining a focus solely on student needs as a basis for effective teacher PLD, meant that teachers were supported to view their Samoan (and other linguistically diverse learners) through an alternative and appreciative lens. Teachers were encouraged to engage in communicative bilingual approaches to language and literacy learning throughout the PLD programme, which prompted reflection on their current practice and classroom environment.

Teachers' Existing Beliefs

Before endeavoring to change teacher practice, it was first necessary to surface teachers' existing beliefs about how Pasifika bilingual children learn, and about what it means to "tap into students' funds of knowledge." Teachers needed to surface and understand their own tacit beliefs about the perceived value of making connections with bilingual students' funds of knowledge to support teaching and learning in the classroom. Through conversations with teachers during workshops, there was

evidence that some teachers knew little about the out-of-school lives and experiences of Pasifika children and their families. Some teachers expressed that they had previously taken a deficit view of Pasifika children's and families' lives and experiences, primarily their language/s, dialects, registers of English, and their particular literacy practices (for example, church literacy knowledge and practices). They were provided with opportunities to discuss how their beliefs about what works in classrooms for bilingual learners had been challenged, the impact on their practice, and the changed outcomes:

The bottom line is I failed this child and I have changed. Now I am really emotional about this because if I failed him how many other children have I? And I've noticed that every single one of my children is now moving... I was given two children that haven't moved at all in another class, and then I got them. They are now moving. And this has all taken part in the last month or so... It's happened. I am proof of that and I am such a happy person because of that... And often we think we know it all. Actually we don't. I used to think I was a damn good teacher and you woke me up on that day. I had to have a really good check of myself and my teaching practices and what was working and what wasn't, and how I could change it and to this day it has affected me so greatly...

Many teachers expressed that they already made connections with students' prior knowledge, but the connections made were often limited to a brief discussion about children's prior "world knowledge" prior to reading. A few monolingual teachers were making connections with children's existing linguistic or first language knowledge. Some teachers expressed the belief that it was better to keep the first language separate from the learning of English and that five-year-olds would get confused if teachers tried to teach more than one language at a time. This was a distinctly monolingual perspective/belief that was difficult to change, until teachers were put in the position of the language learner. Many teachers talked about an activity in one of the PLD workshops where they were prompted to read a Samoan text and engage in communicative tasks using the Samoan language, as new and challenging learning, highlighting for them the realization of the degree of oral scaffolding required in order to read and write in a language that they did not speak. This caused them to reflect on the experiences and challenges faced by bilingual learners in English-medium classrooms. It was apparent that teachers' beliefs needed to be surfaced and challenged prior to any change in practice:

The example with the reader about the airport and the picture on the front of the boy brushing his teeth and getting us to try and figure it out, because we couldn't access the words, what that story was about was a really neat eye-opener. Like that is how the kids have to process it, so it just put us in the shoes of the learners. So keep that example. That was really great.

They then understood the value of providing opportunities for their bilingual children to tap into their total language and literacy resource when reading English texts. Thus teachers' understanding of bilingual theory was enhanced by seeing it enacted in practice, through utilization of their own "common underlying proficiency"

(Cummins 2011), when reading Samoan. In effect, teachers understood to a greater degree the preeminence of prior linguistic, world and literacy knowledge, in enabling children to make connections with text.

In a PLD program focused on effective practice for Pasifika bilingual learners and the utilization of dual language texts in English-medium classrooms, it is necessary to surface and challenge teachers' existing beliefs before endeavoring to change their practice. Facilitators need to discover and understand teachers' current beliefs and practices about literacy for Pasifika students and their families, and to develop an environment that encourages critical, reflective dialogue, while also acknowledging the changes that are taking place in teachers' literacy pedagogical practice when responding to Pasifika learners and their families.

Teachers can learn to view linguistic diversity as a "total language and literacy resource" (TLLR) (McCaffery 2014) for learning rather than framing children's linguistic diversity as a problem to be addressed. Teachers should be supported and encouraged to explore Pasifika families' and children's resources, and to be willing to put themselves in the position of the learner, with Pasifika children and their families as teachers. Facilitators can support teachers to find creative ways of responding positively to the incorporation of Pasifika children's funds of knowledge within classroom teaching and learning programmes that synthesize well with their existing literacy lessons. Teachers should be supported to enact "owned" practices that build on the linguistic and family resources that Pasifika children bring to school, and to believe that when combined with effective second language acquisition (SLA) and literacy practice, this is the most effective approach to advance Pasifika learners' educational and literacy achievement.

Teachers Connected New Knowledge with Existing Knowledge

The workshops were run in a Pasifika way that synthesized Pasifika specific knowledge with effective second language acquisition (SLA – ESOL) and literacy practice, in order to draw on and make transparent and explicit "better practice" principles and pedagogies. Teachers were able to see how they might incorporate Pasifika, bilingual, and SLA practices within their existing literacy program. This was done by utilizing and practising Pasifika interaction and literacy practices, and connecting them with language and literacy learning, such as:

- Use of humor
- Storying and song
- Co-constructed and collaborative group tasks
- Tuakana/teina The tuakana-teina relationship provides a model for buddy systems. An older or more expert tuakana (brother, sister, or cousin) helps and guides a younger or less expert teina (originally a younger sibling or cousin) pairing (more able with less able Samoan speakers)

- Choral reading, memorization, and recitation in meaning focused literacy tasks
- Engaging in communicative tasks that required integration of receptive (input) and productive (output) modes in two languages

Teachers who were Samoan or who had specific language and cultural knowledge in relation to Samoan children and their families were acknowledged within the PLD context and were utilized as role models for language learning within the group. The PLD workshops for teachers encouraged collaborative inquiry where the facilitators, teachers, families, and children were “working together” (enacting in practice the meaning of the words: *Gālulue Fa’atasi* – the text series), inquiring genuinely into how teachers (and families) might utilize these texts with Samoan children in English-medium classrooms, where there were usually a range of ethnicities present. Some teachers claimed that they were now more open to utilizing children’s total language resource as well as family and cultural knowledge and experiences in the classroom. A number of teachers said that they had developed greater awareness about their children’s bilingualism and were now viewing it as a resource rather than a problem.

A number of (non-Samoan) teachers read Samoan texts with their students, by using digital sound files of the texts that provided models of correct pronunciation. Teachers supported their learners to connect their own schema with the schema in the book, and enabled them to utilize the text structure to tell and write their own bilingual digital stories using ipads:

[Teacher with new entrant five-year-olds creating their own digital stories about themselves using the dual language Samoan text as a structure]:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| Teacher: | <i>Off you go, you guys carry on.</i> |
| Children: | <i>Yay! (Reading the story they have written on their ipad): ‘O la’u ‘ato ā’oga lea. Here is my school bag.</i> |
| Teacher: | <i>Okay do you maybe need to record that one again if you can’t really hear it?</i> |
| Child 1: | <i>You need to delete it.</i> |
| Teacher: | <i>Okay so delete that one. You guys have another go at the sound file.</i> |
| Teacher & child together: | <i>‘O la’u ‘ato ā’oga lea. (Here is my school bag).</i> |
| Teacher: | <i>Wanna play it and see what it sounds like?</i> |
| Children play their sound recording: | <i>‘O la’u ‘ato ā’oga lea. Here is my school bag. ‘O la’u pusa mea’ai lea. Here is my lunch box. ‘O la’u tusi lea. Here is my book.</i> |
| Teacher: | <i>Let’s see if they’ve got their sound file (plays the file). Awesome. You guys are way ahead. Let’s read it together (uses the digital text on the interactive whiteboard to read with students):</i> |

Teacher & children:	<i>What's this one? We can read this one; we're clever. 'O la'u tusi lea. And what does that one mean? Here is my book.</i>
Child:	<i>How do you know how to do it?</i>
Teacher:	<i>Because Mrs. Roberts has been practising at home!</i>
Child:	<i>Are you Samoan?</i>
Teacher:	<i>No sweetie, but I'm learning.</i>
Child 2:	<i>She's English. She's from England. . .</i>
Teacher:	<i>Yes, cos even though I'm a teacher, I never stop learning either. I have to go home and do homework too.</i>
Child:	<i>Cos you're a English. You're from England.</i>
Teacher:	<i>I am from England, yes.</i>

It was evident that the teacher's willingness to put herself in the position of the learner, to privilege the linguistic knowledge of the children, and to create opportunities for them to connect their Samoan linguistic and conceptual knowledge with their English language and literacy acquisition had a major impact on the children's willingness to utilize their linguistic resources at school. The use of their linguistic resources had a direct impact on their English language acquisition and on their biliteracy development. They were also prompted to consider their teacher's and their own linguistic and cultural identities as a result of reading dual language texts together.

The Va'atele Framework

The dimensions of effective practice for Pasifika learners were applied to the metaphor or model for Pasifika learner success: the *va'atele*, or double-hulled canoe. The analogy of the Va'atele Framework may be applied to Pasifika learners as they navigate their way through the education system, enabled by teachers and leaders who employ the dimensions of effective practice for Pasifika learners in their practice. These particular dimensions and indicators specify the teacher actions articulated metaphorically through the Va'atele Framework, by providing the combination of proven principles and practices to support learning in both school and home contexts. An analogy is drawn between each of the dimensions and the representative part they could be seen to symbolize in the *va'atele* (see Table 2).

Understanding the Va'atele Metaphor

To understand the metaphor in relation to Pasifika learners and their experiences at school, the double hulls and the voyaging of the deep-sea canoe are compared with

Table 2 Dimensions of effective practice for Pasifika learners applied to the Va'atele Framework (Si'ilata 2014)

Dimension	Indicators	Representative part of the va'atele
Knowledge of Pasifika learners	(1a) Teachers analyze and use English language and literacy data in their practice (1b) Teachers analyze and use Pasifika home language data and family/cultural funds of knowledge.	The hull/va'a of the va'atele as the foundation of the vessel – The uniqueness of the canoe is specific to the hulls and the knowledge of the builder to craft it according to the conditions in which it will travel.
Expectations of Pasifika learners	(2a) Teachers set high, informed expectations for student learning which build on Pasifika learners' aspirations and values. (2b) Teachers build effective teacher-student relationships that focus on learning and build Pasifika learner agency.	The mast/tila that connects the hulls/va'a with the sail/la, enabling it to withstand the strength of the wind and to act as a solid base from which to furl the sail.
Knowledge of Pasifika bilingualism, second language acquisition, and literacy learning	(3a) Teachers know about Pasifika bilingualism, second language acquisition, and literacy learning. (3b) Teachers use evidence from student data and from practice to design learning sequences, and monitor progress in relation to Pasifika learners' language and literacy needs.	The sail/la that enables the va'a to catch the wind – Combining the strength of the hulls/va'a and mast/tila, with the height of the sail, and the power of the wind to enable greater speed and success toward the journey's end.
Use of instructional strategies including Pasifika languages as resources for learning	(4a) Teachers explicitly teach English language and vocabulary by building on Pasifika home languages and oral practices. (4b) Teachers explicitly teach strategies for written language, including the use of Pasifika literacy practices.	The paddles/foe that are used by the paddlers to advance the va'a when there is no wind, and that use the water to generate the motion through which the va'a sails.
Supporting Pasifika connections with text, world, language, and literacy knowledge	(5a) Teachers support Pasifika learners to make meaningful connections with Pasifika cultures, experiences, languages, literacies, texts, and worldviews. (5b) Teachers provide opportunities for Pasifika learners to transfer knowledge, languages, and literacies from one context to another.	The platform/fata that connects the two hulls so that they sail as one vessel, enabling the progress made with one hull to benefit the other hull.

(continued)

Table 2 (continued)

Dimension	Indicators	Representative part of the va'atele
Partnerships with Pasifika families/aiga and community knowledge holders	(6a) Teachers collaborate with Pasifika families/aiga in identifying student learning needs and valued outcomes. (6b) Teachers build reciprocal relationships with Pasifika families/aiga and community experts to utilize their knowledge at school.	The keel/ta'ele running from stern to bow, which helps the va'a maintain its stability and straight movement despite the conditions – Keeping the va'a “grounded” and secure.

Pasifika learners' passage or journey through the schooling system as bilingual/bicultural people. Ideally, Pasifika learners would be in school settings that support the development of their bilingualism, biliteracy, and biculturalism, enabling success not only in the world of school, but also in the world of home and community. Pasifika families want their children to be successful at school while also maintaining strong identities that are grounded in the language and culture of the home. As explained in the introduction, one hull may be seen to represent the language, literacy, culture, and worldview of home, while the second hull is representative of the language, literacy, culture, and worldview of school. The platform/fata built over the two hulls is a bridge that helps to hold the whole *Va'atele* together, thus enabling the hulls/va'a to move through the water as one vessel, while also providing the stability needed to sail through any storm.

For Pasifika learners at school in Aotearoa New Zealand or throughout the Pacific, enacting the metaphorical double-hulled canoe (or linguistically and culturally responsive environment that privileges bilingual and biliterate goals over monolingual ones) is more likely to elicit effective outcomes than the single-hull metaphor – whether the single-hull be “English only” language, literacy and cultural knowledge, or a single-hulled Pasifika-only language, literacy, and cultural knowledge. In order for Pasifika learners to be successful in these two worlds, they need to strengthen and build capacity and capability in both.

The hulls/va'a of the *va'atele* were of equal size and were sufficiently stable to enable sailors to transfer supplies and people from one side of the *va'a* to the other. This reflects the role that schools, leaders, and teachers play in supporting their Pasifika students to connect with, utilise, build on, and transfer the existing “knowledges,” languages, and literacies of their families from home to school, with their role being foundational to the successful connections made between these two domains. The connecting platform/fata enables the stability, continuity, and progress of the whole vessel, with each hull/va'a supporting the other, and the vessel in its entirety. Similarly, leaders and teachers who are expert at supporting students to make connections between home and school knowledge, ensure that both languages and literacies develop and flourish, with the language and knowledge of home utilized to develop the language and knowledge of school which, in turn, is employed to further enhance the language and knowledge of home.

Conclusion

The demise of the Polynesian double-hulled deep-sea canoe, along with the decline of the knowledge and practice of navigation methods, occurred after the colonization of the Pacific by Europeans: “Canoes were replaced with European ships and some colonial governments introduced regulations restricting free movement between different administrative territories. The decline was so dramatic that theorists about canoe voyaging began to deny that Pacific journeys were possible” (Taonui 2012, p. 5). In more recent years, and partly to test such theories, replica canoes were built and sailed, with the Polynesian Voyaging Society of Hawai'i building the *Hōkūle'a* and completing a voyage to Tahiti in 1980. In 1999 and 2000, the *Hōkūle'a* sailed from Hawai'i to Easter Island and back, one of the longest and most difficult pathways sailed by Polynesian ancestors.

The demise and renaissance of the Polynesian double-hulled deep-sea canoe may also be likened to the demise of Pasifika languages and traditional knowledge throughout the Pacific and in particular in New Zealand, where Pacific migrant families have been encouraged since the 1950s to speak English to their children, and to clothe themselves with the accoutrements of the dominant culture, in order to be seen to be successful in their migrant home. Since 2012, however, the New Zealand Ministry of Education has acknowledged the need for teachers to be able to recognize and utilize the funds of knowledge and linguistic capital of Maori and Pasifika learners as a platform to scaffold learning in English-medium schools. Generally most English-medium schools do not have bilingual or biliteracy goals and, predominantly, tend to be English only language domains. In English-medium classrooms where teachers do endeavor to create opportunities for Pasifika learners to connect with and utilize their languages, literacies, and cultural resources, their profile might be more likened to the Samoan *'ali'a* (a later design than the *va'atele*, with one larger and one smaller hull). In English-only classrooms where Pasifika learners are given no opportunity to connect with or utilize their linguistic or cultural capital, their profile would more closely resemble a *paopao* (or single-hulled canoe, used for short trips only), lacking the stability, speed, capacity, and capability of the *va'atele*. Similar parallels can be drawn with Pasifika learners who no longer speak their languages, who are alienated from their island cultures, and no longer feel “at home” either in their Pasifika heritage, or in the “Palagi/European” heritage of the school. With the Ministry's acknowledgment that many schools still need to learn how to better connect with the worlds of their Pasifika learners, the following statement was published in the March 2012 Education Gazette, in relation to professional learning and development (PLD) provision:

All PLD providers must recognise and reinforce the central role that identity, language and culture play in learning. Research shows that this is an essential platform for lifting achievement for all learners, especially Maori, Pasifika, learners with special education needs and learners from low socio-economic backgrounds.

There is little evidence to date that PLD provision across the nation has had a focus or impact in this area, with doubts about whether PLD providers have the

capability themselves, specific to bilingual and biliteracy development for Pasifika learners. For the PLD providers that do have Pasifika facilitators, it is possible that the latter lack knowledge about the processes of second language acquisition and bilingualism (although they could well be bilingual themselves) or, alternatively, they are not in sufficient positions of power to drive systemic change in their respective provider teams, before endeavoring to change the beliefs and practices of leaders and teachers in schools. The 2013 Education Review Office (2013) report on accelerating the progress of priority learners in schools states that:

While different ethnicities were recognised, little was done to show that their identity, language and culture was valued and responded to. As schools develop their curriculum they should take into account the cultures, language, interests and potential of all their students. Maori and Pacific students below the standards were often subsumed into the more general group of under-achieving students, with no recognition of their particular identity, and no implementation of strategies likely to build on their cultural capital and promote success.

This chapter began by providing an overview of the educational landscape for Pasifika learners in Aotearoa, New Zealand, followed by an explanation of the Va'atele Framework and vignettes that illustrate two dimensions, as one suggested way to reframe Pasifika success in English medium education. The case studies illustrate three principles in relation to Pasifika learners' success at school. Through the development of inquiry-focused, collaborative, and success-oriented relationships, the following are possible:

1. Pasifika learners can be highly successful at school. Their utilization of language and literacy as interactive tools in meeting the demands of the curriculum is fundamental to that success.
2. Teachers can teach Pasifika learners effectively, and in particular ways that connect with and build on their specific languages, cultures, and identities, to meet the demands of the curriculum.
3. School leaders and PLD facilitators can support teachers in adaptive ways that enable them to improve their practice, and to utilize teaching and learning approaches that facilitate Pasifika learners' success at school.

Future Directions

Successfully enacting each of these dimensions and their indicators in the classroom with Pasifika learners was not solely the province of Pasifika teachers. These indicators were enacted in classrooms to varying degrees by the teachers involved in the research studies, with only two of the fifteen teachers being of Pasifika ethnicity (Samoan). The findings of this research illustrate that any teacher, regardless of ethnicity can improve their practice in creating opportunities for Pasifika learners to make the timely, meaningful connections that build on their languages, cultures, and identities in order to master the linguistic and cognitive demands of

school. Further research into the systemic structures and effective classroom practices that enable English-medium teachers to work in linguistically and culturally responsive ways to enable their Pasifika and (and other) linguistically diverse learners to utilize their bilingual and bicultural resources at school is urgently needed.

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The Age of Reconciliation: Transforming Postsecondary Education

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Sheila Cote-Meek

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Abstract

The recent release of the Truth and Reconciliation's (TRC) Call to Actions in Canada has caused many postsecondary institutions to re-examine how they are providing educational services to Indigenous students. However, it is important to recognize that Indigenous peoples have been advocating for changes to the education systems for many decades. Drawing on personal and professional experience, the author focuses on transformative strategies that have been utilized to bring about a positive movement of change to support Indigenous learners at one postsecondary institution in the province of Ontario. It aims to capture the

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notion that the work being accomplished today is rooted in the past and the present and recognizes the challenges and complexities of bringing about a sustained change.

Keywords

Indigenous education · Reconciliation · Transformative change · Organizational change

Introduction

What the Commission's Report tells us is that Canada is indeed in need of transformation, but that transformation is not of us. What is needed is for Canada to transform itself to embrace our true, share culture and history – to understand that we are all, in fact, in this together. (Fontaine 2015, p. viii)

With the recent release of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's (TRC) Calls to Action (2015), more Canadians are now more aware of the devastating impact that the Indian Residential Schools had on the children who attended those schools. However, I am not so certain that the general Canadian population fully grasps the underlying colonial ideology upon which the residential schools were constructed and how colonial ideology still remains persistent in mainstream educational institutions today. The positive aspect is that there seems to be more attention paid to how various institutions can respond to the TRC's Calls to Action, including postsecondary institutions who are re-examining how they are providing educational services to Indigenous students. However, it is important to recognize that Indigenous peoples have always been concerned about the education of their people (Moeke-Pickering and Cote-Meek 2015). In fact, Indigenous educators, leaders, and communities in Canada as well as internationally have been advocating and pressing for an overhaul of the education system as it affects Indigenous students for decades (AFN 1988; RCAP 1996).

Drawing on personal and professional experience, this chapter focuses on describing transformative strategies that have been utilized to bring about a positive movement of change to support Indigenous learners at one postsecondary institution in the province of Ontario, which is located in central Canada. It aims to capture the notion that the work being accomplished today is rooted in the past and the present and recognizes the challenges and complexities of bringing about a sustained change. This case example is shared in the hope that it may be useful for other postsecondary institutions aspiring to respond to the TRC Calls to Action (2015).

Terminology

Before setting the context, it is important to clarify terminology used in this chapter. The *United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues* utilize the following to describe Indigenous peoples:

there are more than 370 million indigenous peoples spread across 70 countries worldwide. Practicing unique traditions, they retain social, cultural, economic and political characteristics that are distinct from those of the dominant societies in which they live. . . [Indigenous peoples are the] descendants – according to a common definition – of those who inhabited a country or a geographical region at the time when people of different cultures or ethnic origins arrived. The new arrivals became dominant through conquest, occupation, settlement or other means. (Secretariat of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues 2009, n.p.)

While not an explicit definition, the above provides a context for understanding who Indigenous peoples are. In Canada, the term Aboriginal peoples is used to describe First Peoples of Canada that includes First Nations, Métis, and Inuit. For the purposes of this paper, I use the term Indigenous to refer to First Peoples of Canada. This is not done to homogenize Indigenous peoples in Canada as there is much diversity in language, culture, tradition, and history. For example, there are 634 First Nations across Canada and over 50 different Nation and language groupings (AFN 2016). Despite these differences Indigenous peoples in Canada do share some common experiences with colonization and it is in this context that I use the term when referring to First Nation, Métis, and Inuit peoples. From time to time, I also refer to specific nations of people such as Anishinabek when it is appropriate to do so or when the literature uses other terminology to describe specific nations of Aboriginal peoples.

National Context

In order to situate the context of the current changes to postsecondary education as it relates to Indigenous peoples in Canada, it is imperative to lay out some of the important historical moments that have got us to where we are today. This section provides a broad overview of some key elements that have affected Indigenous education in Canada and more specifically the university system.

Residential Schools

Any discussion on the education of Indigenous peoples in Canada must include some understanding of the residential school system and the impact these schools has had. Residential schools were one of the central elements that the Canadian government put in place as a means to assimilate Indigenous peoples. Residential schools were one of the primary tools of colonialism and are now understood as one of the more known forms of violence perpetrated by white settler society on Aboriginal peoples. The impact that forced residential schooling has had on individuals who attended these schools, the resultant impact on Indigenous communities, and the generations following has been of grave concern for Indigenous peoples since their inception.

Briefly, residential schools operated for over 150 years. The first of these schools opened in 1834, the Mohawk of Institute in Brantford, Ontario (TRC 2016). One hundred and thirty-nine residential schools were established across Canada, all serving the central goal of assimilating Indigenous children. Children attending

these schools were not only separated from their families and communities for significantly long periods they were also subjected physical, psychological, and sexual abuse, which are now well documented (AFN 1994; Chrisjohn and Young 1997; Miller 1996; Milloy 1999). The impact of these experiences on the lives of the children who attended the schools as well as the generations that followed has resulted in longstanding and ongoing disparities in education, income, and health that have relegated Indigenous peoples to positions of inferiority in Canadian society. The impact has also resulted in the systemic marginalization and discrimination of Indigenous peoples from many aspects of Canadian life.

In the late 1960s, Indigenous peoples in Canada began a concerted effort to resist ongoing colonial and imperial imposition. This period of time was identified by the strong advocacy to bring about changes to the education of Indigenous peoples and was in direct response to the concerns about residential schooling and increasing pressure from the federal government on Indigenous peoples to assimilate and integrate into the fabric of Canada. In 1969, the federal governments' White Paper was introduced as a federal policy that aimed at full integration of Indigenous peoples and would essentially lead to extinguishing the collective rights of Indigenous peoples (RCAP 1996). In response, the National Indian Brotherhood (NIB), now named the Assembly of First Nations, launched a policy document *Indian Control of Indian Education* (NIB 1972). This policy was seminal in that it not only set the direction for Indigenous education but also reaffirmed Indigenous peoples' right to direct their education. Cote-Meek (2014) notes that this precipitated a new era for Indigenous peoples as they began making explicit efforts to regain control over their education and resist any further attempts at assimilation. The years that followed were marked by a heavy emphasis on the preservation of Indigenous languages, cultures, and traditions (Abele et al. 2000; NIB 1972). It was during this era that survival schools were established across the country (Barman et al. 1987). Postsecondary institutions were also affected by these changes, and in the early 1970s, the first Indigenous Studies departments were established in Canada, one at Trent University and the second at the University of Sudbury.

Apologies, Truth, and Reconciliation

In 2005 the Assembly of First Nations launched a class-action lawsuit against the federal government over the residential schools. This resulted in the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement (IRSSA) that came into effect 2007, followed by the apology for the residential school system from the then Prime Minister Stephen Harper. It is important to note that the first in a series of residential school apologies actually came much earlier. The United Church, in 1986, apologized for their role in the colonization of Aboriginal peoples followed by the Missionaries of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate apology in 1991, the Anglican Church apology in 1993, the Presbyterian Church apology in 1995, and the United Church again in 1998 specifically for their role in the residential school system (TRC 2016). Further, the first formal apology from the Government of Canada actually came on

January 7, 1998, by the Honorable Jane Stewart, who was the then Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs (Government of Canada 1998).

Along with providing compensation to former students, the IRSSA called for the establishment of The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada that included a budget of \$60 million over 5 years. The three commissioners, led by Justice Murray Sinclair, heard more than 6,750 survivor and witness statements from across Canada. On June 2, 2015, The TRC released 94 Calls to Action with the final report being released in December of the same year. The report itself documents and informs Canadians about the 150-year history of the residential schools through the voices of those who lived it (TRC 2015). The report titled *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling the Future* represents the testimony of more than 6,000 Indigenous people who suffered abuses in residential schools in Canada. The work of the commission has been pivotal in setting the national stage for change as several of the Calls to Action relate specifically to education.

There is no doubt that as far as Indigenous peoples are concerned systemic changes to the postsecondary educational are long overdue. In Canada, we are now witnessing waves of activity as institutions begin to respond to the TRCs Calls to Action. However, it is important to understand that larger transformative change has been occurring for some time now. As Moeke-Pickering and Cote-Meek (2015) state, “Generations of Indigenous leaders have accepted increased responsibility for transforming the educational landscape both in tertiary and academic institutes” (p. 2). Consistent with the push for self-determination and control, there has been what Graham Smith (2000) called a revolution occurring.

Canadian University Education Today

Despite the fact that Indigenous peoples in Canada have put forth a sustained and concerted effort for over 50 years to bring about changes to the educational system, Indigenous leaders, teachers, and community members feel that changes have been slow (Cote-Meek 2014). It is only more recently that serious attention to schooling including postsecondary education has received high profile attention, largely influenced by the 94 Calls to Action put forward by the TRC (2015). In the past 2 years, a momentum for change has been sweeping across Canada. Since the 94 Calls to Action were released, there have been responses across Canada from several universities on going forward. Further, Universities Canada (2015), an association with members from 97 universities from across Canada, has identified *Advancement of Indigenous education* as one of four priorities that they are currently committed to.

In addition, there have been a growing number of gatherings of postsecondary educators as many universities and colleges in various provinces have made public announcements of responding to the TRC Calls to Action. For example, the 2nd Annual Building Reconciliation Forum: Universities Responding to the TRCs Calls to Action was recently held in September 2016 at the University of Alberta. Laurentian University hosted Maamwizing Indigeneity in the Academy Conference in November 2016. This conference was designed to bring academics and community

members together to discuss important issues around three themes: Diversity in Universities – Equity in Hiring, Tenure, Promotion and Leadership; Ways of Knowing – The Place of Indigenous Knowledges in University curriculum; and Decolonizing Universities – New pedagogies, resistance, and reconciliation (Maamwizing 2016). These gatherings are extremely important in assisting with bringing about a systemic change as they provide platforms to discuss, dialogue, exchange critical information, and build strong linkages with Indigenous peoples and communities.

In a review of education and Aboriginal peoples in Canada, Cote-Meek (2014) identified three persistent themes that were important to understanding the current context of what Aboriginal peoples are confronted with when entering post-secondary educational systems. The first theme centered on the challenges with dealing the ongoing history of colonialism that is evident through persistent marginalization and racism. The second theme centered around understanding that the current structures of postsecondary institutions are colonial and this impacts how and what is included in the curriculum as well as who is privileged to teach the curricula. Third, despite the challenges that do exist with the educational system, education has always remained extremely important to Aboriginal peoples. In order to bring about a sustained transformative change, these three themes need to be addressed.

Without a solid understanding of the historical and ongoing challenges of colonialism within the educational system, any change will merely scratch the surface and more than likely be unsuccessful in the long term. Bringing this understanding to the forefront of postsecondary leaders has been no easy task. Most Indigenous educators can describe how challenging it has been to educate a whole system about the implications of ongoing imperial and colonial imposition on Indigenous peoples. It has been far easier to put the onus on Indigenous students as being underprepared or on focusing on the dysfunctionality of communities. While it is fact that many Indigenous lack adequate preparation to enter postsecondary education, the gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous student success does not rest solely on Indigenous peoples themselves. There are systemic barriers that perpetuate this state.

As Justice Murray Sinclair has said on a number of occasions, “Education is what got us into this mess – the use of education at least in terms of residential schools – but education is the key to reconciliation” (Watters 2015, n.p.)

Transformative Changes in Education for Indigenous Peoples in Ontario

Transformative Change

Postsecondary institutions need to recognize that they are very much colonial structures. In fact, universities have not always been as open as they are today in terms of diversity and accessibility. Traditionally universities were largely elite institutions that provided higher education for a few. Mihesuah and Wilson (2004) note the problematic nature of the academy’s role in the ongoing colonization of

Indigenous peoples through maintaining control over access to knowledge as well as its production. Bringing about any sustained change therefore must also attend to this. Related to this is the imperative to understand that for Indigenous peoples, educational institutions have historically been placed where they are acutely aware of the challenges in negotiating their identity and place in the academy, both as professor and student (Cote-Meek 2014).

Watson and Watson (2013) note the role of higher education has been shifting from primarily traditional ivory tower models to institutions that espouse more universal goals that are more accessible and open to the entire population. This shift has created more institutions finding themselves responding to the diverse needs of peoples. Most universities now have diversity and equity statements as part of their missions.

However, several things must line up to bring about a systemic change to a system that has been embedded in the production of knowledge where access is limited to a small group of elite. Indigenous education leader Graham Smith (2000) describes transformative changes to Maori education since the early 1980s as being dramatic, innovative, and were the response “to the dual crisis of educational underachievement . . . and loss of language, knowledge and culture” (p. 57). Here it is important to note that transformative change can be in response to a crisis but that it is systemic. Smith (2000) further notes that the issue of underachievement of Maori in schools cannot solely be blamed simply as a Maori problem and that there are larger structural impediments that must be addressed. He notes, “Pakeha [non-Maori, many European New Zealanders] power and control can be exerted through selective decision-making, hegemonic influence, economic control and manipulation of resource allocation, exercising social and cultural preferences. . . all of which are conducted in a societal context of unequal power relations” (p. 62). Issues of power and control are also acutely linked to the larger Indigenous struggles for self-determination, which is similar to the state of education for Indigenous peoples in Canada. Both Smith (2000) and Grande (2008) similarly contend that education is at once political in that it should promote self-determination/decolonization, collective agency, culturally preferred pedagogy/Indigenous knowledge and articulate with Maori/Indigenous political, social, cultural, economic, and intellectual aspirations. Both assert that critical analysis of colonial structures and processes is critical to transformative change in education.

For the purposes of the next section of this chapter, I draw on the concepts of the Medicine Wheel to facilitate understanding of how systemic transformative change can and must be viewed within a holistic framework. The Medicine Wheel, also referred to as the Sacred Circle, has been described as a concept that “is one of singular unity that is dynamic and encompassing, including all that is contained in its most essential aspect, that of life” (Gunn Allen 1992, p. 56). There are tribal variations in how the Medicine Wheel is depicted but the central teachings of the circle include holism, balance, connectedness and relationships, and harmony (Hart 1996, 2002). Essentially these teachings are foundational for living one’s life within the circle of family, community, and society. Symbolized through the circle/Medicine Wheel, these teachings have been previously utilized to organize and frame curriculum (Graveline 1998), addiction recovery and delivery of services for

Aboriginal peoples (Nabigon 2006), healing (Hart 2002), opening and closing a research process (Moeke-Pickering 2010), and research (Baker 2016; Lavalleé 2008). Similarly I draw on these teachings to discuss transformative change.

Based on what I have learned over the years from my own Anishinaabe culture passed down to me from my mother, family, community, and Elders, each of the four quadrants or directions of the Medicine Wheel is symbolized by the four colors: yellow, red, black or blue, and white. Each of these has a series of teachings that relates to each of the directions. For example, there are four aspects to the individual: the physical, the emotional, the emotional, and the spiritual. Each of the four is represented on the circle and each aspect is considered integral to maintaining balance. The Medicine Wheel also frames understandings at the individual, family, community, and societal levels. In the section that follows I draw on the Medicine Wheel teachings of vision, relationships, reflection, and action to present a case example of how one Canadian University has been enacting transformative strategies in order to ensure it remains responsive to the Indigenous communities it serves. The purpose of utilizing the Medicine Wheel to frame this case example is to depict the holistic, inclusive, and all encompassing nature that transformative change entails.

Transformative Strategies at One Ontario University

This section provides a case example of how one Canadian University has been enacting transformative strategies in order to ensure it remains responsive to the Indigenous communities it services. These strategies have assisted with bringing about larger systemic changes that are consistent with the broader movement of Indigenizing the academy. I start with a brief description of the context in order to understand the university's history working with Indigenous peoples and communities. Transformative strategies are then discussed under the four directions of the Medicine Wheel utilizing the teachings of Vision, Relationships, Respect, and Movement. I start in the eastern direction of the Medicine Wheel with the teaching on Vision. However, it is important to highlight that the teachings of the Medicine Wheel also tell us that all things are in perpetual motion and while I describe the elements needed to bring about a transformative change starting with Vision located in the eastern direction and then move in a clockwise pattern to Relationships in the south, Respect in the west, and Movement in north, it is important to understand that the change is never linear and transformative change requires a number of things to happen simultaneously. The teachings of the Medicine Wheel also support that one can enter the circle at any point.

Context

Laurentian University is located in northeastern Ontario on the traditional territorial lands of the Atikemesheng Anishinaabek. The university has been in existence since 1960 and is considered a small to mid-size university with approximately 10,000 students. In the 2012–2017 strategic plan of the university, it identifies itself

as an institution delivering postsecondary university education in both English and French as well as with a comprehensive approach to Indigenous education (LU Strat Plan 2012–2017). Typically referred to as a bilingual and tricultural institution, Indigenous students represent about 10% of the total student population, which is also one of the largest Indigenous student population enrolled in an Ontario University. The university has a longstanding Indigenous Studies department that is located in one of its federated partners, the University of Sudbury, and also has a School of Indigenous Relations, which is home to the university's signature Indigenous Social Work program and the Master of Indigenous Relations program (Laurentian University 2016a).

East: Vision

Systemic change cannot happen without a clear sense of vision. Vision cannot be built in a vacuum nor can any sustained change. At Laurentian University, the vision for Indigenous education came from Indigenous peoples and allies, both internal and external. Active and meaningful Indigenous community engagement and participation has always been at the heart of initiatives at the university. Over the years, with the support of various faculties, staff, and senior leadership, the presence of Indigenous peoples on campus has grown to what it is today.

In the early 1970s, changes were largely focused on carving out academic spaces for Indigenous thought, history, and worldview in the emerging discipline of Indigenous Studies. These early efforts resulted in the establishment of two departments that have remained central to Laurentian University, the department of Indigenous Studies, and the School of Indigenous Relations.

The first departments of Indigenous studies (then called Indian Studies) were created at the University of Sudbury and Trent University in the early 1970s. The University of Sudbury, one of three federated institutes at Laurentian University, established an Inter-department program Amerindian-Eskimo Studies in 1971. This program was replaced with a Native studies program in 1976 and comprised of Cree and Ojibwe language courses and courses on Anishinaabe identity, religion, and culture. The following year, the Department of Native Studies was established and in 2013, the department was renamed the Department of Indigenous Studies. Today, the department offers full range of Indigenous studies courses that aim to promote an understanding of Aboriginal peoples, their traditions, aspirations, and participation in local, national, and international communities (Laurentian University Faculty of Arts 2015).

In addition, Laurentian University is home to one the oldest Indigenous Social Work programs in the country. This program was established in 1985 after an extensive regional consultation with Indigenous communities to determine community need for trained social workers (Alcoze and Mawhiney 1988). The Indigenous Social Work program (then Native Human Services) set up an Indigenous advisory circle to provide ongoing advice and direction to the program. These two departments built and sustained lasting relationships with regional Indigenous communities that have been maintained to this day.

In 1991, the provincial government of Ontario established the Aboriginal Education and Training Strategy to assist with addressing issues in postsecondary education with respect to Indigenous peoples. This initiative became a catalyst for

the development of programs and services across a number of institutions (Hill n.d.). Part of this strategy also called for institutions to established Indigenous advisory councils to oversee and provide direction on institutional Indigenous initiatives. As a result in 1991, the Laurentian University Native Education Council (LUNEC) was established and comprised of representatives from regional Indigenous communities, Indigenous staff and faculty, as well as institutional representation (Laurentian University 2016b). The mandate of LUNEC was, and continues to this day, to facilitate Indigenous self-determination by providing direction to the university on all matters relating to Indigenous education at the institution (Laurentian University 2016b). This advisory council remains very active. The council continues to set the vision for Indigenous education at the university, provides advice and direction to the university, and develops regular strategic plans that are focused on Indigenous community needs. Through the council, the leadership at the university has created a venue for Indigenous community engagement and meaningful participation.

After working with LUNEC broadly as an Indigenous faculty member since 1993 and more closely as the senior administrative lead on Indigenous education since 2006, it is my observation that this council takes its role seriously, recognizes the importance of their role in mobilizing the institution, and has always had at the forefront of its work, Indigenous students, and communities. LUNEC and Indigenous faculty and staff in the institution also recognize the importance of allies and have over the years built many strong lasting relationships with various senior administrators, faculty, and staff across the university. For example, the council now includes membership from the Board of Governors and Senate of the institution.

The latest strategic plan of LUNEC, *Niigaan Ninaabin, Looking forward to the future, 2013–2018*, outlined six strategic directions to support the broader LUNEC vision of self-determination of Indigenous peoples (Niigaan Ninaabin 2013). The plan is depicted through the Anishinaabe symbolism of the sacred circle, also referred to as the Medicine Wheel. The Medicine Wheel is a sacred symbol utilized by many Indigenous peoples to express a way of understanding the world around us. Therefore, the strategic plan developed by LUNEC is considered holistic in its directives. This plan was intentional and had measurable objectives that were to be implemented over a period of time.

As with any change, it is important to choose a starting point that makes the most sense to the both the context of the institution and takes into consideration the external environment. Watson and Watson (2013) point out that it is important to choose a starting point that will “make the greatest impact and build the most momentum to promote and sustain system-wide change” (p. 44). LUNEC chose to advocate for an Indigenous Sharing and Learning Centre, which became the first priority in their plan. As a result, any measure of success was based on the progress towards meeting this goal.

LUNEC also worked to ensure that their plan was aligned with the university’s overall strategic plan by ensuring that the Chair and at least one other Indigenous representative was a member of the university wide strategic planning committee. In 2012 the university adopted the Laurentian University Strategic Plan 2012–2017 that would have a historic six specific strategic directions relating to advancing Indigenous

education at the institution including increasing Indigenous student enrolment, creating effective signage reflecting the local Indigenous language, launching a new Indigenous Relations program, creating a dedicated physical space to support Indigenous students, increasing the proportional Indigenous faculty and staff, and increasing Indigenous content across disciplines (LU Strat Plan 2012–2017). The university strategic plan was also supported by an academic plan that also had specific actionable objectives relating to Indigenous education. The alignment of the Laurentian University Strategic plan, the Academic Plan, and LUNEC's strategic plan laid a solid foundation for bringing about institutional change.

South: Relationships

The early relationships with regional Indigenous communities were extremely important to building longer-term mutual trust and respect. For example, Alcoze and Mawhiney (1988) documented an extensive consultative process with regional Indigenous communities that pointed to the importance of listening and valuing community input. This was essential to building a program that would be different from the mainstream social work program that existed. Similarly, Moeke-Pickering and Cote-Meek (2015) note these relationships have sustained themselves over time and are now evident in the relationship that the university has with the Laurentian University Native Education Council (LUNEC). LUNEC is a presidential advisory council that was established 25 years ago which is currently comprised of regional and local First Nations and political territory organizations as well as local Aboriginal organizations. In addition, internal university representatives also sit as members of the council. Voting membership, however, rests with the external community and internal Indigenous student representatives. This council remains highly engaged and involved in the universities Indigenous education initiatives.

External community relations are also evident in partnerships that the university has established with various Indigenous community-based educational institutes and other educational partners. A good example of a successful partnership is the delivery of the Bachelor of Indigenous Social Work in two distinct areas of the province. The delivery of the program involved partnerships with two different Indigenous community-based educational institutes that were aimed at delivery of a university program to students who were unable to attend an on-campus program (Moeke-Pickering and Cote-Meek 2015). Lessons learned from the development and delivery of the Indigenous social work program are many. Two lessons of relevance to this chapter include ensuring sustained participation of the Indigenous community over the development and delivery and ensuring engaged faculty within the institute who are committed to advancing Indigenous pedagogy and research that includes attention to the understanding the impact of colonization on individuals and communities (Moeke-Pickering and Cote-Meek 2015).

Internal relationships with allies and senior leaders are also important to bringing about change. Over the years, Indigenous staff, faculty, and administrators have worked to bridge, albeit sometimes challenging, understandings between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. A priority for LUNEC since 2006 has been the establishment of a new physical space, the Indigenous Sharing and Learning Centre. This

space was envisioned as a space that would serve both Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. First, the space is meant to serve as a resource for success for students, second the space will be a place to nurture and advance Indigenous knowledge and scholarship, and finally the space will become a point of contact for information on Indigenous peoples' history, knowledge, and culture (Laurentian University ISLC Pamphlet 2015). LUNEC wanted the space to be highly visible on campus to signify Indigenous people presence, but they also hoped the space would serve to bring people together to learn about Indigenous peoples. After 10 years of fundraising efforts, the new Indigenous Sharing and Learning Centre, a 7500 square foot space, opened in March 2017. Ensuring the establishment of this space required much advocacy and dialogue with key decision makers and the university community. Building positive relationships across the university, within the community, and within the provincial sector cannot be overstated. Without the support of many, this initiative would not have been realized.

In addition to local and regional relations, there are increasingly global pressures that have impacted approaches to education. In this regard, Indigenous peoples through various avenues have created strong international linkages that have had an enormous impact on moving their fight for a rightful place in universities forward. These provide important avenues to build strength, collaborate on common issues, and create better and more meaningful places for Indigenous peoples within mainstream educational institutions.

After being involved in advocacy work for over 25 years, first as an individual faculty member and in the last 11 years as a senior university administrator, it is good to see the movement across Canada with respect to responding to the educational aspirations of Indigenous students, peoples, and community. This momentum and the relations require ongoing nurturing in order to be sustained.

West: Building Respect

Central to building relationships is building trust and respect. This is no easy task when we consider that the universities are built on a tradition of hierarchy. Elsewhere I have described in detail how racism remains deeply embedded in universities and have explained how Indigenous students and professors negotiate these challenges as well as their Indigeneity in academy (Cote-Meek 2014). Part of building trust and respect has meant that Indigenous peoples themselves along with allies have had to reach across the university to dispel myths and stereotypes about Indigenous Peoples. Watson and Watson (2013) note that, "Ultimately, for leaders to realize transformative change successfully across the entire system, mindset change is necessary to implement key paradigm shifts" (p. 44). The work at changing mindset takes much time and effort. Some of the efforts in the senior administrative Indigenous programs office, Indigenous student affairs, the School of Indigenous Relations, and Indigenous Studies departments have included implementation of several Indigenous speaker series, workshops, language classes, and events that are made available to the entire university community. These events are important in building and nurturing understanding of Indigenous Peoples and building respect across peoples. These events also target changing the narrative about Indigenous peoples and work towards dispelling existing racialized beliefs about Indigenous peoples.

In addition, the university itself, in its last strategic plan, identified several strategic initiatives to increase understanding.

Several key positions and departments were established over the years to assist with building understanding, respect, and moving the needs of Indigenous communities forward within the institution. These include the leadership positions of the Chair of Indigenous Studies, Director of the School of Indigenous Relations, Manager of Indigenous Student Affairs (now Director of the Indigenous Sharing and Learning Centre), and the Associate Vice-President Academic and Indigenous Programs. Each of these positions was established at various points in time and has assisted with building a cadre of understanding among non-Indigenous faculty, staff, and students. These leadership positions have also been instrumental in building a sense of community within the institution itself, which was vital to Indigenous employees whether they are staff or faculty. Both Indigenous staff and faculty can feel isolated working in a department where they may be the only Indigenous person. Having opportunities to gather as an Indigenous community is viewed as important in building community internally. As a result Indigenous faculty now have regular meetings to gather and discuss issues related to their academic work.

Further to building respect, many Indigenous faculty and staff sit on a number of institutional committees to ensure an Indigenous voice is heard. This was not always easy when the number of Indigenous faculty and staff was much smaller than it is today. Building a critical mass of Indigenous peoples on campus is further discussed under “[North: Movement](#)” section of this chapter.

Building respect has also included raising awareness at the university about the traditional lands upon which the university is situated. As a result, Laurentian University as well as most universities across Canada now acknowledge Indigenous peoples as the traditional territorial caretakers of the land. This acknowledgment seems a rather a simple act. However, it was not too long ago that this acknowledgment did not occur, nor could people envision its importance. Today this has become an important and critical starting point in any major event in most universities across Canada as well as at Laurentian University. Starting presentations or public addresses with this announcement not only acknowledges that Indigenous peoples have existed on the lands prior to colonization but it also validates the continued existence of Indigenous peoples. In my view, acknowledgment counters the racialized belief of the “dying Indian” (LaRocque 2004). Discussing land acknowledgment and the introduction of signage Blight and King (2016) note that these “efforts contribute to reinserting Indigenous peoples into a landscape historically intent on their erasure” (n.p.). They go on to also point out that there are risks in these acts becoming superficial. For example, Blight and King (2016) state that using the word traditional often denotes a postpresence rather than an existing presence and they recommend dropping the word traditional and simply stating “just territory” (n.p.).

North: Movement

Movement in its broadest sense refers to taking action. In transformative change, these can be a series of identifiable strategic moves that will assist with bringing about system wide changes. Increasing the number of Indigenous peoples at the university has been an identifiable move that has been critical to change. Without a

critical mass of Indigenous students, staff, and faculty, it would be difficult to institute sustainable change. This section highlights two specific actions taken to bring about change: one was to increasing the numbers of Indigenous peoples at the university and the second centers around making changes to the curriculum.

Increasing Critical Mass of Indigenous Students, Staff, and Faculty

Since the early 1990s there has been a concerted effort on campus to provide academic, social, and cultural supports to Indigenous students through the Indigenous Student Affairs office (formerly Aboriginal student affairs). The early beginnings of the support services were largely centered on supportive counseling and cultural supports. Over the space of 25 years, the Indigenous Student Affairs has grown to include seven staff and four Elders who provide a wide range of supports that include academic writing and research, academic advising, academic preparation and transitioning, personal, academic and career counseling, scholarship and bursary information, mentorship program, recruitment and retention initiatives, community liaison and outreach to Indigenous communities, and a traditional resource program that includes visiting Elders on campus. The number of Indigenous students has grown from approximately 200–300 from the mid-1990s to nearly 1,100 in 2017, which represents approximately 11% of the general student body.

In 2006 the university created the new position of Director of Academic Native Affairs to lead the Indigenous academic portfolio. This position was responsible for leading the development of the Indigenous Sharing and Learning Centre and enhancing the academic sector's response to Indigenous student needs. The position evolved over time and changed to an Associate Vice-President Indigenous Programs in 2009 and then to the Associate Vice-President, Academic and Indigenous Programs in 2011. Each iteration of the position broadened the scope of the position, and now the position includes responsibility for university wide academic initiatives with respect to Indigenous programming and is the academic administrative lead for faculty relations. This position has been instrumental in maintaining strong links with LUNEC and the Indigenous community and providing senior leadership for the Indigenous portfolio at the university.

In the 2012–2013 academic year, Laurentian University began a process of increasing the number of Indigenous scholars across a range of disciplines. Several key factors led to the hiring of an additional 13 Indigenous faculty across a range of disciplines including anthropology, architecture, English, geography, history, labor studies, rural and northern health, and sociology. As noted earlier, the 2012–2017 University strategic plan as well as the University academic plan set a specific goal to increase the number of Indigenous faculty. In addition, the faculty collective agreement had language that dealt specifically with putting in place a grow your own program to increase the number of Indigenous scholars. Critical to increasing the number of Indigenous scholars was a climate that supported the need. For the School of Architecture, this was done through the early consultation with LUNEC during its development. LUNEC appointed its Associate Vice-President, Academic and

Indigenous programs to sit on the advisory committee that was leading the development of the school to ensure that there would be a strong Indigenous perspective. When the School opened, the new Director took the lead and ensured that Indigenous scholars were subsequently hired. In addition the Dean of the Faculty of Arts also took a lead in working with her faculty to increase Indigenous scholars. As a result there are now 25 Indigenous faculty, 2 of whom are senior administrators, in fulltime tenure track positions across a variety of disciplines. Indigenous faculty include those of our federated partner as well as the Northern Ontario School of Medicine east campus. Further one of these positions is a recent Canada Research Chair (CRC) in Indigenous Health, the first Indigenous faculty at Laurentian University to fill a CRC. The CRC program is a prestigious initiative established by the Government of Canada to increase research excellence.

Indigenizing the Curriculum

Indigenization of the curriculum has been a highlight of discussion in Canada in the last few years. Last year, the University of Winnipeg and Lakehead University announced mandatory Indigenous courses for all their students (MacDonald 2015). Laurentian University took a slightly different approach and emphasized the importance of hiring Indigenous faculty first. With the number of Indigenous faculty at Laurentian University now at 25, the senate of the university recently passed a motion that would implement a mandatory six credit course with at least 50% Indigenous content as a graduating requirement for students taking the Bachelor of Arts, 3 or 4 year programs. The whole issue of making a mandatory Indigenous course is not without controversy. For example, questions arise about what constitutes Indigenous content, who should be teaching these Indigenous content courses, and how/who will determine what course has 50%. However, the important point is that there is movement in Canada to indigenize curriculum, which has largely been in response to the TRC Calls to Action (2015). Indigenization of the academy is important so that graduates come with a critical lens to understand the history of Indigenous and non-Indigenous relations, the impact of colonization, and can understand, reflect, and think critically in making decisions in the future work or place in society.

Conclusion and Future Directions

Where to from here? While much has been accomplished in terms of transforming the postsecondary landscape at this one institution as well as many others, there is still much work to do ahead. The release of the TRC Calls to Action (2015) and the recent change in government in Canada has created a wave of hope for Indigenous peoples. Many of us who work in postsecondary education recognize that we have an opportunity to continue to propel changes in the system. Looking forward to a future with reconciliation will require a several actions that include but are not limited to the following:

- Sustained and meaningful efforts from both Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples to work towards reconciliation.
- Recognition that addressing racism is everyone's responsibility. The burden of addressing racism and social inequalities must include all sectors of society and not just those who continue to be deeply affected.
- Validation from the general Canadian society, communities, and individuals that extreme harm has been done to Indigenous peoples. Without validation, it will be difficult to move to forgiveness and building relationships that are respectful, equitable, and meaningful.
- Change in behaviors must reflect a deep understanding of the role that Indigenous peoples play in this country.
- Developing partnerships that are meaningful, respectful, and mutually beneficial across sectors.
- People working the fields of education must recognize the important role they play in shaping the citizens of the future.

Postsecondary institutions play a critical role in shaping the next generation. With this role comes responsibility. As leaders in education we have an enormous opportunity to do the right thing, to right wrongs, and build better, more conciliatory relations among the next generation of citizens. Bringing about transformative change is challenging and complex and if we are to continue to effect change and sustain the ground we have gained we must, as Indigenous peoples, continue to demand changes to postsecondary education and policy as it affects Indigenous peoples.

In closing the circle, the Medicine Wheel teachings are a powerful transformative tool that many Indigenous communities have available to understand and live in the world. I leave these key messages from my personal and professional experiences in working in the area of Indigenous education:

- Stay rooted in your own Indigenous values, ways of being and knowing
- Utilize your cultural and traditional understanding of the world to help guide any transformative changes you embark on
- Remember that change is complex, takes time, requires nurturing
- Always keep at the core of your being, your ancestors, and the people

Miigwech, Miigwech, Miigwech!

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Invisible Light: Using Data to See Native Youth and Families in Policy

48

Malia Villegas

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Abstract

In this chapter, Villegas describes a range of efforts by tribes and tribal advocates to improve the appropriate use of data in decision-making and community planning. She discusses approaches such as, mapping existing government data, data disaggregation, and strengths-based evaluation. Critical insights coming from this work include fostering Native-to-Native comparisons, developing community-based indicators, shining a light on system accountability, and establishing an ethics of data development.

Keywords

Tribal data · Indigenous evaluation · Disaggregation

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While American Indians and Alaska Natives are an integral and unique part of US society, *we continue to be invisible* to most other Americans due to an absence of data, accurate media images, and historical and contemporary awareness about Native peoples in schools, healthcare facilities, professions, military service, and daily life. This invisibility is perpetuated by federal and state agencies and policies that leave American Indians and Alaska Natives out of data collection efforts, data reporting and analysis, and/or public media campaigns. American Indians and Alaska Natives may be described as the “Asterisk Nation” because an asterisk, instead of data point, is often used in data displays when reporting racial and ethnic data due to various data collection and reporting issues, such as small sample size, large margins of errors, or other issues related to the validity and statistical significance of data on American Indians and Alaska Natives. To combat this invisibility, tribal nations and other Native organizations are making efforts to develop their own data, establish innovative ways to using data to understand the realities facing their citizens, and create innovative, community-based methods of measurement. In what follows, I describe the roots of invisibility and the efforts to make visible and valuable the strengths of Indigenous youth and families in the United States.

Becoming Invisible

Erasure has always been a key tool of colonization – to do away with the history and lifeways of Indigenous people to justify a new narrative that frames the occupying group as the rightful “owners” of a place. Schooling has been a major lever in that erasure in many places, including what is now called the United States of America (Adams 1995). Designed to destroy the values system and specifically undermine the communal stewardship of land, schooling – through forced integration as Deloria (1988) denotes – has been essential in eliminating the intergenerational relationships of place and kin that formed the foundation of many of our American Indian and Alaska Native communities and cultures (Adams 2008). Here “schooling” refers to a genealogy of education policy characterized by separation (I want to acknowledge Maringi Brown-Sadlier for her work on Motherloss and separation that have informed my thinking about how pervasive policies of separation are in the genealogy of education policy.), division, and disdain for what were and are seen as “dangerous” Indigenous cultures that challenge the American origins of discovery and dominance (Lomawaima and McCarty 2006).

With the rise of the high-stakes testing movement, the use of data in education policy and system decision-making has served as another policy tool that erases the voices, realities, and strengths of American Indian and Alaska Native (AI/AN or Native here) children and families. Sparked by the 1983 *A Nation at Risk* Report in the US and spurred by two subsequent decades of policy emphasizing data-driven decision-making and the measurement of individual student performance, this movement reifies previous efforts to frame Indigenous communities first and later

Indigenous families as incapable of caring for the educational needs of Indigenous children. Now, it is our Indigenous children themselves who are framed as not being able to keep pace with their White and East Asian peers as measured by student proficiency on standardized tests.

Yet, access to quality data and information is an essential element of tribal sovereignty and a core component of the US federal government's ability to honor the trust responsibility to tribal nations. There is a critical need for accurate, meaningful, and timely data collection in Native communities. Tribal leaders need access to quality data in order to make the best decisions for their citizens and advance their policy and planning efforts. However, access to meaningful, quality data continues to be a challenge for American Indian and Alaska Native communities.

Federal agencies are charged with collecting data on American Indian and Alaska Native people, as well as from the general US population, in order to determine budget requests; support and strengthen budget justifications; allocate resources; provide services; conduct strategic planning; and comply with statutory and regulatory reporting processes. And where there are data being collected and reported, discussions of equity are often overtaken by a focus on disparity, which can render invisible essential community strengths and obscure potential solutions. Accurate data collection and community-based planning captures true needs, and thus can drive larger programmatic investments resulting in a cost-effective use of tribal, federal, and private resources. Without quality data, policymakers and community planners cannot set policy goals, monitor implementation, measure impact, or plan for demographic shifts in an effective way. Even when there is an emphasis on addressing diversity or equity through policy, data on American Indian and Alaska Native people are rarely available or included. Our communities are seen as too small to enumerate, too costly to include in national data collection efforts due to the cost of collecting data in rural communities, and too difficult to compel to participate in research efforts. Snipp describes some of the issues with the largest, most comprehensive decennial data collection process in the US:

The US Census Bureau is the single largest and most comprehensive source of information about American Indians and Alaska Natives, as well as Native Hawaiians. This information is collected in conjunction with the decennial census and a very large survey known as the American Community Survey. The Census Bureau embeds categories of indigeneity within its question about racial heritage—the same question used to identify other racial groups in American society. It takes virtually no heed whatsoever of the sovereign political status of American Indians beyond an instruction to ‘print principal or enrolled tribe’ for persons who indicate they are American Indians. Persons who do not report a tribe are tabulated simply as ‘Tribe not reported’, and about 20 per cent of persons reporting to be an American Indian did not report a tribe in 2010. (Liebler and Zacher 2013, p. 43)

The absence of American Indian and Alaska Native peoples in data and policy domains reflects the lack of a national public discourse on the status of our nation's First Peoples.

Flipping the Script

American Indian and Alaska Native youth are often invisible in federal data sets, due in part to the small size of the overall population of Native peoples in the US. However, the extent to which they are represented in data sets reflects our commitment to and ability to understand and address their unique needs. There tend to be four things policymakers at a federal level know about Native youth, if they know anything at all. They know that our young people suffer from high rates of obesity and diabetes, abuse harmful substances at a high rate, dropout out of school, and commit suicide. Native leaders and organizations have and continue to contribute to these narratives in order to draw attention to community needs and generate policy change and resources for our youth. However, Native youth have been advocating for different narratives to emerge that represent them as “more than that” (see the video South Dakota Native youth developed in response to Diane Sawyer’s documentary about the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation www.youtube.com/watch?v=FhribaNXr7A). Organizations like the National Congress of American Indians, the National Indian Education Association, the National Indian Child Welfare Association, the National Indian Health Board, and the Center for Native American Youth are working with Native youth and families to develop narratives based in Indigenous cultures and languages that reflect the strengths and realities facing our peoples. One of these efforts starts with improving access to existing data through calling for data disaggregation with federal and state policymakers.

Where we find fairly good data at a national level, there is an ever-present need to access data at state, county, and tribal levels to develop relevant policy and program supports. Tribal and community planners need better data to harness local resources to areas of greatest need and to hold state and federal governments accountable to meet the needs of our nation’s first peoples.

In addition, the research and data on the importance of Native cultures and languages is taking place at a local, and often isolated, level such that national Indian policy research rarely accounts for or highlights the value of Native cultures and languages. A coordinated and comprehensive approach is needed for measuring and reporting how Native cultures and languages matter, especially in light of the rapidly changing demographics in the US and in Indian Country.

Because policymakers use national datasets (both government and private) to shape billions of dollars in funding allocations and develop policy interventions to serve American Indian and Alaska Native communities, it is vital for federal agencies and private entities to collect adequate data in Native communities. Unfortunately, the data describing Native communities is often insufficient, unreliable or completely absent. The lack of data affects policymaking at federal, tribal, and state levels.

Some of the goals driving current efforts include:

1. Exploring the current universe of existing data on American Indian and Alaska Native people and places to assess data quality and identify strategies to improve existing data for community and policy use

2. Building tribal capacity to collect and use their own data
3. Improving data use

As part of addressing these needs, the following questions are prioritized:

- What data related to American Indians and Alaska Natives are being collected by federal agencies?
- What is the quality of these data and measures (e.g., sample size, age of report)?
- What is the method of data collection (e.g., individual self-report on a survey, organizational records) and has tribal approval been granted?
- What is the “definition of Indian” used?
- Are the comparisons used appropriate (e.g., Native to non-Native; Native to Native; regional; international comparisons)?
- What measures are important to American Indians and Alaska Native leaders?

Exploring Existing Data on AI/AN People and Places

The United States boasts unmatched scientific capacity. This capacity extends to the social sciences, to the rich and detailed demographic data compiled and disseminated by the Census Bureau, and to other federal agencies. Nonetheless, the United States has long failed to provide even the most basic enumeration of American Indian and Alaska Native people (Sandefur et al. 1996; Snipp 1996). Despite thorough documentation that our population is at great risk of poverty and the problems that flow from poverty (US Commission on Civil Rights 2003), detailed information about labor force participation, social service needs, educational attainment, and related information is sparse and unreliable (DeWeaver 2013; Westat 2007). Perhaps more surprising (and disturbing) is that this failure persists into the twenty-first century. The federal government has no plan and has made no commitment to address this deficit. This failure to provide basic information about AI/AN peoples creates challenges to tribal governments, city and county governments, state governments, federal agencies, Native-serving organizations, and individuals.

Advances in computing capacity and telecommunications allow for unprecedented increases in our capacity to collect and manage large quantities of data, and to analyze enormous data sets. The twenty-first century cyber-infrastructure of the United States will, no doubt, build on this foundation to further expand large-scale data collection and analyses. But the technological capacity and this cyber-infrastructure must also be attuned to addressing acute failures, including failures stemming from low trust, cultural insensitivities, and sparse (as opposed to abundant) data. This failure begins with federal agencies (including but not limited to the Bureau of the Census, Bureau of Indian Affairs, and Bureau of Labor Statistics). As the United States fails to provide reliable enumeration of AI/AN people, it goes without saying that detailed information on employment, poverty, and related sociodemographic information is also lacking. With notable exceptions, tribal governments lack the capacity (financial resources and human capital) to fill the void.

Moreover, this failure extends to the social sciences. Social scientific research typically relies on federal data for preferred measures of demographic, employment, and inequality trends. Given the absence of federal data and their relatively small population size, the social science literature typically ignores American Indians and Alaska Natives or, perhaps worse still, simply lumps this population in the “non-white” category people (Sandefur et al. 1996; Snipp 1996). These crude measurement strategies leave social scientific theories and findings ill-equipped to understand past and current dynamics at work in Native populations. Due to this inattention, the social sciences are not filling the void left by the federal government’s failures, nor are the social sciences providing assistance to tribal governments and Native communities.

Priority data include tribal-level information about tribal population, tribal membership, and household demographics. Federal funding formulas rely on various data sources to determine the population of tribal members eligible for federally-supported services. The service population typically includes a tribe’s estimates of all American Indians and Alaska Natives, members and nonmembers, who are living on or near the tribe’s reservation or trust land (hereafter “tribal lands”) during a calendar year and who are eligible to use BIA-funded services. As such, a tribe’s service population typically excludes members who, for example, were serving in the Armed Forces, attending postsecondary institutions and not residing on tribal lands, or living elsewhere for purposes of direct employment, or due to being incarcerated or confined to a long-term treatment facility. Because service population includes American Indians and Alaska Natives who are tribal members and nonmembers, it obviously is not the same measure as tribal enrollment. In order to report estimates for use in the Indian Housing Block Grant Formula, for example, tribes may rely on their own data collection systems, information provided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) Agency and the BIA Region they are within, Indian Health Service birth and death population data, and US Census data provided about individual and household counts of American Indians and Alaska Natives. Experience demonstrates that the US Census numbers can differ significantly from internal tribal enumeration of various populations and demographics. This must be taken into account at the federal, state, and local levels.

Building Tribal Data Capacity

Recognizing the profound deficits in extant data collection and despite the paucity of federal support, a number of tribal governments have compiled data on tribal members and other American Indian and Alaska Native peoples served by the tribe. Such efforts often lead to growing the governance capacity of tribal nations as it becomes important to integrate various tribal datasets and systematize tribal data policies to improve the collection and use of tribal data. These innovative and forward-looking efforts taken by tribal governments can serve as a foundation for more expansive data-intensive collaborative research. These data collection efforts are notable in several respects. First, tribes have a unique political status as sovereign

governments through a history characterized by treaties and the subsequent trust responsibility to the 566 federally recognized tribes. As such, tribal governments operate in the federal system in a manner that overlaps with state, county, and city governments, but that is nonetheless distinct. The specific nature of the intergovernmental relations between tribes and the federal government creates opportunities for tribes to act independently. But this distinctiveness is also one reason that the federal government has failed the Native population in its data collection efforts because this uniqueness is used to justify the difficulty of measuring and reporting on such a “small” population. Second, because data collection efforts have been undertaken by individual tribes, the goals pursued and the investment of human capital and funding varies widely. Third, the demands of designing and implementing data collection has contributed to capacity building by tribal governments and fostered partnerships between tribes and social scientists (in and out of academia). This enhanced tribal capacity and proliferation of partnerships with social scientists creates an opportunity to undertake participatory research of unprecedented scope and scale (Fuller-Rowell 2009).

The preceding paragraph identifies promising opportunities. But the challenges remain daunting. Relatively few tribes have invested the time and energy to compile and analyze sociodemographic data. Even among the minority of tribes undertaking these efforts, there is great variability in the data quality, sampling strategies, and methodology. As such, it is difficult (often impossible) to combine data from one tribe with data compiled by other tribes (in the same region, let alone across the country). Compounding this challenge, federal data sources are not readily available to serve as a benchmark for tribal efforts. The deficits in federal data and high variability of tribal efforts leave individual tribes without the means to reliably assess the quality of their efforts. For social scientific research and for the tribal goals of service delivery and planning, it is essential to collect comparable data on a regular basis. Stated in pessimistic terms, there is a risk that the innovative tribal data collection efforts currently underway may be underutilized (perhaps squandered) unless the means to sustain and routinize data collection are established. Moreover, for both tribal purposes and social scientific research, it will be important to create and maintain the means to store and share these data. Buoyed by the progress made by individual tribes but cognizant of the daunting challenges that remain, national Native organizations are committed to developing the infrastructure (physical, human capital, and community-building) to institutionalize these efforts in individual tribes, develop methods and resources to facilitate learning and data-sharing across tribes, and build robust partnerships with social scientists in and out of academia.

There is an inherent paradox here that is embodied by a notion relayed by a group of men from the Maasai Tribe of Kenya when a colleague shared elements of the Indian Country Counts 2010 Census Campaign with them. They thanked him for sharing the efforts of tribal nations in the US and national Native organizations to encourage Native people to complete their decennial Census forms, and said, “We will never be counted.” They proceeded to share their perspective that participation of any sort in a government-sponsored Census or data collection effort gave away

their community identity and self-determination. This echoes the perspectives of some tribal leaders and communities who have decided not to participate in research or Census efforts. Most notably in the US are many of the Haudenosaunee Peoples from the Six Nations Confederacy, who often do not participate in the Canadian Census either. Tribal leaders working to leverage federal resources for their people while standing firm in advancing self-determination are often seeking a way through this paradox in the best interest of their peoples, places, and lifeways.

Improving Meaningful Data Use through Disaggregation

To advance a new narrative about Native youth and their families by improving the use of data, some national Native organizations are promoting the disaggregation of American Indian/Alaska Native data. Data are disaggregated when information is reported for subgroups from a larger aggregate group (e.g., disaggregating a national rate to rates for the 50 states; disaggregating within a state to rates for the counties within that state; disaggregating a national total for racial/ethnic subpopulation estimates). For example, disaggregating national American Indian/Alaska Native data on health outcomes to state-level reports for the 10 states with the largest AI/AN population would provide key insights on strengths and disparities obscured in national reports. Typically, data are disaggregated for a population with distinct status (e.g., racial/ethnic status, disability status), for a language group, or by geography. With regard to American Indian and Alaska Native people and communities, it may be important to disaggregate data in the following ways:

- **By tribal nation, subtribe, or other cultural grouping** to explore cultural and political uniqueness and equip tribal leaders in their planning efforts
- **By geography**, to explore intra and intergroup differences with regard to statistical areas such as on- and off-reservation, county, state, or region
- **By demographic characteristic**, to explore differences by age and gender, for instance
- **By status**, to explore the impact of group membership such as enrolled or nonenrolled tribal member or Native language speaker or nonspeaker

In some instances, disaggregation can increase access to existing data without much cost as it does not always require new data collection, only new approaches to reporting and sharing existing data in different ways to equip users to conduct more meaningful analyses. In other instances, however, there may be additional costs as new data may need to be collected – such as additional questions on surveys, data sharing agreements, and/or tribal permissions to access and use tribal-level data to enable further levels and types of disaggregation.

In addition to these issues, it must be noted that efforts to disaggregate AI/AN data eventually confront the issue of preserving the confidentiality of the individuals included in the aggregate, and this issue has become more difficult in some ways as the ability to merge traditional datasets with new administrative or private datasets

has grown. There is also the issue of preserving the confidentiality of tribal nations and securing tribal permission to report tribal data in efforts to disaggregate data to the tribal level if data has been collected with tribal identifiers.

Inevitably, disaggregation efforts must take into account the genealogy of how the “definition of American Indian or Alaska Native” has emerged and how these constrain what we understand about Native people were we to use culturally-driven definitions or identities. As Snipp (2016) notes:

On one hand, indigeneity is a group characteristic that defines the qualities of a collectivity. On the other hand, it is also a personal characteristic that either binds together or sets apart individuals from the larger collective of people deemed to be ‘indigenous.’ (p. 41)

Yet, data disaggregation also enables Native-to-Native comparisons – as opposed to gap-based comparisons – and may get us closer to allowing analyses that explore a people group’s relationship to place and to others in the region. Native-to-Native comparisons can gauge strength and indicate areas for collaboration by highlighting where Native people are experiencing greater success and improved outcomes that could be examined for insights that could be shared. They can also indicate particular areas of system weakness by showcasing where one state may be falling behind others that have demonstrated success in meeting the needs of Native youth and their families.

A New Approach

There are three elements that drive this new approach to using disaggregated data to tell meaningful stories about the strengths and realities facing Native youth and families: (1) Re-framing measures by selecting indicators in a meaningful way; (2) Using data to highlight system accountability; and (3) Fostering Native-to-Native comparisons to highlight strengths. As suggested above, the narratives about Native youth and families have been designed to displace and denigrate, so if data are going to be used to uplift, there first needs to be a reorientation to the indicators used – a willingness to bring together indicators across agencies and to use those that might not typically be used.

For example, most policy reports that include American Indian/Alaska Native data begin with a focus on poverty. While I was at the National Congress of American Indians, we began to use a lens of “family economic capability” to highlight both the strengths and needs of Native families and the youth they support. Within this lens, we place data on household income alongside information on family composition, languages spoken at home, child poverty, home ownership and values, housing infrastructure and overcrowding, and participation in public assistance programs. By doing so, we are able to highlight a range of dynamics that contribute to family economies that also reflect a range of cultural aspects that contribute to the unique strengths and needs of American Indian and Alaska Native families. For instance, grandparents are more commonly involved in raising their

grandchildren in many Native homes. They can contribute important cultural and community support for children. However, they may also require additional supports if they are disabled, have health issues, or live on a fixed income in order to provide adequately for the grandchildren in their care. Additionally, Native children may live in homes where a language other than English is spoken more frequently than non-Native children in some states. Exposure to more than one language can provide improved educational or employment outcomes if the proper system supports are in place to support bilingualism. If the supports are not in place in education or economic systems however, the potential of Native languages to contribute to family economies may be unrealized. In this way, instead of seeing large, extensive families as an economic drain, we began talking about the value of having grandparents contributing to rearing their grandchildren and the need for policies to support them in doing so.

In other instances, we started referring to data from child welfare and juvenile justice systems as that relate to the “system involvement” of Native youth. This leads to the second element, which is using data to highlight system accountability, instead of only focusing on the “deficiencies” in Native youth and their families, which is what past policy has done. By employing different indicators and placing data from multiple agencies alongside each other – data on AI/AN education, health, and system involvement to identify system strengths and gaps – we can begin to see how systems are supporting or not supporting Native youth and their families.

The third element of fostering Native-to-Native comparisons works further to highlight system strengths and challenges by exploring how states with high populations of Native youth are serving them and their families. Examining AI/AN data at a state or local level, across agencies, allows us to look within and across states to improve services provided, as well as to identify areas where disaggregated data may not be available. The National Congress of American Indians has developed regional profiles that showcase how to explore state-level data and use Native-to-Native comparisons to highlight how to prioritize state-level and regional discussions. One use of these sorts of comparisons would be to convene state teams responsible to serve Native youth and families to share information and develop strategies. National Native organizations have begun to communicate disaggregation needs and priorities to federal agencies in order to improve data reporting. A few good examples of the type of data disaggregation that could serve as a model includes:

- National Center of Education Statistics Digest of Education Statistics, Public high school averaged freshman graduation rate, by sex, race/ethnicity, and state or jurisdiction, 2012–2013 (Table 219.40)
- National Center of Education Statistics Digest of Education Statistics, Total fall enrollment in degree-granting postsecondary institutions, by level of enrollment, sex, attendance status, and race/ethnicity of student (Table 306.10)
- National Center of Education Statistics Digest of Education Statistics, Degrees conferred by postsecondary institutions, by race/ethnicity and sex of student, 2012–2013 (Table 321.20, 322.20, 323.20, 324.20)

- Office for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, *Census of Juveniles in Residential Placement, Rates of Juveniles in Residential Placement*

These are rare examples of disaggregation by state, AI/AN status, and gender, which can equip communities with information they need to inform their decision-making and hold federal and state systems accountable for serving Native youth and families.

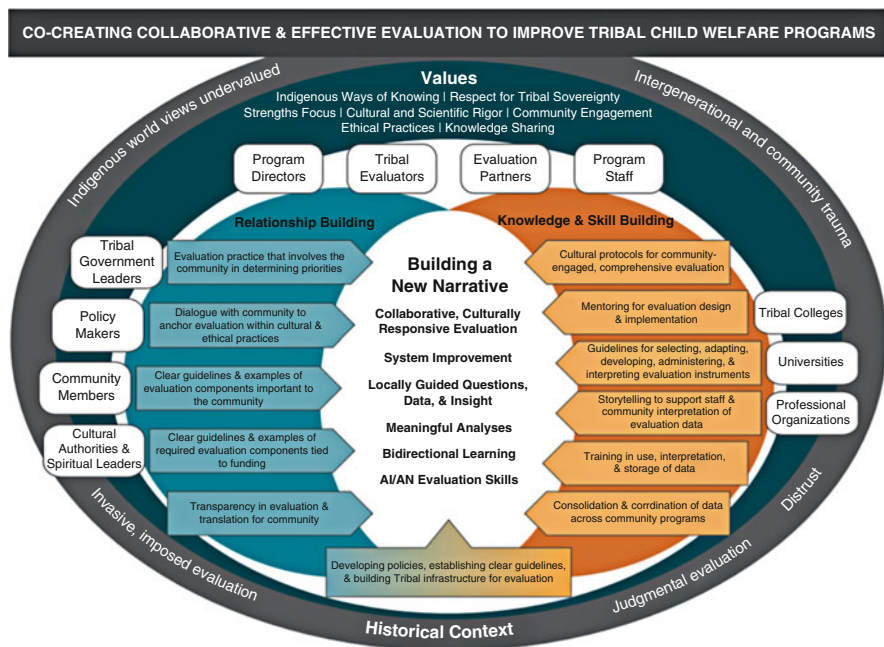
Native-to-Native comparisons are not the ultimate solution to transforming the use of data into a meaningful exercise as they rely on state and federal measures. However, it is a real way for tribal nations to push back on the notion that there just are not enough tribal-level data to support innovative education policy; that tribal populations are just too small to be measured; or that policy solutions must emphasize reforming the behaviors of Native youth and their families. It is a pathway into shining a light on system accountability and on the appropriateness of existing measures to report on the realities facing Native peoples.

Community-Based Methods of Measurement

In addition to collecting tribal-level data and improving the availability and use of existing data, tribal nations are involved in shaping community-based measures. Many of these efforts start by asking different questions or any questions at all about what realities our Native youth and families are facing. For instance, when I was at the Alaska Native Policy Center of First Alaskans Institute, we developed research about what contributes to Alaska Native student success. Instead of starting by asking how many of our Native youth are dropping out of school, we began to explore where they were going. We learned that many were pursuing their GEDs, or General Education Diploma at some of the highest levels in the nation; pursuing work in entry-level positions in high-risk industries; and enlisting in the military. At the same time, we began observing the high rates of Native youth facing school discipline, with special education designations, and the pathway for these students into juvenile justice facilities. As such, we started to develop measures of student “pushout” and “lure out” to document more of the realities our Native students were facing.

In a similar way, Australian Indigenous scholar, Lester-Irabinna Rigney, gave a presentation where he critiqued surveys of teachers of Indigenous students. He noted that these surveys often ask teachers to describe what they believe and know about Indigenous students and their cultures. Due to expectations about political correctness and a lack of relationship between what teachers know and what they do in the classroom, these surveys rarely help us understand how to strengthen the relationship between teachers and their Indigenous students. Instead, Rigney suggests we ask how teachers come to know – through their lunchroom conversations with other teachers, from their university courses, from research articles, or from their interactions and relationships with Indigenous youth and families. This sort of questions leads us to developing measures of teachers’ knowledge networks and fostering ways to map cross-cultural relationships.

In one other example, groups of Indigenous evaluators and other non-Indigenous advocates came together to create a framework for evaluation in tribal child youth contexts (Children’s Bureau 2013), recognizing that so much of the narrative and data collection being done in Native communities is done at the level of program evaluation of federal initiatives. This group committed to outlining the ways evaluation can be used to acknowledge tribal histories and genealogies of intervention, affirm cultural concepts and dynamics, and tell meaningful stories that build tribal capacity to use data. The framework hinges on two levers of relationship building and knowledge and skill building in order to build a new narrative through evaluation. A new approach to evaluation is changing the ways communities communicate their tribal child welfare priorities and values. Measurement and evaluation becomes a pathway to transforming awareness and supports for Native youth and families.



Conclusion

So much of federal policy is built on disparity data and gaps, when it does not ignore completely the needs of American Indian and Alaska Native youth. By employing a few of these new approaches, we enable a strengths-based approach to data and policy development. Some tribes may not have the resources or

capacity to collect their own data, but may be able to inform the evaluation of their federally-funded programs or examine existing data in ways that illuminate more about their citizens and the systems that are supposed to serve them. Yet, it is going to take all of use – from federal policy makers, to system leaders, to advocates, to tribal leaders and their citizens – to transform how we use data to strengthen the education, health, economic, and justice experiences of Native youth and their families.

Work to improve data inevitably leads to an examination of ethics involved in data collection. Some of the related implications of making investments in using AI/AN data to better effect means that we must be willing to examine paradigms undergirding research ethics and data collection procedures. There is a “participation” culture that is rampant that sees the increase of AI/AN participants as the gold standard of success in collecting data. This chapter, however, suggests that community engagement on indicators, data use, and measurement are also critical in improving the research enterprise and in leading to improved outcomes for Native youth and families. The promise is to move our nations from being asterisks to sites of significance in improving outcomes for all communities. In this way, Native youth and families become shining lights guiding us to a more equitable reality.

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Building Sámi Language Higher Education: The Case of Sámi University of Applied Sciences

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Jelena Porsanger

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Abstract

This chapter focuses on the development of an indigenous Sámi language higher education institution; from its early establishment as the Sámi University College to its current status as the Sámi University of Applied Sciences. In its advancement, priority has been given consciously to indigenous language, both as a subject and as a means of instruction. Indigenous knowledge and scientifically “approved” (mainstream) knowledge have been treated as equally valid in program curriculum and content development. Collective aspirations, motivation, inspiration, limitations, obstacles, challenges, solutions, and success have been analyzed in this chapter using key elements of transformative theory (Smith, Indigenous struggle for the transformation of education and schooling. Keynote

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Address to the Alaskan Federation of Natives (AFN) Convention, Anchorage, Oct 2003. <http://ankn.uaf.edu/curriculum/Articles/GrahamSmith/index.html>. Accessed 15 Jun 2016, 2003). The main analytical tools are the concepts of language knowledge, knowledge transfer, knowledge creation, and knowledge reclamation – originally derived from the Maori conceptual framework of Mātauranga Maori (Black, Enhancing Mātauranga Māori and global indigenous knowledge. In: Black T (ed) Mātauranga Māori and indigenous knowledge. NZQA: New Zealand Qualification Authority, Wellington, pp 5–10. <http://www.nzqa.govt.nz/assets/Maori/Te-Rautaki-Maori/Publications/Enhancing-Mtauranga-Mori-and-Global-Indigenous-Knowledge.pdf>, 2014). These tools have been applicable to indigenous Sámi knowledge transition and the institutional development of Sámi language higher education. This chapter also shows, how the Sámi metaphor of Guovssanásti (The Morning Star) has acted as a designation of the institution, connecting the development process to the Sámi value system. In addition, the metaphor of building of a traditional Sámi tent (lávvu) has shaped an epistemological platform of the institution. The advancement of indigenous Sámi language higher education and research has occurred in a context of a great internal and external diversity. There are a variety of Sámi languages, cultural characteristics, and traditional means of livelihood, which have been influenced by many strong majority languages, cultures, religions, and political and educational systems across the borders of four national states. Future development perspectives have been suggested using four analytical concepts related to teaching in indigenous higher education: controversy, analysis, intellectual freedom, and engagement with complexity, diversity, and uncertainty (Andreotti et al., Epistemological pluralism: ethical and pedagogical challenges in higher education. *AlterNative* 7(1):40–50, 2011). The case of Sámi University of Applied Sciences is a novel solution for indigenous education and continues to attract the attention of indigenous and mainstream institutions worldwide.

Keywords

Sámi language education · Transformative theory · Indigenous concepts · Indigenous methodologies

<i>Sámi allaskuvla</i>	<i>Sámi allaskuvla</i>
<i>sámiid guovssonásti</i>	<i>The Morning Star of the Sámi</i>
<i>láidesta min čehpiid</i>	<i>Guides our knowledgeable people</i>
<i>hui viššalít juo</i>	<i>So heartily</i>
	<i>Refrain:</i>
<i>lo – le loi – le lo – le...</i>	<i>lo – le loi – le lo – le...</i>
Sámi allaskuvlla luohti	The yoik of Sámi University of Applied Sciences

Introduction

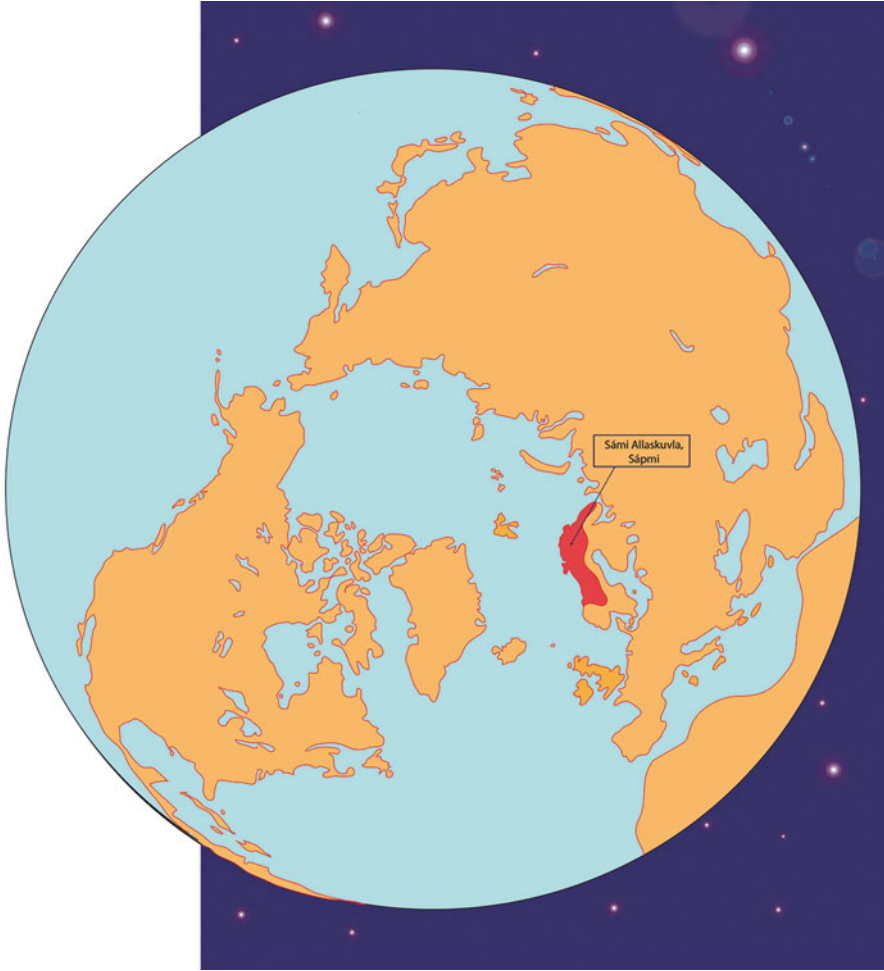
The official opening of Sáámi allaskuvla (Sámi allaskuvla, an original Sámi language name of the institution, is used throughout the article. All Sámi terms here are in North Sámi.) took place on November 1, 1989. Sámi allaskuvla is an indigenous Sámi language institution of higher education and research. The very first educational programs were in teacher education and traditional handicrafts. Later, Sámi allaskuvla provided opportunities to develop educational alternatives to suit the needs of the Sámi communities. Many previous organizational models for Sámi education failed to implement a Sámi-based approach to education. In Sámi allaskuvla, the North Sámi language has been privileged as a subject, means of instruction, tuition and, to a great extent, in research as well. The indigenous language has been the working language and means of administration. Sámi traditional knowledge and scientifically approved (mainstream) knowledge has been treated as equally valid in the elaboration of curriculum and content of all study programs and research projects. In this matter, Sámi allaskuvla is one of a few indigenous tertiary institutions which offers distinctive educational programs in the indigenous language.

The Morning Star

Sámi allaskuvla has its own traditional Sámi song called *luohti* in North Sámi, known in English as yoik. The *luohti* of Sámi allaskuvla represents the institution as the Morning Star of the Sámi. Situated in the heart of the Northern Sámi area in Guovdageaidnu (Kautokeino) on the Norwegian side of Sápmi (Map 1), Sámi allaskuvla has a strong North Sámi identity, while its portfolio is pan-Sámi.

The Morning Star (the planet Venus), *Guovssonásti* in Sámi, is the brightest star in the sky in the Northern hemisphere. This star is visible all over Sápmi just above the horizon during the long dark period of the polar night in autumn and winter. It is the first star to become visible when the days get shorter and the nights get darker after the end of the midnight sun during summer time. At the break of day, *Guovssonásti* is seen and perceived as a guiding star for anybody looking for a direction home. Sámi beliefs, storytelling, indigenous religion and conception of time, navigation skills, value system, and aesthetics have connections to *Guovssonásti*.

There are probably other indigenous educational institutions in the world which have an organisational anthem, but having its own traditional Sámi yoik is more than just an institutional anthem for Sámi allaskuvla. In accordance with the Sámi tradition, value system, and social structure, it is an expression of uniqueness, societal acceptance, and respect. According to Sámi tradition, knowledgeable tradition bearers can give a yoik to a person, a phenomenon, or a thing. The yoik is an expression of something special that has a unique character. The yoik is part of one's



Map 1 Sámi homeland and Sámi allaskuvla. Designed by Davvi Girji AS

identity, an additional name, and it passes into one's possession. The copyright of the yoik immediately transfers to the one that it represents. It is usually created in a way that is recognizable both by the melody and by the text as a representation of someone or something. Yoik tradition belongs to collective memory and is a special kind of traditional communication that includes verbal and nonverbal expressions. It has its own aesthetics and metaphorical language. (About luohiti, see for example, Gaski 2008.)

The yoik of Sámi allaskuvla was created by a group of the first students of the institution and was launched at the opening of the institution in November 1989. The opening of the very first academic year was accompanied with a seminar, the main theme of which was Sámi values (Utsi 2008, p. 127). The story goes that the first

teacher students collectively created a yoik to Sámi allaskuvla, as for them luohiti was genuinely and outspokenly connected to the Sámi value system. Since its first performance in 1989, new students and university staff have added new texts in the course of time to this luohiti. However, the metaphor of the Morning Star has prevailed been part of the institution's identity since its early establishment. This metaphor represents the role of the institution as a guiding star for the Sámi people throughout time and space, across the great diversity. Sápmi was historically divided by the borders of the following national states: Norway (historically the kingdom and crown of Denmark), Sweden and Finland (historically the kingdom and crown of Sweden), and Russia (in the past, the Russian empire, later the Soviet Union and now the Russian Federation).

From the point of view of indigenous language, there are ten Sámi languages many of which are not fully mutually understandable and are endangered minority languages spoken by approximately one-third of the Sámi population. Considering this linguistic diversity, one can easily understand that the advancement of Sámi allaskuvla has entailed considerable risks and challenges. The focus on Sámi language education has been a controversial issue because of many limitations, obstacles, and challenges. However, Sámi allaskuvla has in the course of almost 30 years successfully grown and advanced from being a small university college with the focus on teacher education to become a Sámi University of Applied Sciences with bachelor, master, and doctoral programs. The challenges nowadays appear to be slightly different from those during the establishment and formation stages of the institution. At present, Sámi allaskuvla has to fit the rapid socioeconomic, cultural, and technological changes in present-day society. The institution needs, in a more profound way, to respond to challenges of internal diversity and to the varied sociolegal contexts of the four national states where the Sámi reside. Furthermore, being owned by the Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research, the institution needs to deal with regulatory framework and general educational policy and its reforms, as well as with the increasing competition between institutions of higher education nationally in Norway. Collaboration in the Nordic countries and internationally has both challenges and potential, which will demand special attention from Sámi allaskuvla in the years to come.

Struggle

“We Had to Do It Ourselves”

These were the words of one Sámi teacher telling about the challenges of preservation and development of the Sámi language in the Porsanger fjord area in Northern Norway in the early 1990s (Sámi allaskuvla 1998, p. 22). In the 1980–1990s, the Sámi themselves took responsibility for the future of their indigenous language. Graham Smith, in his influential works about transformation in indigenous education (1999, 2003, 2015), has argued that to transforming education and schooling is one of the critical sites of struggle for indigenous communities. Like for Maori and many

other indigenous peoples, transformation requires a shift from being reactive to being proactive around their own aspirations, and taking autonomous control. In connection with the Maori language revitalization practices, the 1980s Smith calls for “a revolution in thinking” meaning taking responsibility “to make change for themselves and not wait for other people’s permission” (Smith 2011, p. 16).

The transformative action in education among the Norwegian Sámi in the mid-1980s was focused on school education. At that time, there were only Norwegian primary schools in the traditional Sámi areas. These schools had a so-called “Sámi supplement” that consisted of some thematic additions to the national teaching programs, concerning the use of the Sámi language and basic facts about the Sámi population (Keskitalo 2008, p. 71). It was obvious that schooling of this type did not cover the needs of the Sámi society; neither did it give any positive input into development of the Sámi communities.

The establishment of Sámi allaskuvla was directly connected to a clearly articulated awareness of the needs of Sámi society of that time, and a long-term struggle to maintain, strengthen, and develop Sámi identity, language, culture, and society. Articulation of the needs and aspirations of the Sámi demanded consolidation of the Sámi and non-Sámi educators and politicians in a long-term perspective. The Sámi educators were untiringly at the forefront of debate over the need to create a competent system and tertiary institution, that would prioritize Sámi understandings of identity, language, philosophy, history of colonization, and the loss of the language.

The Sámi themselves were confident about doing things for themselves, framing arguments to the Norwegian educational and political authorities, arguing for the need for funding of a specific Sámi language teacher education. These actions followed what Graham Smith (2015, p. 69) called “a need to make and lead change ourselves.”

Two evaluations of Sámi teacher education were conducted in 1972 and 1983 respectively, the first by the Norwegian Council for teacher education (*Lærerutdanningsrådet*), and the second one by the Regional University Council Board for Finnmark (*Det regionale høgskolestyret for Finnmark*). Both evaluations were led by Dr. Anton Hoëm from the University of Oslo and were called afterwards “Hoëm’s commission” (*Hoëm utvalget*). The evaluations suggested solutions for education of the Sámi speaking teachers and concluded that there was an unquestionable need for Sámi language teacher education in Norway.

The first evaluation was the grounding document for the establishment of a Norwegian teacher education college in Alta, in 1973 (Henriksen and Eira 2008, p. 11). Sámi teacher education at this college was, however, a supplement to the national, Norwegian language-based teacher education programs. It did not take long for the Sámi students and staff to see that the curriculum and content of the program were not able to change the status quo of the Sámi society. The program could hardly support the Sámi students’ success as Sámi teachers and language experts.

Generally speaking, the establishment of the Alta teacher training college with a Sámi educational *component* was quite a big step for the Norwegian state. For the

first time in history, teacher education in the northernmost part of Norway (Finnmark) was established. In the past, teachers who were supposed to work in the Northern areas and with indigenous Sámi children were educated far away from the North, in the educational institutions in bigger towns in the South or in the capital of Norway. This educational policy has its roots in the mission schools back in the 1700s, such as for example Seminarium Lapponicum (Grankvist 2003).

The deliberate emphasis on indigenous Sámi language was made by the end of the 1980s. This was time of the rising indigenous cultural and political resistance movement both nationally in Norway and internationally among other indigenous peoples. Struggle for the indigenous rights, for the Sámi language and cultural sovereignty, resulted in the establishment of many Sámi driven and controlled institutions.

The Nordic Sami Institute, which was merged with Sámi allaskuvla in 2005, was established in 1973 under the auspices of the Nordic Council of Ministers with the aim to enhance Sámi research in language, legal history, and social sciences. The institute was situated in the Sámi village of Guovdageaidnu, despite scepticism about the very possibility for the Sámi to manage a research institution by their own. Institute conducted among others a thorough evaluation of Sámi teacher education in Finland, Norway, and Sweden, already suggesting in 1978 the establishment of a Nordic Sámi university college (Keskitalo 2008, p. 73).

Many reports, especially the Official Norwegian Reports of the 1980s (NOU 1985a:14, 1985b:24, 1987:34), argued for the same. In the 1970s and early 1980s, a series of massive Sámi political protests, known as the Alta controversy, broke out because of the construction of a hydroelectric power station and the planned inundation of the village of Máze in Norway. The rights of the Sámi as indigenous people were put on the national political agenda. The Sámi Act of Norway (*Sameloven*) passed in 1987, and the Sámi Parliament of Norway was established in 1989. A corresponding Sámi political authority in Finland was established already in 1973, in Sweden in 1993, and in Russia, the struggle for the establishment of a political representative organization is still going on. Sámi language was in a threatened condition, a less used language in the public arenas by media, official authorities, and in education. Many Sámi groups, especially the coastal Sámi, were about to lose the language of their ancestors and meet or in many places accept language change into majority languages, and as a result to change their identity. The need for language revitalization gradually became an outspoken issue. Revitalization of the Sámi languages and culture required well-qualified people, able to consolidate, stop, and change the language shift. During the same period, orthographies for many Sámi languages were created and taken into use (Sammallahti 1998).

The public indigenous policy of the Norwegian state of that time was to support further development of the Sámi culture, languages, and traditional livelihoods in accordance with priorities made by the Sámi themselves, as a counterweight to many 100 years of the policy of assimilation and the Norwegization of the Sámi (Sámi allaskuvla 1994). The sustainable use of natural resources in Sámi reindeer herding, fisheries, and agriculture was under hard pressure. These traditional Sámi means of livelihood needed to be adjusted to the rapidly changing economic conditions. The state policy toward reindeer herding has since the 1960s brought changes and forced

many reindeer herders to abandon their traditional occupation. The state authorities highlighted a need for a formalized knowledge about sustainable development, biodiversity, and resource management as a traditional means of livelihood.

There was a need to find ways to formalize the local and traditional knowledge and give it legitimacy and to comprehend and analyze the rapid changes and the consequences of the state policies on the Sámi society. For this purpose, education needed to be based on a Sámi understanding of reality and conceptualization of the world. The Sámi traditional conception of *birgejupmi*, which is a North Sami term for life sustenance, livelihood, and maintaining a livelihood (Porsanger 2011, p. 20), became central. It was urgent to teach about life sustenance in new arenas. A traditional Sámi understanding of maintaining a livelihood requires skills, resourcefulness, reflexivity, professional, and social competence. It ties together people, communities, landscape and natural environment, the ecosystem, healthy social and spiritual development, and identity (Ibid.). It was essential to produce research-based knowledge that was grounded in the Sámi epistemologies and value system.

Public services were lacking Sámi-speaking personnel with formal education. Employers in nontraditional occupations desired formal education in nursery, public administration, management, etc. In addition, it was obvious that the majority society, especially those moving to the North, needed knowledge about the Sámi, their culture, languages, and way of life. By the end of 1980s, the Nordic Sami Institute accumulated considerable Sámi research experience. The educated university personnel was emerging. Moreover, there was a pool of potential Sámi-speaking students who desired education in their mother tongue.

The academic staff of the Sámi department at the Alta teacher training college were persistently asserting that education of Sámi language speaking teachers were crucial to the positive advancement of the Sámi society. In 1989, the Norwegian Storting (Parliament) decided to establish Sámi allaskuvla and allocated national funding for this purpose. This happened at the time when the main politics of the higher education in Norway was merging (Keskitalo 2005, p. 27).

Everybody who was in the forefront of the establishment of Sámi allaskuvla deserves deep gratitude and appreciation. Many Sámi scholars and educators and their academic allies from various universities, politicians, teachers, language workers, community representatives, organizations, and committees contributed to the establishment of Sámi University College, which took place in November 1989 (Fig. 1).

Formal and Indigenous Framework

Being part of the Norwegian system of higher education, Sámi allaskuvla has been a state university college owned by the Ministry of Education and Research and operated under the Norwegian Act relating to universities and university colleges (*Universitets- og høyskoleloven*), which promotes academic autonomy. The Ministry is a funding, governing, and executing body, which provides annual funding and result-based funding according to the number of examined students, completed degrees, and research outcomes in terms of external funding and publications.



Fig. 1 The first group of teacher students in 1992. Photo in possession of Lisa Baal, Sámi allaskuvla. (From the left in the upper row to the right and down: (1) Jan Henry Keskitalo, Einar Bergland, Paul Sundar, Jon Todal, Helge Almås, Liv Østmo, Johan Daniel Hætta; (2) Lisbeth Somy, Vuokko Hirvonen, Laila Susanne Sara Oscarsson, Kaisa Rautio Helander, Aimo Aikio, Mai Britt Utsi, Per Jernsletten; (3) Pirjo Länsman, Inker Anne Magga, Terje Østby, Lisa Baal, Josefine Somy, Ravdna Utsi; (4) Minna Mäkitalo Näkkäljärvi, Kristen Anne Grete Eira, Ragnhild Gaup Eira, Marit Alette Utsi, Solveig Kristine Oskal, Ellen Marit Oline Eira; (5) Ann-Irene Buljo, Inger Eline Eira Buljo, Inga Margrete Eira Bjørn, Lise Marie Skum Somy, Mette Anti Gaup, Tove Somy Persen, Berit Sara Somy, Berit Margrete Eira)

During the first 6 years, Sámi allaskuvla was governed by the Regional Board of Higher Education of Finnmark (*Det regionale høyskolestyret for Finnmark*). After a national reform of higher education in Norway of 1994, Sámi allaskuvla was allowed to establish its own Board consisting of internal and external members. In Norway, the Ministry of Education appoints external board members for all universities and university colleges, besides Sámi allaskuvla, because the university act requires the Ministry to involve the Sámi Parliament of Norway in the appointment of two of four external board members. Parliament's involvement has been a distinctive feature of the organizational structure of Sámi allaskuvla. As an important stakeholder, it has contributed to the institutional development.

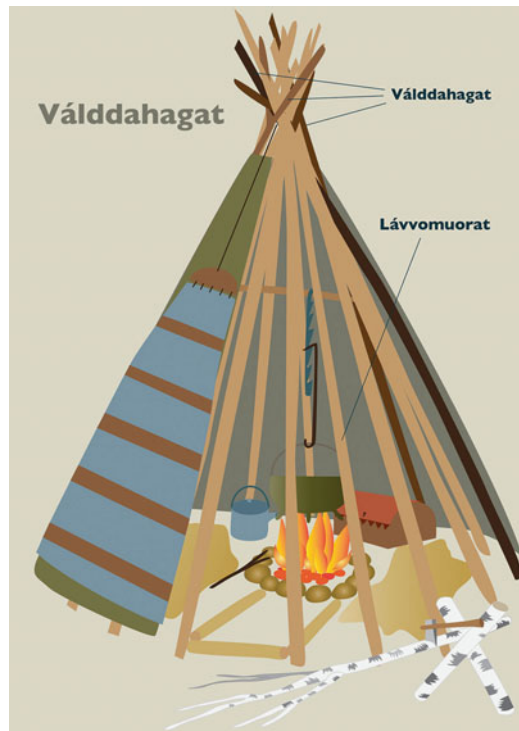
Close contact between Sámi allaskuvla and Sámi political bodies in all the countries where the Sámi reside provides legal backing, endorsement, and a source of support for the institution. Partnership with the parliaments of Norway, Finland, and Sweden, as well as with the Sámi Parliamentarian Council, can be seen as part of Knowledge Reclamation. However, this partnership cannot replace the active reciprocal relationships with Sámi local communities.

The appointment of the first Board of Sámi allaskuvla in 1994 was a landmark occurrence that instigated a look back, to analyze the results, to consider the situation of the Sámi society of that time, and to look into the future. Along these lines, the strategic profile of the institution was elaborated (Sámi allaskuvla 1994). This strategic document presented the philosophy of the institution in a metaphoric way, describing foundation, priorities, and future perspective of Sámi allaskuvla as a construction of a traditional Sámi tent, *lávvu* in North Sámi.

Lávvu is a temporary shelter with a fireplace in the middle, designed to withstand high wind and rough weather. The basic structure consists of three wooden forked poles (*válddahagat*) which are interlocked and form a tripod. The straight poles (*lávvuorot*) are laid upon this framework of three poles in a circular fashion. The amount of the straight poles depends on the desirable size of *lávvu*. A cover tent, leaving a smoke hole in the middle, covers the whole construction. Sámi allaskuvla is metaphorically represented as a *lávvu* of Sámi education and research, which has three following basic poles:

1. Language and its advancement
2. Sustainable development and resource management by the Sámi society
3. Sámi education and Sámi comprehensiveness (Fig. 2)

Fig. 2 Traditional Sámi *lávvu*. Designed by Davvi Girji AS



Based on these poles, Sámi allaskuvla aimed to deliver educational and research programs in order to build capacity and develop indigenous skills and capabilities of the Sámi.

Construction of *lávvu* must have many poles in order to manage and solidly hold the cover, which represents the needs of the Sámi society. The straight poles laid upon the three main poles, represent other disciplines, needed for the institution to build the overall capacity of Sámi research and education. (Sámi allaskuvla 1994, p. 20. The author's translation from Sámi.)

In the course of more than 20 years, Sámi allaskuvla has followed this strategic vision. *Lávvu* are movable and can be taken by people wherever they go; can withstand all kinds of weather; provide people with warmth, care, and protection; and are socially important to keep families and their allies together. This is a Sámi metaphoric representation of the essence and the strong character and capacities of the institution.

Consolidation

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for the following analysis of the advancement and outcomes of Sámi allaskuvla is based on transformative theory (Smith 2003) and analytical concepts of (1) Language Knowledge, (2) Knowledge Transfer, (3) Knowledge Creation, and (4) Knowledge Reclamation (Black 2014). These concepts originate from the Maori conceptual framework of *Mātāuranga Māori* that is a living art form grounded in traditional knowledge, that have been adapted for the Sámi context. These analytical concepts have been used to analyze the advancement of the institution and to make suggestions concerning the future prospects.

Language Knowledge

The first study programs were in teacher education, Sámi language and *duodji*, which is a Sámi concept for traditional handicrafts and arts. The first years were devoted entirely to teacher education for the preschool and primary and secondary school levels. In the beginning, there were about 20 employees involved and 40–50 Sámi students. The institutional budget of the first years was approximately 5 million Norwegian krona. Nowadays, the institution has around 100 employees, about 170 new students each year and an annual budget of about 80 million Norwegian krona.

The strategy of the institution was to educate Sámi teachers and other professionals to meet the needs and requirements of the Sámi society (Henriksen and Eira 2008).

These priorities distinctly followed one of the transformative strategies of indigenous education (Smith 2015, p. 73) as “a need to put our own indigenous languages, knowledges and cultures at the centre of our education revitalization.”

Sámi allaskuvla has been strategically focusing on issues and activities, which can be structured under the analytical categories of Language Knowledge and Knowledge Transfer (Black 2014). The priorities and strategic choices were always taken in regard to the Sámi language. Starting from the first teacher training courses up to the present-day doctoral program in the Sámi language and literature, the following focus issues related to the concept of Language Knowledge can be clearly identified in the profile of the institution:

1. Language Vitality

The use of the Sámi language in all activities, the Sámi language environment, the conducive environment for language acquisition, active language use and substantial improvement of language skills, arts and design, use of traditional sayings, irony and unspoken communication.

2. Language Essence

The empowering spirit of the language, the versatile and sophisticated terminology for things and issues important for the Sámi and their livelihood.

3. Language Identity and Distinctiveness

Appreciation of the command of different Sámi languages and dialects, the value of the language to maintain and strengthen Sámi identity, the fundamental language policy demanding, encouraging and fostering Sámi language skills among the staff, possibilities for the use of different Sámi languages in student examinations.

4. Language Excellence orally and in Writing

The positive open-minded arena for diversified and multiform language usage that allows a combination of the traditional academic language and oral traditions, storytelling and yoik, traditional metaphors and means of verbal and non-verbal communication, the development of writing skills for both the staff and the students.

In addition to these distinctive components of Language Knowledge, Sámi allaskuvla worked on the development of terminology for different fields of education:

5. Language Articulateness and Felicity

The challenge and ability to identify, both individually and collectively, appropriate and precise terms or expressions for theorizing and academic writing.

Focus on Language Articulateness and Felicity has been part of the institutional everyday life in all institutional activities up to the present day. Teaching by the means of the Sámi language needed a research base and practically proven lexicon in Sámi. This development has required constant intellectual exercises, collective academic, and political management of language issues by the national and

cross-border Sámi language committees. This also required communication with Sámi language academic circles at other institutions across national borders. One of the steps in this direction was the establishment of a Sámi language Research Journal with blind peer review, *Sámi dieđalaš áigečála* (SDÁ <http://site.uit.no/aigecala/>) in 1994 in collaboration between Sámi allaskuvla, Nordic Sami Institute, and the Department of Sámi Studies of the University of Tromsø, the northernmost mainstream university in Norway. (At present, SDÁ is published in collaboration between Sámi allaskuvla and the University of Tromsø.) The Research Council of Norway has covered the publication costs of the journal, while the involved institutions contributed with the human resources.

The journal has been an important source of Language Knowledge. Since its establishment, the journal has accepted and published research articles originally written in one of the Sámi languages. The articles cover a variety of research disciplines, such as linguistics, education, philosophy, literary studies, onomastics, sociolinguistics, history, study of religion, mathematics, and the research discussion on indigenous journalism, traditional knowledge, reindeer herding, resource management, climate change, and language technology, just to mention some. The academic staff of Sámi allaskuvla has statistically represented the majority of the writers of the SDÁ, thus actively participating in Knowledge Creation and Knowledge Transfer, and utilizing the energy and creativity that comes from Language Essence. The case of this journal should inspire other indigenous academic circles to rely on their Language Knowledge and believe in the very possibility of realization of a dream of writing academically in an indigenous minority language. In the course of almost 20 years, the editorial boards of the SDÁ managed to create and maintain a Sámi academic tradition of blind peer review, which might sound an impossibility in such a limited circle of indigenous language writers. Research articles of the SDÁ are used as curriculum at all institutions in the Nordic countries where Sámi is taught.

Language Vitality has been consciously chosen at Sámi allaskuvla as the main source of energy and inspiration. Sámi is the primary and strong working language of Sámi allaskuvla. The institution is situated in the Sámi language speaking community, where Sámi is the everyday language in all spheres of community life. Sámi allaskuvla took the concept of Language Vitality to a new proactive level and established its own language policy, demanding a command of the Sámi language from all the employees, regardless of the type of their working responsibilities, academic, administrative, or technical alike. All employees in permanent positions are required to be proficient in Sámi. Those who lack this proficiency are obliged to commit themselves to learn the language during the initial years of their employment.

This persistent language policy has been a great success, admired by many other Sámi institutions such as Sámi Parliaments and other organizations with a majority of Sámi speaking personnel. Employees without a command of the language usually learn the language very quickly in the energetic, spirited, and dynamic Sámi language environment where learning and speaking of indigenous languages is encouraged and highly appreciated. It is important to note that North Sámi has

been the main language. (There are ten Sámi languages/dialects, which are or were spoken across Sápmi (see Sammallahti 1998).) This brings challenges in terms of maintaining other Sámi languages at the institution. Concern about this resulted in establishment of a Center of Sámi language in education (*Sámi lohanguovddáš*) in 2013. The Center works primarily with reading and writing at all levels, from kindergartens to school and adult education in all the three official Sámi languages of Norway (North, Lule, and South Sámi). This development focuses on Language Identity.

The concept of **Language Identity** is applicable to Sámi allaskuvla in many ways. Sámi allaskuvla appreciates, takes into consideration, and displays the diversity of Sámi languages both in practice and in the content of the educational programs. Command of several Sámi languages by the staff is highly appreciated. Various kinds of support are given to the students whose mother tongue is different from North Sámi, although this always depends on the availability of resources. Resource deficiency can affect students, especially in their initial stage of language learning. Speakers of other Sámi languages can be obliged to use North Sámi, because the institution might not be able to provide education on and in other Sámi languages. The shortage of resources makes it difficult to correspond with the needs of various minority Sámi language groups. Making institutional priorities in the framework of limited state funding is always a challenge. The national “politics of distraction” – to use Graham Smith’s (2003, p. 2) term – sets provisions for reporting and standards for results which are not necessarily in harmony with what is considered to be a good result for Sámi communities. Sámi allaskuvla has the currently untapped potential to attract private or other kinds of external and non-governmental funding. For this matter, Sámi allaskuvla needs to elaborate its internal policy for fundraising, which should take into consideration ethical challenges, especially in regard to companies and individuals that make or intend to make profit from the natural or other resources in the Sámi areas. The institution can also get inspiration from other indigenous institutions worldwide, which find their ways of fundraising or profitable use of the resources available in their territories.

Knowledge Transfer

As an analytical category, Knowledge Transfer embraces the following fields and activities, which are identifiable in the profound philosophy and advancement of the portfolio of Sámi allaskuvla:

1. Interface of traditional and contemporary knowledge transmission implies traditional (Black (2014) uses the term “historical” that corresponds with the Maori context.) knowledge as basic component of Sámi higher education, formal academic appreciation of traditional knowledge, and connection between educational priorities and traditional foundations of Sámi culture in terms of study programs and research capacities.

2. Transition of understandings, experiences, and wisdom (Black (2014) uses the term “enlightenment.”) implies indigenous perspective in all subjects, development and use of Sámi pedagogy, employment of traditional knowledge holders as educators, experience and practice based language adult education, close collaboration with indigenous institutions internationally in terms of teacher and student exchange and multilateral participation in academic and educational activities.
3. Pathway to knowledge guardianship implies close relationships with communities as the owners of knowledge, indigenous ethical protocols for research and education.
4. Building learning potential for future implies that there is a need to look after students, to promote, and to facilitate capacity building of the staff.

During the first 5 years, Sámi allaskuvla developed compulsory and elective courses in preschool and schoolteacher education. Other study programs were developed in line with the strategic main poles (*válddahagat*). The academic staff elaborated courses looking from a Sámi and indigenous perspective, in the fields of pedagogy (among others, inspired by Freirean ideas of a liberating and emancipatory education and critical pedagogy), history, sociology, humanities, natural sciences, mathematics, linguistics, and sociolinguistics.

The first Bachelor program of Sámi allaskuvla was in the field of Sámi language and literature. The program started by the end of 1990s, following the requirements of Norway’s involvement in the Bologna process at the turn of the millennium. (Norway joined the Bologna process in 1999.) The Master program in the same field was accredited in 2008, and a PhD program in 2015.

The second and third strategic priorities of Sámi allaskuvla were articulated through study programs in duodji, reindeer herding and journalism. Duodji, one of the important bearers of Sámi tradition, was an important subject starting from the first classes as part of teacher education and further education for in-service teachers. The institution developed and obtained accreditation for a Master program in duodji (2011), which introduced the best practice of the traditional Sámi handicrafts into an academic program while maintaining traditional values.

Education about reindeer herding was initially part of teacher education, related to environmental issues, resource management, and traditional knowledge. Reindeer herding is one of the most powerful means of livelihood, a way of life that maintains and sustains Sámi traditions, language, and identity. Reindeer herding unites local communities of reindeer herders (*siida*) with their herds, territories, natural resources, traditional knowledge, kin, and other societal issues (Sara 2009). Eventually, a Bachelor program in reindeer herding was developed, primarily aimed at the Sámi who are involved in or connected to reindeer husbandry. The program provided students with a deep knowledge about the societal, environmental, biological, and legal aspects of reindeer husbandry. Close collaboration with the International Centre for Reindeer husbandry (located in Guovdageainu) has ensured a broad international content of this program. The Master program in reindeer herding was submitted for accreditation in 2016.

The need for professional Sámi language journalists motivated the development of a precourse in journalism in the early 1990s, and further the Bachelor and Master programs. The Masters program in Sámi journalism with an indigenous perspective was accredited in 2012 and was the first international program delivered in Sámi and in English, aimed at broadening the admission requirements and attracting Sámi and indigenous students. The first candidates graduated at the turn of 2016 (Rasmussen 2016 (in press)). The experiences of this international program and knowledge about success factors and possible shortcomings will be extremely valuable for the institution in its renewal strategies for the future.

Sámi teacher education is currently under structural reform in Norway. Sámi allaskuvla is developing Masters programs in teacher education with Sámi as a language of instruction. This opens possibilities and creates challenges for a small institution, in terms of covering the needs of the Sámi schools in a diversified landscape of many strongly endangered Sámi languages.

Starting from its early establishment, Sámi allaskuvla has offered beginning courses in Sámi for adults and has developed an efficient methodology of language teaching. This course has attracted hundreds of students, the majority of whom have been Sámi who wished to take their indigenous language back. This method of language acquisition and the capability of the institution to provide a genuine language environment can be seen as both Knowledge Transfer and Knowledge Reclamation. These experiences suggest future potential for institutional development, and comprise one of the sites of ongoing struggle alongside with the communities, Sámi language centers and other organizations, and individuals.

Pathway to knowledge guardianship means awareness about the value and collective character of traditional knowledge. Following the basic principles of indigenous methodologies, Sámi allaskuvla has used Sámi and indigenous concepts, indigenous knowledge, and experiences in knowledge building, theorizing and education. This also entails giving credit to people for sharing their knowledge, respecting the local knowledge, and making Sámi internal cultural diversity visible. Communication with communities and the employment of the elders as teachers and supervisors requires reciprocal relationships. Communities are the legal owners and possessors of their traditional knowledge (Porsanger 2011).

One of the strategies of securing knowledge guardianship and creating indigenous academic space for Sámi allaskuvla was to join the World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium (WINHEC). Academic staff were involved in an energetic and enthusiastic way in collating all of the required accreditation documentation, and acquired Sámi political support. The Sámi Council (letter of support 29 June 2006, Nr 74/2006) acknowledged Sámi allaskuvla as “an important contributor to the development of the future of the Saami people, emphasizing the traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions of the Saami people in their educational programs” and approved the institution’s vision to be accredited as a Sámi University. In the context of the prevailing hegemony of mainstream education in Norway, the obtaining of WINHEC accreditation in 2008 has been a successful strategy of Sámi allaskuvla to create its own indigenous space. Moreover, this accreditation has provided the institution with the international framework

for quality assurance in indigenous education (about the framework of WINHEC, see for example Anning et al. 2012). WINHEC requires a mid-term report (5 years cycle) and a report to confirm accreditation every 10 years; however, some experts believe that maintenance of the ongoing quality assurance after accreditation is granted might need more attention (Jacob et al. 2013). Nevertheless, WINHEC sets high indigenous standards, which could not be met by any mainstream university or university college in Norway and most likely neither in other Nordic countries.

WINHEC accreditation has been seen as a strategy to reclaim equity definitions and change the status quo in favor of a small Sámi language tertiary institution. As an accredited member, Sámi allaskuvla has more quality assurance authorities to deal with than any other national tertiary institution. This corresponds with an emancipatory strategy of “Re-claiming equity definitions from the neo-liberal economic hegemony that tends to argue against compensatory forms of equity in favour of the ‘level playing field’ form of equity that simply entrenches the ‘status quo’” (Smith 2003, p. 7). Approval of WINHEC research ethical standards in 2012 was another step toward securing knowledge guardianship and Knowledge Reclamation (Sámi allaskuvlla dutkanetihkka 2016). The ethical standards articulate Respect, Reciprocity, Reliability, and Relevance as important key issues (Porsanger 2008, 2010, 2014), and are meant to fulfill the requirements of Indigenous peoples and their knowledge communities. This remarkable advancement in terms of indigenous research ethics deserves much more attention by the mainstream academics and Sámi scholars employed by the mainstream institutions. There is therefore a need for Sámi allaskuvla to display and articulate more distinctly these research guidelines in its research activities and in dissemination of research outcomes.

Building learning potential for the future has been one of the main arguments behind the establishment of Sámi allaskuvla. According to the national statistics (Database for Statistics on Higher Education, <http://dbh.nsd.uib.no>, in June 15, 2017), about 2,500 students have been examined at Sámi allaskuvla since 1989. Taking into consideration that there are about 25,000 Sámi speakers in the world, one can see that Sámi allaskuvla has had a tremendous impact on Sápmi in terms of indigenous higher education. There is a need for a future review that could show the impact of Sámi allaskuvla, involving Finland, Sweden, and Russia in addition to Norway. Such an investigation would show achievements, as well as needs and challenges. However, looking from a point of view of general knowledge and lived experiences, one can see that the former students of Sámi allaskuvla work nowadays at schools, kindergartens, political bodies both as politicians and managers, in social services, research, tertiary and vocational education, handicrafts, and the media.

Strong personal connections between the staff and the students have always been an important focus for Sámi allaskuvla up until the present day, when the institution has grown almost five times bigger than it initially was. While direct connections are not typical for larger institutions like universities, they represent a distinctive feature of most indigenous institutions in the world (Dutton et al. 2016). Sámi allaskuvla and likeminded indigenous institutions endeavor to support students’ success, looking

after both the students and the staff. This is no doubt the strength of indigenous institutions; but management of these connections and utilization of the potential of these relationships is a time consuming and challenging practice.

In the period from 1989 to the turn of the last century, the majority of students were mature and aware of the need for formal education. During the last 10–15 years, more young students have joined educational programs. This demographic feature must attract institutional attention in term of future recruitment. In order to achieve further positive transformation (Smith 2011), more attention should be given to ensure equal emphasis and accountability on access, participation, retention, and success of all students. This will result in strengthening the institution's own indigenous space in the Academy for indigenous development and advancement.

In the spirit of critical pedagogy, Sámi allaskuvla has always treated students as knowledge holders and not as empty vessels to be filled (Keskitalo et al. 2013). The institution has had a commitment to do its very best in solidarity with students. By acting together in a Sámi environment and by the means of the Sámi language, the objective has been to transform education.

Knowledge Creation

Giving priority to Knowledge Creation, Sámi allaskuvla has been forging new Sámi academic pathways for future engagements, generating potential new knowledge acquisition, creating knowledge resilience and capability, and building relevant and effective research experience. These multiple sites of Knowledge Creation bring about:

1. Development of curriculum options around Sámi interests
2. Capability building by uplifting the skill and leadership level of the academic and administrative staff
3. Motivation and inspiration of the staff and the students to develop and use indigenous and Sámi approaches to knowledge creation and production
4. Further development of Sámi pedagogy as inquisitive, transformative, dialogic, dialectic, and liberating interdisciplinary research-based knowledge production
5. Capacity building by encouraging potential staff members to work in Sámi higher education, and by motivating potential students to acquire Sámi higher education

In the course of almost 30 years, the capacity building efforts of Sámi allaskuvla have resulted in six professoriates. The first professoriate was in the Sámi language, and the second one in Sámi knowledge and philosophy. One-third of the academic staff have achieved doctoral degrees in different fields of research. Sámi language courses for managers and administrators were developed in order to deliver good quality management in the Sámi language. According to the most recent international expert assessment of Sámi allaskuvla, conducted under the auspices of the Norwegian Agency for Quality Assurance in Education (NOKUT) in 2014, the size and quality of the staff and their collective competence is considered as outstanding.

The international expert committee found the scientific staff being well qualified within their respective areas, covering together a wide range of fields within Sámi studies, including minority and indigenous perspectives (Expert report 2015).

The turning point of consolidation of Sámi research happened in the period 2005–2009, when the Nordic Sami Institute was co-organized with Sámi University College in 2005. This was no doubt a demanding and uneasy merging process, which implied incorporation of quite different academic cultures and assimilation of a formerly relatively independent and internationally funded research institution into a tertiary system subjected to the Norwegian educational framework. For the Institute, it meant an amalgamation and formal dissolution, but for the merged institution it required a shift to a qualitatively new level of research activities and research culture. The Nordic dimension of research of the institution 10 years after merging was recently evaluated by an international panel of experts, which concluded that Sámi allaskuvla has

created a highly effective **research hub for Sámi studies research** that conducts cutting edge indigenous studies research of its own and that sustains and advances a **pan-Nordic network** of researchers and institutions committed to Sámi studies and to indigenous studies. On an international plane, the SUC [Sámi allaskuvla] has acted as an important partner with indigenous studies researchers and institutions across the world, providing an innovative model for how indigenous elementary and higher education can be advanced and bringing the Sámi case into productive engagement with situations and examinations of other indigenous communities. (NordForsk 2015, p. 16)

The legacy of the Nordic Sami Institute incorporates the area of indigenous rights into the institutional portfolio, since the Institute has a long tradition and qualified human resources in the study of law and customary rights. Education about legal aspects and Sámi customary rights is becoming a fundamental part of study programs in reindeer herding, resource management, teacher education, studies of language and sociolinguistics, pedagogy and schooling, and media.

Another noticeable result of merging was the tremendous lift in the level of research-based publications. Since 2007, Sámi allaskuvla has been among the leading institutions of the same scale (national university colleges) with respect to the amount of research publications in relation to the amount academic positions. The leading position of Sámi allaskuvla shows the institution's potential and strength. The establishment of a strong institutional research leadership and continuing strategic allocation of funding might in the future result in research outcomes in a more profound way. Even if the direct impact of research-based publications on Sámi communities can be disputable, publications contribute to increase of curriculum options. It is worth mentioning that Sámi allaskuvla has had a national responsibility for the development of the Sámi language as a language of research. The *Sámi dieđalaš áigečála* has made an important contribution to this field.

Research at Sámi allaskuvla in general can be seen as an intergenerational laboratory for Sámi cultural innovation, societal self-determination, and artistic and economic advancement. This site attracts the attention of various mainstream universities and organizations wanting cooperation and access to genuine indigenous

knowledge creation and competences. Nowadays, traditional knowledge and expertise in this field is becoming more and more attractive for the mainstream academy worldwide. A growing need for international research funding is inevitably connected to establishment of partnerships. However, the challenge is to maintain indigenous integrity and to protect indigenous expertise from misuse and indigenous knowledge from misinterpretation (Porsanger 2004). This dilemma of a small but strong indigenous Sámi language institution might be seen as a kind of internal protectionism, but in the long run the question is about indigenous self-determination, respect for traditional and language knowledge, and Knowledge Reclamation. Sámi allaskuvla has established cooperation with partners in indigenous studies and research in the Arctic and worldwide, as well as with mainstream institutions in Norway and the Nordic region. The legacy of the Nordic Sami Institute has played an important role in the maintaining and widening of research networking.

Sámi allaskuvla regularly organizes and hosts international indigenous research conferences and other academic activities in an array of topics. These events always attract indigenous scholars, as well as the mainstream circles, from Canada, the United States, Aotearoa/New Zealand, Australia, Taiwan, Japan, Russia, and many countries in North and South America. Scholars from Sámi allaskuvla are often invited speakers at various research conferences and international events worldwide. There is still a need to actualize a call for indigenous theory in a Sámi context, to analyze upgrowth and outcomes of transformative indigenous education, to produce new knowledge based on indigenous and Sámi epistemologies and philosophies, and to shorten the gap between research and Sámi communities. Research and education in the local communities might be one of the strategies for achievement of this goal.

Knowledge Reclamation

Knowledge Reclamation is an ongoing struggle of any indigenous institution in the mainstream educational system. For Sámi allaskuvla, many of the following aspects are underlying the future advancement:

1. To retain and maintain knowledge and scholarship
2. To create multiple pathways to knowledge and scholarship
3. To strengthen scholarship acquisition and competences

In the Sámi context, one more aspect is to be added:

4. To strengthen legitimacy of indigenous traditional knowledge and to work in close collaboration with communities to retain, maintain, and protect it

At the present, the use of traditional and local knowledge has become more and more desirable in decision making processes. In Norway, a recently adopted Biodiversity law (*Naturmangfoldloven*) confirms the significance of inclusion of

traditional knowledge in resource management. This trend opens up possibilities for the development of study programs and research activities aimed at documentation and securing of traditional knowledge and skills in Sápmi. Sámi allaskuvla has already started building up a field of traditional knowledge in order to enhance competence and to promote the legitimacy of traditional knowledge and skills. However, there is a need to implement this objective in an appropriate and ethical way, treating traditional knowledge as a legitimate and authoritative source of information in the mainstream system of resource management (Porsanger and Guttorm 2011). This work is part of Knowledge Reclamation. Sámi communities, museums, language centers, schools, and kindergartens all around Sápmi are in a great need of a formalised and deep knowledge about documentation, protection, maintenance, dissemination, teaching, and storage of Sámi traditional knowledge.

Lifting of the academic level and competence is another site of struggle for Knowledge Reclamation, which is manifested in a desire of Sámi allaskuvla to establish doctoral education. The field of Sámi language and literature has been strategically chosen for the first doctoral program, which is grounded in indigenous understandings, epistemology, and competence. The planning work took many years starting from the examination of the first cohort of the master students in this field. The PhD program was accredited by NOKUT in 2015 and started in 2016. The entire process of elaboration and accreditation of this program allowed Sámi allaskuvla to mature substantially as an academic institution.

Although the institution envisioned long-ago the need to develop its own doctoral education in indigenous language, the institutional framework was not in fact prepared for the tremendous amount of work required for the establishment of doctoral education. It was not the doctoral program per se which needed to be designed. Rather, the institution had to build up and approve the whole framework and infrastructure of doctoral education demanding the design of legal, research ethical, administrative and other regulations. Today, this comprehensive and immense work is done and the academic and regulative infrastructure is built. Now Sámi allaskuvla is able to develop doctoral programs in other fields of research, if such priorities are to be set as reasonable in the future. These experiences can serve as the guiding Morning Star for other indigenous institutions.

Along the way to accreditation of the doctoral program, Sámi allaskuvla met an extraordinary obstacle. Being an indigenous institution and serving the needs and interest of an indigenous minority, Sámi allaskuvla was not able to fulfill the quantitative requirements of the Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research regarding quality assurance and quality development. It is required a number of 15 PhD students within the first 5 years, and further there shall be 15 or more students in the program at all times to ensure an efficient learning environment.

Sámi allaskuvla used its entire professional and leadership capacity to reason, argue, present evidence, and get support of the bigger universities and Sámi political authorities, in order to get an exemption from this quantitative requirement. Many influential institutions supported the Sámi argumentation: the Sámi Parliament of Norway and the Sámi Parliamentarian Council, the Norwegian Association of Higher Education Institutions, and such comprehensive universities as the Universities of

Tromsø, Nordland, and Bergen, just to mention some. The international expert committee evaluated the doctoral program and strongly recommended granting an exemption. The Panel of Experts recognized the absolute necessity for research and research infrastructure aimed specifically at Sámi communities, and concurred that Sámi allaskuvla was well prepared for the doctoral education and was able “. . .to serve as a role model also for other indigenous people and research organizations around the world” (Expert report 2015). This struggle was without any doubts part of Knowledge Reclamation.

Renewal

Since the establishment, the institutional aspiration and desire has been to become a specialized Nordic or pan-Sámi indigenous university. The establishment of doctoral education formally allowed Sámi allaskuvla to change the English translation of the name of the institution in 2015 from being *Sámi University College* to become *Sámi University of Applied Sciences*. (The Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research allowed university colleges with the accredited doctoral programs to carry a designation of “a university” in the English translations of their names, in order to communicate internationally the high academic level of their education.) The national mainstream systems have their own accreditation criteria for achieving a formal university status. In the indigenous and minority context, it is usually a mission impossible for any indigenous institution to meet the mainstream criteria. Moreover, the mainstream universities usually monitor and contest indigenous institutions’ endeavors to be called universities (Smith 2015). For Sámi University of Applied Sciences, the university designation is more than just a translation. It is rather a visualization of the aspirations of the institution and justification of the broad and deep character of Sámi indigenous language education on its own terms and rights.

The time has come for Sámi University to critically reflect on its history of struggle, incremental changes, challenges, achievements, shortcomings, and success. There is a need to consider challenges of the present day and the future, to find Sámi ways to advance nationally and internationally for the good of the broadly defined Sámi society of the twenty-first century and for the international indigenous world. Sámi University needs to further build on the successful elements of the advancement of Sámi language education and research. In addition, the institution needs to reposition itself within the emerging spaces of the postcolonial context, which has become a site of contestation in indigenous education and research. There is a need to become more aware of the limits of the institution, and be willing and theoretically and practically informed to challenge these limitations. On the way, inspiration and support can be earned from Sámi communities, as well as from collaboration with other indigenous educational institutions, indigenous universities, tribal colleges, as well as the postcolonial universities. The potential partner institutions need to be open to academic freedom on indigenous terms. They need to be

sites of unconventional thinking and creativity not only within their own university profiles, but also within indigenous education and research.

In the context of the transformative theory, Sámi University has been successful in the implementation of the need to put Sámi language, knowledge, and culture at the center of Sámi education, and in the absolute need to make and lead transformation of education by ourselves. There are at least two essential elements, which will catalyze further development and renewal:

- A need to centralize the need of transforming
- A need to become more literate about new formations of colonization

This implies looking critically in a Sámi way, based on the Sámi theory of knowledge, conception of reality and value system, at the circular praxis of transformation, where a cycle of Conscientization–Transforming–Resistance can be entered from any position (Smith 2015). This kind of analytical and reflexive thinking may be a strategic reinvestment in theoretical tools to assist energetic further development of the institution.

There are several reasons for a need for Sámi allaskuvla to utilize the lived experiences and to move forward, to reconfigure its position in Sápmi and internationally, and to articulate its role in the present and the future. The following list is very much inspired by the praxis and theorizing of the Sami and other indigenous scholars (especially by Keskitalo 1997; Kuokkanen 2008; Smith 2011, 2015; Andreotti et al. 2011):

- A need to have a critical site for understanding how colonization works in its present formation, in order to be able to respond appropriately.
- A need to develop and teach tools that help Sápmi across national borders and indigenous peoples internationally to unpack colonization into resistance and development on their own terms.
- A need to grow in student numbers and become a site that attracts broader range of Sámi students, both with Sámi language skills and especially without such skills, in order to develop a critical mass of linguistic, cultural, and intellectual change-makers.
- A need to always keep in mind that indigenous students are entitled to the best. More attention should be put to ensure equal emphasis and accountability on access, participation, retention, and success of the students.
- A need to focus on the contemporary Sámi means of livelihood and emerging Sámi economy and its associated work force needs, to assist building work opportunities and employment that derives from Sámi ways of livelihood, priorities, and community interests.
- A need to utilize social capital of the Sámi society across national borders, to broaden responsibility to embrace Sámi communities. A need to develop continuous and persistent learning spaces and multiple pathways of learning in the communities and together with the communities. There is therefore a need for establishment of several sites of Sámi education located in the

communities all around Sápmi in order to link effectively to the local needs and expectations.

- A need to utilize modern technologies for online education, which embrace the essential features of indigenous education.
- A need to create a more powerful and collaborative community of scholars, nationally and internationally.
- A need to understand and heal the divide between Sámi communities and the academy, and to find strength in this collaboration.
- A need to advance internationally, to utilize in a greater extend existing and potential international networks with indigenous and nonindigenous institutions of higher education and research.

There is a challenge to keep the Sámi language as a focal point and simultaneously broad and deep in terms of the diversified Sámi and indigenous context. Additionally, an epistemological pluralism in higher education makes the development prospective even more challenging. For the educational purposes, the institution has to deal with “controversy in higher education to improve students’ analysis, promote intellectual freedom and equip students to engage with complexity, diversity and uncertainty” (Andreotti et al. 2011, p. 45). For the research purposes, it is essential to enhance proactive research for transformation in a diversified sociolegal cross-border context of Sápmi.

Conclusion and Future Directions

For almost 30 years, Sámi allaskuvla has been educating Sámi people; formalizing their competences; strengthening their language skills; providing with knowledge of indigenous contexts worldwide; reflecting together with the students on the past, the present, and the future; and giving formal education in the areas that are important for the Sámi culture. In this process, traditional knowledge and the Sámi language have always been the key issue, the means of all activities, the sources of energy, power and inspiration, the sources of knowledge, and theorizing. Capacity building for the Sámi has been the main priority.

In the future, Sámi University shall continue to develop and deliver educational and research programs in closer collaboration with Sámi communities, building a critical mass of linguistic, cultural, and intellectual change-makers all over Sápmi across national borders. International advancement shall be strengthened through an operational and proactive cooperation and networking, which is capable of enriching and inspiring all cooperation bodies, academic staff, and students. As a result, new, internationally oriented and locally necessary educational programs can be created. This will build work opportunities and employment and assist development of Sámi and other indigenous communities with their culture and identity. Further elaboration of Sámi theorizing will contribute to knowledge production, which indigenous communities need and require, and which can enrich both the mainstream academy and the growing body of indigenous research worldwide. This is the way to reach out

the main vision of Sámi allaskuvla to become Sámi and Indigenous University, where Sámi language is used orally and in writing, and where indigenous peoples' values and thinking are at the center of knowledge and capacity building. According to the recent strategic plan for the period 2017–2021, Sámi University envisions further development of Sámi and indigenous communities, means of livelihood, languages, and cultures on their own terms.

Sámi University has shown a great innovative, advanced, progressive, and unprecedented development potential. This institution is able to create a space for the Sámi and other indigenous people, especially the young ones, and the like-minded peers nationally and internationally, to maintain and develop indigenous identity, and to extend self-development and political sovereignty. The institution has both an ability and a renewing potential to continue and to augment its leadership in the Sámi and in indigenous education. There is a space for the institution to reimagine itself as a guiding Morning Star showing directions in a broader Sámi and indigenous context, to deliver liberatory education and research that enables to transform Sámi and indigenous societies for the better. The metaphor of a Sámi *lávvu* and the poles that are chosen in respect to a desirable size and the amount of people to accommodate can inspire a renewed and empowering further advancement.

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Interviews

- Assistant Professor Mai Britt Utsi, Sámi University of Applied Sciences, May 13, 2016
- Associate Professor Mikkel Nils Sara, Sámi University of Applied Sciences, February 2, 2017
- Associate Professor Torkel Rasmussen, Sámi University of Applied Sciences, May 30, 2016
- Professor Gunvor Guttorm, Sámi University of Applied Sciences, June 23, 2016
- Professor Jan Henry Keskitalo, the Elder of Sámi University of Applied Sciences and its first Rector
- Professor Vuokko Hirvonen, Sámi University of Applied Sciences, May 23, 2016



Diagnosing Elements of Colonization in Indigenous Education: An African Effort to Research and Transform Education for Indigenous Peoples

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Kelone Khudu-Petersen and Bagele Chilisa

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Abstract

No matter what academic discipline one pursues there is a concept, a theme, a topic, a subject from the history, culture, experiences, and indigenous knowledge systems of the formally colonized that has been excluded from mainstream discourses either because they did not fit in the academic codes and classifications or because they were considered superstitious, irrelevant, and of no use to human development. In this chapter, the authors argue that indigenous-based epistemologies are essential for transformative education. Afrology is presented as an African-centered epistemology, and it is the underlying philosophy of the proposed decolonization process. Nabudere (2006) defines Afrology as: “a philosophical, epistemological and methodological approach that emphasizes that Africa’s achievements are recognized” (p. 7). With this concept, the chapter illustrates possible ways through which every/any education topic in the indigenous learning context can include a research for identities, revitalization

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of indigenous cultures as well as an integration of the indigenous epistemologies with other knowledge systems. Emphasis is made on the use of indigenous research frameworks and the use of indigenous cultural values to identify gaps in current mainstream education. The approach presented here facilitates educational transformation for indigenous peoples through research with education as a source of curriculum agenda, content, and teaching strategies. The authors argue that Afrikology should guide a research using the epistemological treasures found in indigenous education art, crafts, music, games, traditional story, and performances as indigenous research data collection and teaching methods.

Keywords

Africology · Indigenous knowledge · Ontological security · Basarwa · Botswana · Epistemology

Introduction: Urgent Need to Research, Decolonize, and Transform Education for Indigenous Peoples

Discords in Current Practices

Rain, rain go away!
 Come again another day.
 Little Tommy wants to play!

In a primary school in the Kalahari (the land of the indigenous San people), children can be heard chanting the rhyme above during their English lesson. In the next session, the teacher may be reading a story which begins like: “It was a nice sunny day when . . .” In the Art and Crafts sessions, it is not uncommon to find on walls of classrooms snowmen, snowflakes out of paper, or a giant Santa Claus.

The country’s currency’s name *Botswana Pula* translates to rain, which signifies the value of this weather condition. It is equally absurd and inapt to instruct children to craft snowmen, snowflakes, and Santa Claus in a country where it never snows. These items and concepts are far removed from the children’s physical experiences, their cultural contexts, and tacit knowledge of the world in which they live. Throughout this chapter, examples are provided as tools for reflexivity, to prompt readers to research their own educational practices some of which may have been adopted blindly from the colonizing forces. By encouraging reflexivity, the authors knock at the educator’s door and hope that he/she joins in the struggle of educational research to find ways through which education can be transformed for inclusivity and suitability for learners in any situation. It is only through reflexivity and willingness to change, that the first steps toward educational transformation and decolonization can be taken.

It has to be acknowledged that many indigenous education practitioners have internalized colonization and have come to equate their cultural heritage to

backwardness. Akena (2014) describes the extent and effects of colonization on the minds of “educated” indigenous peoples, he argues:

. . . European educators demanded that African schoolchildren reject their own “primitive and pagan” customs in order to embrace the new, civilized ways of learning and living. This automatically meant that schoolchildren and anyone who desired the new, civilized way should cut themselves away from the Indigenous influence of families . . . It is the painful colonial legacy in which the seed of inferiority and unassertiveness were implanted into the colonized minds that makes it hard for them to form a united front in the struggle for recognition of their Indigenous values, belief systems, and ways of knowing. (p. 35)

Akena further asserts:

The Westernized African nationalists and bourgeoisie who took over power from former colonial masters have betrayed the cause of decolonization. They have protected the economic interests of the colonial masters, are weak, and lack the financial resources to boost their economy. Many African nationalists and bourgeoisie appear to want to belong to the colonial world, to monopolize commerce and dictate government policy. (p. 83)

In agreement with Akena, the authors of this chapter argue that even where Eurocentric colonialism has been reduced, ethnic oppression still reigns and determines the discourse in education. Africans who went through Western education, mostly members of dominant ethnic groups, bring this colonial mindset into their duties of developing education policies, curricula, text books, and teaching. Education for indigenous people, therefore, tends to function within colonized frameworks. This puts ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples at a great disadvantage as they are exposed to education which is double-laden with colonialism – both Western imperialism and ethnic oppression (Khudu-Petersen 2007). Therefore, if education is to be transformed, activists (researchers and educators included) have to be brave enough to endure official resistance and social ridicule.

Official resistance can be perceived in situations where the use of learners’ mother-tongue is forbidden in class and in some cases even on the whole school premises. According to Badejo (1989), Botswana is one of the Sub-Saharan countries in which the government has the good intentions of providing development programs to all, but excludes a vast majority of the population from this benefit by a condemnation of indigenous languages in public/official spaces:

[The government] . . . publicly declares its intention to involve the entire population in its development programmes, but then forbids the use of indigenous languages in schools allegedly because they cannot express modern scientific concepts. Yet, the vast majority of the population can only function in these ‘condemned’ languages. (p. 51)

Decolonization and transformation of education for the benefit of indigenous peoples and marginalized minority populations should start in the classroom, spearheaded by education practitioners. Colonization is already deeply entrenched in indigenous societies; there are symptoms of rejection of indigenous cultures by indigenous peoples. Therefore, researchers and educators supporting transformation

need to be alert to these facts and find compromises in order to achieve change, while considering realities surround indigenous populations. To illustrate the entrenched social rejection and resistance toward living between the so-called “modern” or the urban life and traditional rural life, a rhyme is cited here:

Mma Tshwene, Mma Tshwene
ka boribanyana, a a ja bogobe ka leswana,
a isa makgabe toropong,
a isa makgabe toropong!

The chant roughly translates to: “Mma Tshwene, the baboon girl, with her ugly face and naivety, eats traditional porridge with a metal spoon and she wears her traditional bead skirt to the city!”

The implication here is for people to let indigenous practices and cultural artifacts remain where they belong; in the traditional “uncivilized” rural places. A metal spoon is too good to use for indigenous food. One should be ashamed for wearing traditional clothes in the city. In the face of this strong resistance, this chapter affirms the practice of educators who have dared to counteract the criticism by applying methodologies which are relevant to the indigenous learners and opening doors to indigenous arts, drama, and music as tools for learning. Chanting this rhyme is most common in rural villages, where it would be expected that indigenous traditions reign. However, with the unconscious, internalized colonization, the children happily and innocently chant rhymes and sing songs such as the above.

Although we are far from defeating colonization, Edwards and Brannely (2017) have identified a decolonization agenda pushed by researchers in colonized countries across the world (e.g., Chilisa 2011; Kovach 2015; Smith 2012). These researchers aim at transforming research and decolonizing education by detaching “. . . what counts as knowledge, its production and how it is used, from imperialism” (Edwards and Brannely 2017, p. 273). Much like the proposition made by the authors of this chapter, which is to reconstruct canonized knowledge so as to accommodate Indigenous Knowledge, the contemporaries of transformative education aim to create a space for different ways of knowing through the use of methods in which indigenous peoples are not subjects, but active collaborators. The implementation of collaborative educational inquiry creates chances to unearth indigenous epistemologies and place them at par with existing knowledge systems.

It is time for education practitioners to push the current education systems and other social structures toward decolonization. This can be best achieved by indigenous peoples themselves. However, according to Battiste (2004), the journey of transformation:

cannot be achieved by Indigenous peoples alone but has to be collective collaborative work as . . . These collaborations should also draw from the rich but neglected knowledge that is already available. This transformation does not come easily, as many Indigenous people recognize the damage that many researchers have inflicted on them and resist research that is appropriative and not beneficial to them. (p. 9)

Strategies for Decolonization and Transformation of Education

Against this background, education practitioners should reflect upon their teaching methods to evaluate whether their work is based on transformative practices that would allow indigenous epistemologies to have significant meanings in education. Considering the first classroom example given at the beginning of this chapter, one sees the works of a colonized mind which prevents the teachers from understanding the sense of the rhyme in order to adapt it to the learner's environment. The rhyming words in the chant are: Rain, again, play, away and day, if the English Language syllabus requires teaching these words, a teacher who is conscious of his/her environment, mindful of the ethnicity of the learners would teach the same words, packed in a relevant context:

Rain, rain . . . comes today!
 And come again another day
 Cool the sand so we can play
 Sun, sun you are going to fail
 Because cool rain will come today!

With the rain rhyme turned around, the teacher reaches the aim of the English lesson, but even more importantly, draws the children's attention to the weather conditions in their land. The content is relevant to dreams of the children, who wish to play in cool and wet sand. Instead of wishing rain away, Kalahari children will now be empowered to chant a rhyme in English from the bottom of their hearts, to pray for rain on a hot summer day! The adults, who understand English, are likely to appreciate the voices of children calling to the ancestors to send some rain! The rhyme as adapted here exemplifies a transformed education practice which is likely to be palatable to indigenous learners and their parents. Such practice has a chance to reduce alienation and garner support from indigenous communities. Alienating and colonizing education has been observed in the Botswana context as harmful and counterproductive, for example, Mokibelo (2016) citing a report by Letshabo (2002) state:

San children's parents do not have equitable opportunity to visit school due to their life style of hunters and gatherers and cattle herding which is also based on subservience. Even when an opportunity is presented parents do not visit the school mainly because school promotes, in the parents view, a culture that is foreign to them. In this respect, parents of San ethnic minority children may not be able to solve problems their children are experiencing at school and again will not create a relationship with school authorities necessary to develop their children. In this regard, early childhood care is not nourished by the school for both the San and BaZezuru. (p. 167)

These disadvantageous conditions necessitate a research of practices to diagnose the holes through which valuable indigenous education slips. It is evident then that adaptation and not adoption should be the *modus operandi*. Blind adoption of Eurocentric content and their means of transmission should be avoided at all costs.

Of course, education practitioners may be skeptical of these thoughts because they feel constrained by the prescribed timeframe, the rigid curriculum as well as the methodologies they are equipped with. Analyzing indigenous wisdom as a contribution toward the transformation of education, educators could justify and “legitimize” it by placing it within the realms of allowing research and experimentation into the classroom. In this mode, learners could be given a chance to use their own knowledge and to some extent learn at their own pace and in learning methods suitable for them. In a modest way, knowing the self, owning knowledge, and determining the methods and pace of learning can be seen as steps toward the decolonization process.

This chapter facilitates the decolonization and transformation of education by urging educators to open their minds and their classroom doors for environmental influences and accommodation of indigenous knowledge. However, in adapting “uncommon” and “informal” methodologies, teachers should not expect to easily sail through without resistance from authorities who are still shackled by rigid methodologies that push indigenous knowledge frames out of education systems. The observation shared in this chapter is that even in the postcolonial period, Sub-Saharan African societies still experience oppressive ideologies in which they are compelled to adopt formal education brought by colonial regimes from European countries.

Formal institutions including school were and still are modeled on Eurocentric patterns: official dress code, classroom arrangement, hierarchical management structures, official language and even sporting games, art and craft, music, and other forms of play. This structure is what is known as “civilization” through formal education. This so-called civilization disparaged and even outlawed a lot of African values and practices. The oppressive structures negatively affected Africans, in their sense of trust and respect for indigenous epistemologies, sense of identity, and pride in their own cultures. These practices may have contributed to the erosion of indigenous knowledge by elevating colonial cultures through education, religion, and historical manifestation over the indigenous values. The same idea was expressed succinctly by Akena (2014) citing Wane (2006):

Certain structures and institutions were required for the social and cultural invasion to effectively materialize in non-European societies. According to Wane (2006), these structures and institutions, like formal schooling, facilitated rewriting the history of the colonized subjects to deny their existence, devaluing Indigenous knowledge, and debasing cultural beliefs and practices. The mechanism that enforced this was the Western system of education, texts, and literature, thereby making the business of education and knowledge production contested terrain. (p. 83)

To go against the imperialistic force (which reigns even in the postcolonial period), educational practitioners should stay vigilant and interrogate the content of the curriculum and the prescribed methods of transmission they are instructed to use. Educators should employ principles of Afroecology, by implementing the accommodating indigenous ways of knowing while they also realize the canonized Western-based educational goals and curriculum materials. An example of such

transformative action can be viewed in the actions of a lecturer who shall be referred to as Dr. Bashaga (not her real name). As an Art Education lecturer, she came across a topic in the primary school syllabus (Creative and Performing Arts CAPA) where learners were instructed to draw their faces and those of their parents and siblings.

Dr. Bashaga reflected upon the frustrating experiences she had whenever she tried to introduce her family to European or American friends; her explanations of the relationships between family members seemed too long and confusing for them. Their confusion about the seemingly complex relations in indigenous cultures would often lead friends to impatiently conclude the conversation with “whatever!” The lecturer realized that this lack of understanding of the complexity of African family structures by people from Western cultures may contribute toward the loss of ethnographical information, which is anchored in indigenous knowledge systems. This depletion of indigenous knowledge particularly in formal setups could have a domino effect through which numerous indigenous cultural practices could be erased, denying indigenous learners the chance to retrace their histories.

Dr. Bashaga, therefore, decided to divert from the textbook and curriculum-prescribed methodology for the art project dealing with the topic “My family.” She made an effort to fight against the loss of valuable indigenous cultural material when she employed African-based routes of teaching a topic in which children were instructed to draw the faces of their nuclear family. In her teacher-education course, Dr. Bashaga challenged her teacher education students to engage in an exercise which would train them to take their learners beyond drawing the faces of their nuclear families, but to instead paint a tree in which the roots represent a generation, and the stem, branches, leaves, and fruits would represent other generations respectfully.

This exercise proved not to be as simple as it may sound because the student-teachers had to examine their own history, and analyze their familial and social relationships in the African context. The paintings that came from this exercise were interesting and were often (even where they were abstract) interpreted by viewers as reflecting unity or harmony and illustrating lineage. A corresponding play on family relations was composed and the whole class played roles of family members. The play clearly demonstrated that African family relations do not end with mum, dad, sister, brother, cousin, uncle, aunt, grandmom, and granddad. With the example of Dr. Bashaga, the authors of this chapter conclude that Art can be an important tool of decolonization and transformation. Albers (1999), cited by Khudu-Petersen (2008) states:

Art offers us something seldom seen in other content areas of the curriculum: an immediate emotional and intellectual response to other perspectives. Unlike the texts in many other content areas which take an abundance of time to read, with art, we stop, we respond, we reflect -often in a matter of a few moments. Art, then, takes on a powerful and pivotal position in the curriculum. (p. 10)

Educators are therefore urged to tap into indigenous arts and use them in the classroom because the arts provide ways through which a nation and ethnic groups can examine their own images, making their identities, their social connections, and

their cultures tangible and realizable. Every culture has its own artistic expressions; indigenous educators should, therefore, take advantage of all art forms as important tools for decolonization and transformation of education, as it was the case in the project described.

From Dr. Bashaga's example, we do not only learn how cultural material can be utilized through art projects, but we also realize that ethnographic research on indigenous histories, beliefs could add value to school projects, and make them relevant for learners. Dr. Bashaga's students learnt some ethnographic facts through their Art research and practical work. The students rediscovered the role of names in indigenous cultures (a reference to Southern Africa). The students learned that in indigenous contexts, names or reference to individuals may change as societal and family roles shift, and that there are distinct and direct references to describe family relations. For example, once a woman or a man marries, she/he is commonly referred to by (her in-law family) as "wife of . . . or husband of" . . . The speaker would illustrate ties to the in-law by qualifying this married person as 'wife of my brother, or husband of my aunt or of my cousin'. In culture abiding families, it is considered disrespectful and a sign of non-acceptance of the in-law relatives if their given/first names are used. Furthermore, as soon as the married couple has a child, reference or naming shifts again, to mark their position as parents. They will now be named "mother and/or father of."

Building these "complex kinships" has ethnographic value in the indigenous cultures where it is practiced. Tracing the narrative of upholding and cherishing expanded family ties, the authors reinforced the importance of the practice in keeping the "clan" closely knit and ensuring mutual support by all members. For instance, there are indigenous cultural structures which make it perfectly normal for someone to have more than one mother. In Botswana for example, children from two cousins will be considered as siblings, a practice that extends the brotherly/sisterly relationship further into new generations at points where it would become blurred. This social arrangement keeps a clan connected over generations contributing to united societies, nurturing grounds for members of the community to exist as "children from one womb" expressed in a conversation by Indigenous Leader, Motsiele (2007) with Khudu-Petersen. Advantages of nurturing extended family were highlighted by Beugré and Offodile (2001) citing other authors stating that:

The extended family also has positive impact on individuals, perhaps more so. It often provides social support in difficult situations such as death in a family, sickness or job loss (Beugré 1998). 'There is a general inclination of people in traditional societies to rely on members of their in-group for emotional as well as socioeconomic support and to feel some distrust for members belonging to an out-group' (Ali and Al-Shakis 1985: 664). Loyalty to family members is key to social acceptance as is also the importance of the group. In a collectivist culture, one assures one's social integration by being loyal to one's group, family or friends. (p. 538)

Readers in indigenous contexts may be aware that unlike in the Western situation, in many indigenous communities there are much longer strings connecting people beyond the nuclear family. It is believed in many African societies that "It takes the

whole village to raise a child” (Knight and Trowler (1999); Palmer and Gasman 2008; Swadener 2000). The art education exercise described above helped learners to examine their own identities and social connections. The extended family described Dr. Bashaga’s example, may be the root of the indigenous philosophy in which education of children is a shared responsibility. In the analysis of colonizing factors, and seeking pathways toward democratized and transformed education for indigenous learners, this chapter draws attention to the phenomenon of loss of relevance in regard to the reference of Africans to their relatives and the naming of their children.

The students in Dr. Bashaga’s class had other eye-opening discoveries in regard to traditional names given to children. They found out that having been born into a family, living in the society, and experiencing positive and negative events affecting the people and their land, many people name their children according to these experiences. Indigenous names are given to children to commemorate sad events that happened to families around their time of birth. If there is famine, a child can be called “Tlala” which translates to “hunger.” The ugliest names were given to children born after one or more siblings had passed away at baby age. There are names like “Matlakala” – Trash, or Maswe – Ugly face. A practice which elders explain to be protection of its bearer because the Gods would not want to call someone who has such an ugly name.

These negative names have often been frowned upon and forbidden by colonial Christian pastors and teachers and were instead replaced with names expressing opposite feelings or Biblical names. Of course, there are also indigenous names marking positive events or phenomenon such as Mmapula (girl of the rain), Kgomotso (comfort after grief), Bonte (beauty), and Khumo (wealth). European names have also been given to replace names that are considered difficult to pronounce, e.g., Kgomotsego (accepting loss and overcoming grief) and Rikeletso (wishes). In one case a girl was named “Chelwana,” which in Shekgalagari means little seed. The name describes the fact that she was born tiny, in a family that had fertility worries. Her name marked the fact that she may have been tiny at birth, but she will grow to blossom and carry on the family/clan’s bloodline. Sadly, when she entered school, her name was changed to Boingotlo (Setswana) meaning obedience. Ashamed of her given name, she would not let anyone call her Chelwana any longer. The knowledge and hope vested in the naming of this girl was forever lost. This phenomenon has been observed and by a number of researchers including, Suzman (1994), Guma (2001), Lesejane (2006), and Neethling (2005).

This so-called civilization disparaged and even outlawed a lot of African values and practices. These oppressive structures negatively affected Africans, in their sense of trust and respect for indigenous epistemologies, and their sense of identity and pride in their own cultures have been diminished. During her PhD, Khudu-Petersen (2007) observed a curriculum unit in which a teacher (Ms. S) accepted the idea of working with indigenous knowledge bearers. She visited the village to find someone she could collaborate with in teaching hand-molding with clay. She was pointed in the direction of one of the village elders (Mrs K). Mrs. K. agreed to get involved in classroom teaching. The two women held a preparatory meeting in

which Mrs. K told the teacher a story, which could possibly be narrated to the children. The teacher asked if it would be alright for the children to be challenged to finish up the story themselves. The storyteller was excited by this idea, which fell fully in traditional storytelling culture where the audience, particularly children, are given a chance to predict the actions of the protagonist before the storyteller goes on to narrate further.

During the storytelling session, the learners were relaxed and free to participate. The usual frontal desk arrangement was exchanged for a circular arrangement and the rigid “only teachers are allowed to talk” rules were overruled. The story was dramatized and illustrated and, according to the teacher, the pictures were more vivid than usual. The story told was highly entertaining, it included songs and rhymes which the children were happy to sing and chant. Dramatization came easy and without any shyness.

The story was of a hunter who during the drought season went out into the bush to find food for his family. A beautiful bird sang a melodious tune as it guided him toward a cave which had big shiny eggs. The bird told the hunter that he was allowed to take only one egg. Therefore, he thought he must choose the biggest of all. The man kept on picking an egg, laying it down only to pick another egg which he thought to be bigger; all the while he murmured a chant that matched his confusion. His friend, the bird tried to warn him as the giant who owned the cave was approaching. The class was tense with suspense! The furious monster arrived at the entrance of his cave. The storyteller paused and looked at the children who expected her to carry on. However, the storyteller asked the teacher to take over. Ms. S. asked the children to go into groups to find how the story could have ended. There was a lot of pushing and bustling around the classroom with some children already blurting out how they thought the story would end. Some children already knew the full story. The children eventually settled down in groups and presented the following possible ending of the story:

1. The giant was mad at the man; he took him, tore him to pieces, and devoured him.
2. The man shivered with fright, he knelt down to beg the giant to save his life. He explained that he had to find food for his starving children. The giant forgave him and let him go.
3. The monster forgave the apologetic man and gave him an egg to take home.
4. The friendly bird asked the giant to pardon his friend, which he did and even gave him an egg to take home.

The learners were eager to hear the “true” end of the story but the facilitator told them that she would postpone the answer to another time when she would tell the same story by the fire. When the children still insisted that they be told how the story really ended, the storyteller gave an answer that was eye-opening toward the nature of indigenous knowledge, which was to say: “You took the story to so many different endings and they were all suitable and therefore they are correct. Even when people embark on the same journey, they may arrive at different destinations!” When the teacher later asked the elderly woman why she did not tell the story as she originally

knows it, she was told that traditional stories are like cookery; every woman has her secret recipe – a little more or less salt makes the food special.

When asked for the moral of the story, there were quite a few interpretations. Some children said the story was a lesson about decision-making. Other children thought the most important message was that one should not take anything without asking the owner. Another message was that one should stay cautious and heed warnings. A few children also said the story was a lesson for people not to be greedy but to appreciate any little bit that they are offered. Education practitioners reading this chapter may realize how the involvement of indigenous facilitators cover a wide-range of topics and turn the pedagogic approach from the compartmentalized style to an interdisciplinary approach. In the storytelling session cited above, there were elements of language learning (listening, comprehension, and self-expression), there were critical thinking and problem-solving, moral education, and art. The children also learned something about the open nature of traditional oral literature.

Up to now, the authors have only cited positive effects of teacher/cultural collaboration. However, there are occasions where such collaborative efforts can fail. One such an occasion was observed by Khudu-Petersen (2007) when the teacher and his facilitator did not meet beforehand to prepare for the class session. The indigenous facilitator was a basket weaver, who had promised to bring samples of materials and some tools to demonstrate the craft to learners. Even though the facilitator appeared on time for class, he hardly had any tools or materials to show. He was slightly drunk and he smelled of snuff. The gentleman asked the teacher for money before he could start teaching. He said a few things in the local language, but the teacher did not understand. The basketry lesson failed to happen. The teacher was disappointed and quite upset. Of course, prejudices were confirmed: “The San do not care for the education of their children . . . they do not know the value of education.” This particular teacher even said he would never invite “them” (referring to community members) into his classroom.

It is situations like the one described above that cause misunderstanding and propagate prejudice and the marginalization of indigenous people. Instead of quick judgments, the education practitioner is challenged to consider that not every member in an indigenous community is willing or even suitable to volunteer services and share skills in a formal set-up. Another reality to face is that alcohol abuse is rampant in indigenous communities (in Botswana) as proclaimed by Molamu and MacDonald (1996); Twyman (2001); Le Roux (2002). Exploring the reasons for alcohol abuse among indigenous people of the Kalahari may need to be further explored, but that process lies beyond the scope of this chapter.

These are some of the challenges that call upon researchers and teachers to explore the causes of issues negatively affecting indigenous peoples’ lives. The research undertakings may provide answers on which to base recommendation for policies that are favorable to indigenous peoples. Even though the indigenous people of Botswana usually reside in remote places, where there is high level of unemployment and poverty, many tend to conform and cooperate with public service providers. The community members often have the spirit of volunteerism and are proud to have a hand in the education of their children.

The authors of this chapter pose a further question to readers: Why should indigenous peoples be “invited” and expected to facilitate lessons and share their knowledge free of charge while public servants and researchers are paid for their work and their skills? This expectation of volunteerism from indigenous people who are often financially underprivileged can be interpreted as indicative of the little value that is awarded to indigenous knowledge and the bearers of it. The ruling elite and the dominant ethnic groups enjoy economic power at the expense of the minority ethnic groups who reside in remote areas. To better understand the circumstance surrounding some of the problems experienced in schools, education practitioners are called to consider these socioeconomic and political issues when working with indigenous communities.

If sustainable transformation in education is to be achieved collaboration between school and indigenous communities is imperative. However, there should be a paradigm shift toward a system which would truly accept and value indigenous people and their knowledge. Through researching and re-researching educational processes, any form of colonization in education should be resisted, whether coming directly as Western imperialism or locally based ethnic dominance and marginalization of indigenous peoples. To gain insight into issues affecting indigenous peoples, storytelling was found to be an important tool to diagnose symptoms of the colonization such as disregard or distortion of names of indigenous locations, often eradicating valuable historical meanings that connect indigenous people to their homeland. When original names are erased, it becomes easy for indigenous people to be denied ownership of the land. An example is the narrative of the origin of the name Leuzwe/Luuzwe which is a Bakgalagari village, retold by Chilisa et al. (2017). According to a sage, there was a group of Bakgalagari people who had settled in dry land and were desperate to find a water source for domestic use and to water their livestock. Besides lack of water, the people had to guard their animals against predators. The duty of guarding livestock included studying the direction of predators, through observation, as many people can tell paw prints of each of the troublesome animals. The community members also studied the direction and times these animals moved. The people of Luuzwe were troubled by a hyena which came at night to steal animals from their stalls. Every morning men would trace the spoor of the hyena, in order to follow it and kill it. The people soon noticed that the animal's prints were obviously wet as it passed by their kraals. The men of Luuzwe found this discovery important because it indicated a possible water source located at the direction from which the hyena came. When the people traced back the animal, they arrived at a salt pan which had natural water holes.

A man was sent down the water hole to taste the water to check whether it was too salty or safe to drink. The explorer went down the well, tasted the water, and passed the gourd back to his people and called out “*Tshola leuzwe!*” Which translates to: take and taste it yourselves. The water turned out to be good to drink. Therefore the community moved from their settlement which had little water, to settle in the place where they had discovered water. They then named their village: Leuzwe or Luuzwe!. The name of this village has now been distorted and turned into Dutlwe, a meaningless name with no evidence of the historical identity it originally had.

In the African context, the names of places and people have important historical and/or cultural backgrounds and practitioners should engage in research to explore their meanings. In order to mitigate against hegemony and shift power relations, giving indigenous people a voice in matters concerning their identity and issues relating to their environment, educators are urged to avoid taking situations, practices, and facts for granted, but rather to engage in research; asking their learners and communities members for stories behind cultural issues, which could include taboos, totems, decorative patterns, architecture, music, and dance.

Community/school collaboration may be one of the ways to give teachers the opportunity to begin to understand their learners, gain insight into methodologies that are relevant for them, and acquire culture relevant examples to use in the classroom. The elders could feel accepted, respected, and recognized and may, as a result, take ownership of education and encourage their children to not only accept school but feel “at home” in the school environment. Collaboration can benefit both parties and strengthen relationships, nurturing ontological security. Following the argument of Khudu-Petersen (2007), teachers who are mostly from the dominant ethnic backgrounds may experience loss of what Giddens (1984, 1990, 1991) called ontology security as they do not feel they “fit” in an “alien” environment where they are not acknowledged by the indigenous communities. Equally indigenous learners, parents and elders in the local communities may have lost ontological security due to feeling alienated in the school environment where the language spoken, the culture, and even the learning environment are different from their own. The discomfort experienced by all stakeholders can be ascribed to loss of ontological security, or the trust people have in their surroundings, both human and nonhuman. This sense of security can only be achieved through mutual recognition and respect. To gain respect, it is necessary for stakeholders to collaborate so that they become familiar with one another, acknowledge the humanness of the other and experience the strengths of each other.

Exploring the possible advantages of collaborative work, Khudu-Petersen (2007) conducted a study in which she initiated collaboration between indigenous knowledge bearers and teachers in order to ease the tension between school and community as well as teachers and learners in Kweneng West district (inhabited by BaKgalari and San people) where a strong culture of underperformance in external examinations such as the Standard Four Attainment Tests and the Primary School Leaving Examination. Researchers have bemoaned the ethnic marginalization in education of learners in the district (Jotia and Pansiri 2013; Mokibelo (2016).

Khudu-Petersen’s study lasted 1 year and participants were two-hundred-and-forty (240) 4th year primary school learners. The study used pre- and post-intervention data collection of evaluation of learners’ self-esteem, level of trust in their community members, and acceptance and respect for their culture. Before the involvement of community members in facilitation, the research used binary questionnaires, interviews, and observations to find out how children valued, trusted, admired their family members as well as finding out how they felt about themselves. One of the data collection exercises was asking children to look in the mirror and describe their faces; free room was given by stepping back, observing without taking any photographs and but, with the consent of the children, voice recording.

The study revealed in the preintervention stage that children generally thought negative of themselves, their families, and their communities. They mostly made negative remarks about their own looks and the looks of their peers prior to the intervention. An intervention was then implemented in which members of the indigenous community were engaged in facilitating in Arts and culture in Creative and Performing Arts (CAPA) lessons and other curriculum disciplines. Storytelling, singing, dancing, and crafting were used to support the formal teaching method and to provide content relevant to learners.

The results of the collaborative cultural intervention revealed that most of the children found themselves beautiful and they expressed their feeling of respect and admiration for their elders. In contrast to the negative responses in the pre-intervention stage, after the intervention, the children responded positively to the statements: “I find myself good looking” and “The people in my home are knowledgeable” and “I admire my family members.” The San children (indigenous people of the Kalahari), who have distinctively different features as compared to the Tswana ethnic groups and have languages that sound exotic to the “Other,” seemed to have benefited most from the intervention. Most of children in this group found themselves beautiful and trustworthy, and they expressed admiration and trust toward their families and the village communities.

Summary

This chapter has described indigenous-based epistemologies, with a focus on Africology, and has articulated their relevance for decolonization and transformative education of indigenous peoples. The negative effects of colonization on indigenous populations were uncovered. The chapter discussed the harmful effects of internalized colonialism, which perpetuates oppressive structures even in the postimperial era. This discussion was important as a means to incite reflexivity in readers to help identify practices which may thwart efforts toward decolonization and transformation of education. Therefore, the readers were urged and guided to research in every discipline and in all topics in their school and tertiary institution curriculum for indigenous identities, indigenous languages, symbols of local environment, and unique cultural practices.

The authors mainly used examples in form of curriculum activities which implemented methodologies based on Afroecology. The chapter aimed to guide education practitioners toward decolonizing and transforming education through interrogation of their own praxis, comparing the conditions and circumstances described in the chapter with situations prevailing in the communities where they work. By offering examples of how indigenous knowledge, research frames and teaching methods could be applied for researching educational praxis, it is hoped that the chapter could contribute toward transformation of education to make it inclusive for all learners. Alongside suggestions to transform education, the authors strived to make readers aware of the resistance and hindrances that they may face when engaging in “new”

teaching methods which could shake up power relations in educational practices where indigenous philosophies and knowledge are undermined.

Conclusion can be drawn that Afrology, which recognizes values and wisdom of indigenous peoples and respects their ways of learning, is a key philosophy in pushing education decolonization and transformation agenda.

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Refusing the Settler Society of the Spectacle

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Sandy Grande

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Abstract

This chapter examines the relationship between Guy Debord’s notion of spectacle and settler colonialism, exploring the role that spectacle plays in the solidification of the settler state and the consolidation of whiteness. In so doing, it examines contemporary depictions of Native peoples in the mainstream media, with a particular focus on coverage of Indigenous peoples at Standing Rock and the #NoDAPL prayer camps. Ultimately, I argue that the ongoing production of spectacularized “Indians” functions to erase the lived experience of Indigenous peoples and, in so doing, serves as a transit for settler colonial relations.

Keywords

Spectacle · Settler Colonialism · Neoliberalism · Whiteness

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#NoDAPL anti-colonial struggle is profoundly anti-capitalist. It is the Frontline. It is the future (Estes 2016)

I used to tell people when I was young who asked, ‘what do you Indians want?’ ‘the right to be left alone to live’ . . . now I don’t see that as an option. Now we must do our best to live and show the rest of the world how to live. (Ladonna Brave Bull 2016)

Water Is Life

This simple but profound refrain became the rallying cry for the #NoDAPL movement (At its height, #NoDAPL was a global movement, drawing Indigenous peoples and allies from across the world; from New Zealand, Canada Australia, Ecuador, Peru, Hawaii, Mexico, and Belize among other nations.). The Lakota peoples and their allies gathered along the Mni Sose (Missouri River) and on the lands of the Oceti Sakowin (The Great Sioux Nation) to defend water and life. Led by Native youth and women, water protectors put their bodies on the frontlines of a 241-year war (and counting) against the ever-encroaching settler state. In this most recent battle, the objective was to block the Dakota Access Pipeline (re)routed by the Energy Transfer corporation to pass under Lake Oahe (the tribes water source) and across the Treaty lands and burial grounds of the Lakota peoples. Indigenous struggles to defend water, land and other relations operate well beyond the left-right continuum of American politics. It’s always been “Indians” vs. settler; regardless of political party (Consider, for example, that under President Obama – often viewed as the #NoDAPL savior – US oil production grew to reach 9.4 million bpd in 2015; the largest domestic oil production increase during any presidency in US history.). This is why the colonialist project is about elimination. Not assimilation. Not incorporation. Not accommodation. It is also why, for Indigenous peoples, the struggle is not grounded in claims for recognition or reconciliation. It is about refusal. Refusal equals life.

Introduction

This chapter examines the relationship between spectacle (Among the various theorizations of spectacle (e.g., Barthes, Crary, McLuhan), this chapter draws heavily upon the work of Foucault and Debord. Specifically, Foucault’s understanding of spectacle in terms of surveillance and Debord’s notion of spectacle as ideological, more broadly linked to capitalism, market consciousness, and a “society of the spectacle” figure prominently.) and settler colonialism. I am particularly interested in the role that spectacle plays in the solidification of the settler state and the consolidation of whiteness, particularly as intensified under neoliberalism. Moreover, while the implications of settler colonialism for Native peoples are or, should be, self-evident, I also consider the implications for the nonindigenous settler subject. As Memmi posits, “the benevolent colonizer (To be clear, Memmi’s notion of the “benevolent colonizer” is a referent to the self-effacing colonizer who refuses the ideology of colonialism but still lives within its confines (Memmi, p. 64). In contemporary parlance, they might be considered white allies.) can never attain the good, for his only choice is not between good and evil, but between evil and uneasiness” (Crary 1989, p. 87). Throughout this chapter, the spectacular portrayal of Indigenous peoples generally and of the #NoDAPL prayer camps more specifically, serves as a site in which to explore the contours of this “uneasiness.”

Writing in the late 1960s, French theorist Guy Debord penned his cautionary text the *Society of the Spectacle* (1967), wherein he laments the displacement of “authentic” social relations with their false representations under advanced capitalism. He writes, “In societies dominated by modern conditions of production, life is presented as an immense accumulation of spectacles. Everything that was directly lived has receded into representation” (#1). Bracketing his modernist discourse, the deeper salience of Debord’s analysis is its marking of the move from life in a market *economy* to life in a market *society* and the shifts that engender the “degradation of being into having” and from having to appearing (#17). He writes:

... (Spectacle) is not a mere decoration added to the real world. It is the very heart of this real society’s unreality. In all of its particular manifestations – news, propaganda, advertising, entertainment – the spectacle represents the dominant model of life. . . In both form and content (it) serves as a total justification of the conditions and goals of the existing system (#6).

Considering that his treatise was written well before the digital age and hyperreality of the twenty-first century, the corpus of Debord’s argument remains remarkably prescient. Under neoliberalism, the speed, scope, and power of spectacle has only intensified, reconfiguring the very character of life as not only conditioned by consumerism and commercialization but largely replaced by, exchanged for, and even rejected in favor of its more spectacular simulations. Think, for example, of the blurring lines between “real” and fake news and “real” and digital lives. Under spectacle-capitalism virtually every institution, every mode of being has been commodified to the point where it isn’t only that *everything* is for sale but that life itself is monetized and only worth living if it is on display (Consider for example the ways in which sex (e.g., Grinder, Tinder), love, and intimacy (e.g., eHarmony, cuddle businesses) and even marriage (e.g., Married at First Sight, the Bachelor) have not only been commodified but also put on display.). As Gamson (Gamson 2011) observes, we have moved beyond the notion that “everyone gets fifteen minutes of fame” into a time when “everyone already is a star” (p. 1068). Consider, for example, the rapid proliferation of social media celebrities (Consider, for example, the phenomena of the YouTube celebrity with personalities such as PewDiePie amassing 54.1 million “followers” and a net worth of \$15 million for being a “foul mouthed” video-game commentator. Such “celebrities” are beginning to surpass the wealth and popularity of “traditional” Hollywood stars. See, for example, <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/feb/03/why-youtube-stars-popular-zoella>) who generate large fandoms, millions of followers and dollars, from simply “sharing” curated and staged slices of their lives.

While life in the infinite public raises a variety of important questions about what it means to be human, my central concern remains with how the culture industry (re) produces exhibitions of self and other that works to consolidate whiteness and secure settler futurity (I understand the motif of “futurity” – with an intellectual genealogy that traces back to John L. O’Sullivan’s, treatise on manifest destiny – as an exclusively settler construct that is incommensurable with Indigeneity.). That is, insofar as spectacle is contingent upon the radical reification of self, an overvaluing

of the present, and rupturing of relationality, it becomes the perfect theater for producing anchorless (neoliberal) subjects whose every desire is increasingly structured by capital. As it forecloses relationality by normalizing disconnection, it effects an erasure of Indigenous peoples who continue to define themselves through relationship – to land, to history, to ancestors, to all our relations.

Consider, for example, how the water protectors at Standing Rock were only rendered visible through spectacle (According to Fairness and Accuracy in Media (FAIR), by September of 2016, of the three major broadcast news networks, only CBS filed a story on Standing Rock. Moreover, that story aired at 4 a.m. and was actually a re-reporting of a 48-word NPR story. FAIR also noted that while NPR's original version featured Amy Goodman's footage of the unprovoked attack on the protectors, CBS chose to exclude it.). That is, until and outside of the widely-circulated images of armored vehicles, riot police, water cannons, war bonnets, teepees and painted ponies, the Lakota peoples hardly existed, virtually erased from public consciousness (It should be noted that the few articles published in the press on this history were written by Native American scholars. For example, see: Nick Estes, "Fighting for Our Lives: #NoDAPL in Historical Context" (The Red Nation 2016) and Julian Brave NoiseCat and Anne Spice, "A History and Future of Resistance" (Jacobin Magazine 2016). Also, while independent media (e.g., Unicorn Riot, Anti-Media, AJ+) provided coverage, they also deployed spectacle as a means of drawing attention. As reported by Anti-Media, "Where the mainstream media failed, the independent media relentlessly covered the protests." Livestream coverage of the spectacular attacks was indeed *relentlessly* posted, often creating confusion about the level of violence at the camps. The nonspectacular reality was that the overwhelming majority of time at the Oceti Sakowin encampment was spent in prayer, cooking, training, eating, laughing, building, teaching, working, washing, cleaning, singing, listening, reading, and tending.). That is, except when needed as stand-ins for the "shame" of America. The reality, however, is that Standing Rock, from the Ghost Dances (1800s) to the occupation of Wounded Knee (1973), has long served as a site of collective, anti-colonialist, anti-capitalist Indigenous resistance and, that time and again, the *Oceti Sakowin* have stood on the front lines, protecting against the forces of US imperialism. Lost to the compressed space of spectacular time is the architecture of settler violence – Red Cloud's War (1866–1868); the War for the Black Hills (1876); the Indian Appropriations Act (1877); Wounded Knee (1890); the Dawes Allotment Act (1887); the Flood Control Act (1944); the Indian Relocation Act (1956) – and the multi-layered history that provides the context for what should have been the one and only #NoDAPL headline – "Unceasing Settler Violence Masquerading as Democracy Continues to Dispossess Native peoples."

Context and Definitions

In an effort to underscore the significance of historical context as an effective fetter against spectacularization, I include in this section, a definition of terms. More specifically, one of the consequences of living in a society where spectacle "inverts

the real” is the loss of coherent narratives and an ability to distinguish between what is “real” and what is simulacra (Baudrillard 1994). This postmodern condition has only been exacerbated by the 24/7 cycle of digital and social media. Danish scholars Vincent Hendricks (Hendricks also coined the term “post-factual democracy” (Hendricks 2013).) and Pelle Hansen (2014) argue that while knowledge production has always been shaped by the social sphere, the “infostorm” wrought by modern technologies has significantly “amplified” the distortion of truth, “making us more vulnerable to err than ever and on a much larger scale” (First posted on December 18, 2013 in “The Conversation” <http://theconversation.com/all-those-likes-and-upvotes-are-bad-news-for-democracy-21547> and then later in his book *Infostorms* (Hendricks and Hansen 2014, p. 2).).

Insofar as the “infostorm” also ushered in a decline in fact-based news reporting, the proliferation of corporate funded “research,” and the overall googlization of society, it stands to reason that a return to “facts” and scholarly research is in order. As such, in the interest of clarity and with recognition of the importance of context, history, and intellectual genealogy, I provide definitions for the following key words as they appear in this text: Native American, American Indian, Indigenous; Settler/Settler Colonialism; Neoliberalism; Whiteness; and, spectacle/spectacular.

Native American, American Indian, and Indigenous Peoples

The terms Native American and Indigenous peoples are used almost interchangeably to refer to all those who “exercised powers of self-governance prior to colonization by and, incorporation into, the modern nation state” (Grande and Nichols 2014). Use of the term “American Indian” is generally reserved for specific references to the current 566 “federally recognized” tribes in the United States (In the United States, tribal sovereignty is the inherent authority of Indigenous nations to govern themselves. As “domestic dependent nations” the United States is also obligated to provide federally recognized tribes necessary services, including the provision of education and health care. Beyond issues of law and treaty rights, there are other forms of sovereignty that Native peoples exercise and demand, which are inextricably connected to each other. For example, in her work on Papua New Guinea, Paige West 2010, 2012 accounts for how the loss of sovereignty over land and biodiversity is connected to the loss of representational sovereignty. See, for example, the work of Scott Lyons (2000) on rhetorical sovereignty and Michelle Raheja (2011) and Mishuana Goeman (2013) on semiotic and representational sovereignty.). In theory, federal recognition grants American Indians political sovereignty (Native American sovereignty – the right of tribes to make their own laws and be governed by them – predates the formation of the United State and is still recognized through treaties that were negotiated on a “government to government” basis.) as well as other treaty rights through their government-to-government relationship with the United States. Thus, unlike other marginalized groups (e.g., African Americans, women, immigrants, LGBTQ), the axis of oppression for American Indians shifts from one of “racist exclusion” to that of “forced incorporation” (Rifkin 2011, p. 342). This

distinction, in turn, gives rise to political projects organized around struggles for autonomy as opposed to demands for inclusion (i.e., enfranchisement, civil rights).

Settlers and Settler Colonialism

As argued by Rachel Flowers, it is important to refer to “non-Indigenous” peoples as “settlers” since it serves to denaturalize and politicize “the presence of non-Indigenous people on Indigenous lands” (Flowers 2015, p. 33). Drawing upon the seminal work of Patrick Wolfe (2006), I distinguish settler colonialism from other forms of colonialism as follows: (1) it is “first and foremost a territorial project” where land (as opposed to natural or human resources) is the precondition; (2) the priority is to eliminate and remove Indigenous peoples in order to expropriate their lands; and, (3) since “settlers come to stay,” strategies of elimination are not simply deployed at the time of invasion but rather serve as a structuring logic. Thus, as noted by Wolfe, settler colonialism is a structure and not an event” (2006, p. 388). Meaning, beyond the initial event of invasion, it “persists as a determinative feature of national territoriality and identity” (Rifkin 2013, p. 324).

Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism is an economic and political project that has unfolded over the past 25 years or so based on the theory that markets and competition, offer the most efficient and democratic means of improving society. In practice, however, neoliberal policies (e.g., deregulation, privatization) have contributed to the highest level of inequality and greatest concentration of wealth and power in the top 1% of the population since the Gilded Age (Bartels 2008). The concentration of economic wealth and political power under neoliberalism was recently confirmed in a study by Gilens and Page (2014), who after conducting a comprehensive analysis of national policy (1981–2002), found that in the United States, elites, and special interest groups drive policy over the will of the “general” people (read: non-elites). As a result, they have concluded that the United States is no longer a functioning democracy.

Whiteness

I use whiteness (as opposed to white supremacy or white privilege) in this chapter as a way to signal a connection to the discourses of whiteness as they emerged through critical race theory (CRT). Within the frameworks of CRT, whiteness is understood as a “socially significant structure that mitigates life chances in American society” (Guess 2006, p. 650). Founding CRT scholar Cheryl Harris (1993) argues that whiteness is best thought of as a form of property that carries material and symbolic privilege (e.g., job security, access to real estate, conceptions of beauty) that is conferred to whites, those passing as white, and “honorary” whites. Harris situates

the origins of “whiteness as property” in the systems of domination (i.e., slavery, colonialist dispossession) that created “racially contingent forms of property and property rights” (p. 1714). As such, she argues that whiteness is codified into law and, thus, remains a defining and enduring characteristic of American democracy.

Spectacle

In general terms, the notion of spectacle invokes images of excess and extravagance. As a construct developed by Debord, it builds upon Marx’s theories of alienation, commodity fetishism, and reification to describe the, “social relationship between people that is mediated by images” (4).

More critically, it is understood as a tool of pacification and depoliticization, “integrally connected to Debord’s formulation of separation” (Best and Kellner 1999, p. 133). That is, it is through the passive consumption of spectacles that one is “separated from actively producing one’s life” (133). Moreover, insofar as spectacle is related to “the business of selling novelty” it has an interest in annihilating historical knowledge, the central means by which novelty can be judged (Crary 1989, p. 106). Crary (2000) examines twenty-first century manifestations of spectacle, particularly as a mode of “contemporary” or non-coercive power. For Crary (and Baudrillard), the emergence of mass media blurs the boundaries between spectacle and spectator, the ubiquity of which begins to desensitize rather than evoke emotionality from the spectator.

The keywords are foundational to the grammar of US empire and as such help to inform and deepen our understanding of the structures and processes of settler colonialism. In the following section, I draw upon this base to explore the more particular relationship between spectacle and whiteness.

Spectacle and the Consolidation of Whiteness

Debord’s central thesis or provocation is that life in a “commodity-saturated, mass-mediated, image-dominated and corporate-constructed world” engenders an increasingly isolated, alienated, and passive citizenry that unwittingly relents to a groupthink of market consciousness disguised as individual agency (Kaplan 2012, p. 458). His analysis illuminates the inherent paradox of spectacle; despite (or because of) its intention to illicit emotion and (re)action, spectacle produces alienation and passivity. Particularly in a mass-mediated, hi-tech society, the sheer volume of content alone can produce a deadening effect. But spectacle is both dialectical and self-perpetuating. Meaning, the resulting (individual and social) ennui searches for relief from the deadening effect and, in so doing, activates the production of ever more spectacular imagery, generating an endless and alienating cycle of (simulated) life in search of the “real.” As the search intensifies, so does the desire for anything perceived as “authentic” – authenticity is the antidote (For early and consistently excellent discussions of the desire for “authentic” nature and culture see the work of Dean MacCannell 1976.).

It is this cycle – the positioning of spectacularity against “authenticity” and authenticity as the antidote to the (post)modernist condition – that compels this analysis, particularly in the wake of #NoDAPL. For as long as “Indians” have been situated as the (authentic) anti-modern subject, “Indian-ness” has perennially served as a favored foil (antidote) for whiteness. While many Indigenous studies scholars have examined the ways in which Native identity is appropriated in the service of white identity formation (e.g., Berkhofer 1987; Deloria 1969, 1998; Huhndorf 2001), my interest is cast more broadly. That is, beyond questions of white identity formation: How does the expressed desire for the imagined Indian serve the propertied interests of whiteness, which is to say settler statecraft? To explore this question, I begin with more mundane expressions of Indian-as-spectacle and move toward their deeper implications.

Currently, there are 20 reality shows in circulation that stage interventions (read: provide antidotes) for the normative hegemony of white-middle-class life by depicting life on the “frontier” or “the wild.” (Among the current shows are: *Survivor*, *Colonial House*, *Alaska Bush People*, *Frontier House*, and *Man vs. Wild*.) Through their ubiquity and popularity, such shows evidence the extent of settler-desire for the imperialist fantasy of “pre-modernist” times at the same time they appease settler supremacy. They refract what McLintock (McClintock and Robertson 1994) refers to as “panoptical time,” (More specifically, McLintock (1994) defines panoptical time as “the image of global history consumed – at a glance – in a single spectacle from the point of privileged invisibility” (p. 128).) a key component of imperialist discourse that situates progress as fundamentally contingent upon on a “shadow other,” which is, of course, the savage (Pardy 2010). Indeed, as noted by Rosaldo (1989) “In this ideologically constructed world of ongoing progressive change, putatively static savage societies become a stable reference point for defining. . .civilized identity” (p. 70). Native peoples are so much “a shadow” that with the exception of one show (*Frontier House*) they are not even present – literally eliminated from settler view. In this sense, progress is the central character, so critical to settler mythology that it drives a deep-seeded need to continually perform the fabled journey from savage to civilized over and over again; settler-subjects playing out fantasies of the colonial encounter as theater.

There was one reality show about Native peoples – *Escaping Alaska* – which, depicted five Alaska Native youth (identified as “Eskimos”) “secretly” plotting to leave their families and homeland in order to experience life in the lower 48. True to Debord’s thesis, the society of the spectacle can only produce grotesque caricatures. In this instance, Inuit youth are depicted as members of a virtual cult that apparently holds their members’ captive and in complete ignorance of the “outside” world. Baloy (2016) theorizes the oscillation between the complete erasure and hyperreality of Indigenous peoples in terms of “spectrality” (i.e., a state of haunting). She deploys the term “holographic Indigeneity” to describe the phenomena of Native peoples hyper-visibility “from some angles” and invisibility from others – always a constant presence even in moments of apparent absence (p. 209).

Lakota scholar Phil Deloria (1999) documents how the oscillation between settler desire and repulsion for Indian-ness has manifested through the long-standing practice

of “playing Indian.” Dating back at least as far as the Boston Tea Party (1773) when the “Sons of Liberty” staged their protest wearing headdresses and war paint, Deloria demonstrates how the spectacle of “playing Indian” has been a persistent feature of the search for “authentic” American identity. The advent of digital technology and social media has only enabled the speed and scope of this cultural spectacle, producing an abundant archive of Indians of the settler imagination. Baloy’s (Baloy 2016) research demonstrates that, indeed, the main source of people’s information on and experience with Indigeneity comes through media. Thus, from Victoria’s Secret models in full headdress to grotesque sports mascots and fans in red-face, settlers play out their “uneasiness” with the violence of the settler project in full, spectacular display.

In theorizing the space between spectacle, cultural politics and neoliberalism, Giroux (2009) draws upon the insights of British media theorist Nick Couldry (2008) who discerns, “every system of cruelty requires its own theatre” (p. 3). As noted by Couldry, while some forms of cruelty depend on secrecy, *systems of cruelty* require legitimation via public and “ritualized performance” (p. 3). Using settler colonialism as an illustrative example, his reasoning would go something like this:

- (a) Settler colonialism is a system of cruelty.
- (b) The “truths” of which are unacceptable to democratic society if stated openly.
- (c) Those truths must be “translated into ritual that enacts, as ‘play’, an acceptable version of the values and compulsions on which that cruelty depends” (p. 3).

Reality television is one example of the “theater of cruelty” wherein the rituals of everyday life under settler colonialism are “enacted as play” in order to “legitimate its norms, values, institutions, and social practices” (Giroux 2008, p. 224).

Though often dismissed as innocent fun, mediated performances that erase or perpetuate gross caricatures of Native peoples have *systemic* impact. Unfortunately, this impact is typically framed in psychological terms, playing out something like this: (1) Offending settlers are called out on their racism; (2) they attest to their good intentions and express desire to honor and respect the lifeways of Native peoples as well as regret for hurt feelings; (3) Native “victims” of said “honoring” (re)register their feelings of offense and outrage, often citing harm to their self-esteem and identity formation; and (4) Rinse. Repeat. While I ultimately urge moving beyond this psychologizing discourse, I want to be clear that research evidencing the latent, direct, and collateral damage of racial stereotyping is both chilling and definitive (see Pewewardy 1991, 2004; Fryberg and Markus 2004; Fryberg et al. 2008). The bullying, harassment, and discrimination that occur as a result of the regular and persistent misrepresentation of Native peoples are an affront to their dignity and to the democratic aspirations of the nation. That said, I argue that an exclusive focus on the psychological is deeply insufficient and perhaps complicit in maintaining imperialist relations and discourses.

The preoccupation with psychological trauma draws attention away from the material conditions of Indigenous peoples and violent strategies of the settler state (i.e., dispossession). The violence of this erasure is captured in Rosaldo’s (1989) notion of “imperialist nostalgia,” which links settler desire for an imagined past to a politics of death and mourning (p. 107). As Rosaldo (1993) writes:

... someone deliberately alters a form of life, and then regrets that things have not remained as they were prior to the intervention. . . people destroy their environment, and then they worship nature. In any of its versions, imperialist nostalgia uses a pose of 'innocent yearning' both to capture people's imaginations and to conceal its complicity with often brutal domination. (pp. 69–70)

As theorized by Baloy (2016), the dialectical relationship between spectacle and imperialist nostalgia provides the conceptual frame through which settlers imagine Native peoples. That is, as mediated, spectacularized versions of "the Indian" dominate the collective consciousness of settler society, it functions to erase the lived experience of Indigenous peoples: hypervisibility = invisibility. In other words, spectacle facilitates "imperialist nostalgia" and the passive consumption of Indigenous performance at the expense of *actual* Indigenous voices and histories.

In terms of Standing Rock, Baloy's work also helps explain the relative invisibility of the Sioux peoples and Indigenous water protectors as well as the hypervisibility of the more spectacular "#NoDAPL warrior." Indeed, from the beginning of the encampment (April 1, 2016) to the moment that the Army Corps of Engineers announced the (temporary) denial of the easement, mainstream media as a whole, essentially covered three (spectacular) events: (1) the police use of water cannons on protectors in subfreezing temperatures (November 21, 2016); (2) the arrival of thousands of veterans (December 2, 2016); and, (3) the "victory" celebrations following the Army Corps of Engineers announcement (December 4, 2016). While spectacle clearly drew their attention, FAIR reports that more often than not, the coverage was "limited, biased, and/or inaccurate" (For example, FAIR condemned the New York Times headline that read, "16 Arrested at North Dakota Pipeline Protest as Tensions Continue," noting that there had been more than 470 arrests. They also called out the framing of events as a "clash" between protesters and police by NPR, CBS, and ABC writing: "This 'clash' framing – also utilized in headlines on CBS (11/20/16) and CNN (11/20/16) – implies a parity between police in military vehicles, employing water cannons, tear gas, pepper spray, rubber-coated bullets, and concussion grenades (one of which may have cost an activist her arm), on the one hand, and basically unarmed civilians on the other (Police say one officer was hit in the head by a thrown rock).") And finally, FAIR took issue with the Washington Post headline (11/21/16) framing the attack from a police perspective: "Police Defend Use of Water Cannons on Dakota Access Protesters in Freezing Weather") Water protectors were consistently misrepresented as protestors (not protectors), agitators, and trespassers engaged in a "clash" with Morton County officials and Energy Transfer Partners; such false equivalences between unarmed peaceful protectors and heavily armed officers and their billionaire corporate backers can only be drawn through erasures of history and power. The gestalt of such coverage serves to perpetuate the myths of the settler project: the vanishing Indian, the benevolent colonizer, justified conquest, and the liberal (settler) state as the epitome of progress.

Spectacle and the Solidification of the Settler State

While Indigenous peoples have long lived the material realities of US imperialism, settlers are only recently beginning to contemplate the impact of authoritarian rule and capitalist accumulation. In the last 5 years alone, there has been an explosion of activism in the United States and across the world. Movements such as #Occupy Wall Street, #BlackLivesMatter, #NoDAPL, and more recently #Antifa have not only brought important issues to light but also changed public discourse. Phrases such as, “We are the 99%,” “I can’t breathe,” and “water is life” have been burned into the collective consciousness of the nation in a way that suggests there is no turning back. The academy followed trend, publishing important research that provided an evidentiary basis for the commonsense claims of activists.

Among the more effective scholarly interventions is the work of French economist Thomas Piketty and author of, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century* (Piketty 2014). In his almost 700-page tome, Piketty examines an impressive array of data to draw inferences about the evolution of inequality and growing concentration of wealth. His main finding is that while inequality is an inherent feature of capitalism (because inherited wealth will always grow faster than earned wealth), it can be effectively mitigated through state intervention. Absent such intervention, however, he predicts that inequality will continue to rise, putting the democratic order at risk. Though Piketty’s work has been met with a fair amount of critique, a recent study by the Stanford Center on Poverty and Inequality (2016) supports his findings, drawing a close relationship between federal economic policy and equitable wealth distribution (For example, the report shows that among Anglophone countries (i.e., the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, Germany), the United States has the highest rate of inequality.). Considered alongside the Gilens and Page (2014) report that draws a statistically significant relationship between wealth and political power, such findings are foreboding. Indeed, the recent declaration by the Electoral Integrity Project (EIP) that the state of North Carolina is no longer a democracy (According to the report, the state’s overall electoral integrity resembled those in authoritarian states and “pseudo-democracies” such as Cuba, Indonesia, and Sierra Leone.) provides a window to the new age of oligarchy emerging from the structures and policies of neoliberalization enacted over the past 30 years.

Despite the growing public awareness, economist Paul Krugman observes that the average citizen cannot comprehend the depth of the inequality, which is to say the actual distance between the lived experience of the “average citizen” and the ultra-wealthy. I argue that this is due, in part, to the highly mediated and spectacular display of wealth. For example, while it seems as though we have constant and ready access to the “real” lives of the Kardashians or the “Rich Kids of Beverly Hills,” what we actually see is the spectacle of wealth – the lavish parties, ostentatious homes, and exotic vacations – not the lived experience. Their outrageous wealth is both mitigated and normalized through the familiar tropes of social life – family drama, sibling rivalry, romance gone bad, and struggles with addiction. The over-riding but subliminal plotline is that, underneath it all we are the same. Lost to the

veil of spectacle is the understanding that extreme wealth is contingent upon extreme poverty; hidden from view are all the forms of labor and extraction that enable the cruel disparity.

Within this context, it is not surprising that the rise of Trump (As reality TV star turned President, Trump epitomizes Debord's connection between commodity-spectacle and celebrity. He writes, "Media stars are spectacular representations of living human beings, distilling the essence of the spectacle's banality into images of possible roles...government power assumes the personified form of the pseudostar...a star of consumption gets elected as a pseudo-power over the lived" (60).) has also emerged in and through spectacular theater. Of particular note is his penchant for post-election rallies: 18 and counting. While it is not at all unusual for a sitting president to hold such rallies, the general purpose is to "create a new sense of shared national unity, rather than to show a divided country" (As stated by presidential historian Robert Dallek in the Washington Post article, "The Election is Over but the Trump Rallies Continue," https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/the-election-is-over-but-the-trump-rallies-continue-the-president-elects-fans-turn-out-for-him-in-ohio/2016/12/01/00e25946-b7dd-11e6-959c-172c82123976_story.html?utm_term=.1548a75ad0ea). As examined by public policy expert Robert Reich, Trump's rallies deviate from this norm in the following ways: (1) they are only held them in states where Trump won; (2) rather than deliver a call for unity, their purpose is more to wind up the base and rally "the movement"; (3) rather than "shift from campaigning to governing," they mimic his pre-election rallies; and, (4) rather than use them as a forum to "forgive those who criticized him during the campaign, he employed them to settle scores" (Reich 2016) (See, "Why President Trump Will Continue to Hold Rallies," <http://robertreich.org/post/154643782110>). While such theatrics may indeed lather his base, the spectacle whiteness obfuscates its material realities.

It is precisely because Trump shares little else with his base, that the presentation of his own whiteness has to be so spectacular. It is the theatrics that obfuscate the chasm of inequality that stretches between him and the "average" settler. He is a multi-billionaire who inherited much of his fortune, attended elite, private schools, and never had to work a day in his life. His support for DAPL wrapped in a discourse about jobs, the "American" economy and the "good" people of North Dakota is a thin shroud over his real commitments: oil and profit. The oil dominance of his cabinet – Rex Tillerson, CEO of Exxon/Mobil as secretary of State; Rick Perry, former governor of oil-rich Texas as head of the Department of Energy – and his own holdings in DAPL pipeline builders, Energy Transfer Partners, reveal his actual "base." The drama of the spectacle is necessary to draw attention away from the economic abyss that is the \$20,789 per capita income of households in Bismarck, North Dakota, and Trumps reported \$3.5 billion net worth.

The intensification of cruelty under neoliberalism has brought with it a renewed press to draw the liberal subject (i.e., "benevolent colonizer") into its theater, raising the bar for even more spectacular productions of American exceptionalism, which is to say settler supremacy. As observed by Giroux (2008), "What is often ignored by many theorists who analyze the rise of neoliberalism is that it isn't only a system of economic

power relations, but also a political project of governing and persuasion intent on producing new forms of subjectivity and particular modes of conduct” (p. 224). Indeed, the construction of the settler state has, at every stage, relied on identity and cultural politics for its reconsolidation, requiring and soliciting certain ways of being, desiring, and knowing at the same time it destroys others (Agathangelou 2008; Duggan 2012). Productions in its theater of cruelty rely on spectacle to obscure and “smuggle” past the violent rituals of settler colonialism as normative.

For example, it is not difficult to see how Trump rallies set the stage for the normativization of white supremacy as “alt-right” or even “white nationalism” expressed in slogans such as “Make America Great Again.” The consequences of which gave rise to one of the most brazen, public displays of white supremacy and consolidation in a long time: the “Unite the Right” rally in Charlottesville, North Carolina. Despite the fact that the rally resulted in the death of Heather Heyer and injury of 19 other rally protestors, Trump has continually insisted that there was violence and culpability on “both sides.” Such false equivalences are issued as code to his white supremacist base to draw back and inward, to circle the wagons once again, around who is what counts as white, as superior, as manifest destined colonizer.

Ultimately, however, as Memmi (1991) argues, “colonization can only disfigure the colonizer” (p. 147). As he sees it, the settler subject has only two choices, both of which are equally “disastrous”: the acceptance of “daily injustice” for one’s own benefit on the one hand or a “never consummated self-sacrifice” on the other (pp. 147–148). And, since a life of guilt, shame, and anguish is virtually “unlivable,” Memmi surmises that the colonizer will typically choose to “confirm and defend the colonial system in every way” (p. 147). That said, he also wonders, “but what privileges, what advantages, are worth the loss of his soul?” (p. 148). And therein lies the essence of settler “uneasiness.”

The apparent hopelessness of the settler problem raises important questions about the structure and potential of social movements, coalition building, and the possibility of transformation. Questions asked with even greater urgency as the United States joins the global, right-wing turn toward authoritarian populism.

Indigenous Refusal and the Twenty-First-Century Ghost Dance

As articulated by Indigenous scholars, Julian Brave NoiseCat and Anne Spice, “At Standing Rock, the audacious vision for an indigenous future, handed down from Wounded Knee and global in force, is alive and well.” In order for this “audacious vision” to be fully realized, it is up to all of us to see and work past the glimmer of spectacle, to resist the cult of the immediate, and to do the more deliberative work of history, earnestly connecting past with present. This requires a collective refusal to participate in the theater of cruelty and choose instead to dismantle the settler consciousness that enables it. Such efforts entail working beyond and below the surface, keeping an eye toward the process by which relations of mutuality are either abandoned or eroded by relations of capital – to in effect, decolonize.

Within this struggle, Indigenous nations, peoples, and knowledge are crucial, not because they hold any magic or “ancient wisdom” but because they represent the most enduring and resilient entities that present a competing moral vision to the settler order. Despite myriad struggles, Native peoples have maintained their autonomy and political sovereignty for centuries, confounding the infamous Thatcherism, “There is No Alternative.” And insofar as current patterns of thinking and being have contributed to the existing political, economic, and environmental crises of our time, it is incumbent upon all of us to protect the complex ecologies that sustain Indigenous communities. That said, I want to be clear that by “protect” I do not mean appropriate, mimic, exploit, or put on display. I mean to create and sustain the conditions under which such communities continue to survive and thrive.

Settlers desiring to be accomplices in the decolonial project need to assume the stance of advocate (not spectator) for Indigenous rights and perhaps more importantly, for *whitestream transformation*. Within activist spaces this means demonstrating a willingness to stand on the front lines to help contain the metastasizing neoliberalism. As argued by Glen Coulthard (2014), “For Indigenous nations to live, capitalism must die” (p. 173). This also necessarily demands a prior rejection of liberalism. Particularly now, as pundits and scholars begin to dissect the “success” of #NoDAPL, it is important to register the long-understood failures of liberal politics and belief in reform – of the liberal subject, of capital, of the state – through “peaceful” action and “rational” discourse. Any movement that does not first recognize the irrationality and violence of the settler state and its envoys is by definition anti-Indian.

It means recognizing that “the movement” is not (only) about the present but rather demands both history and a ground(ing) that is both literal and metaphoric. The guiding vision is not human centered or derived but rather comes from land and all that sustains it. The less quoted, second half of Coulthard’s (2014) assertion is, “for capitalism to die, we must actively participate in the construction of Indigenous alternatives to it” (p. 173). The Indigenous project is not defined by liberal or juridical notions of justice. Indeed, liberalism’s reliance on the fantasy of the benevolent state and its refusal to relinquish the idea of a “new social order, built in the shell of the old,” ultimately solidifies the settler state. The so-called progressive movements built on liberal ideas give rise to organizing strategies held captive to the “reign of the perpetual present.” Such politics were epitomized by the Occupy Wall movement – its never-ending process of agenda building, leaderless and lateral structure and non-prescriptive slogan, “What is Our One Demand?” – all suggest an allegiance to the liberal ideal of freedom as individual liberty.

In contrast, Indigenous struggle is built on history and ancestral knowledge. It is informed by original teachings and the responsibility to uphold relations of mutuality. Attention to these teachings requires resistance and refusal of the fast, quick, sleek, and spectacular in favor of the steady, tried, consistent, and intergenerational. It is the replacement of “to each his own” and “may the best man win” with “we are all related.” As Debord observes, the spectacle is “the reigning social organization of a paralyzed history, of a paralyzed memory, of an abandonment of any history founded in historical time” and, thus, “is a false consciousness of time” (158). We must refuse this false consciousness.

In the end, refracting liberal, social justice movements through an Indigenous lens compels us to be attentive to both the larger ontological and epistemic underpinnings of settler colonialism; to discern the relationship between our struggles and others; to disrupt complicity and ignite a refusal of the false promises of capitalism. This level of clarity removes the messy and participatory work of agenda setting that liberal movements insist upon, because, the agenda has already been set – a long time ago. It is about land and defense of land. Land is our collective past, our present, and our future. This is our one demand.

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Defining Culturally Responsive Digital Education for Classrooms: Writing from Oceania to Build Indigenous Pacific Futures

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Lester-Irabinna Rigney

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Abstract

Digital education, technology-rich schools, and smart classrooms particularly configured by cloud-computing and blended-learning programs are growing. Participation in education is a key factor affecting the life chances for Indigenous children of the Pacific, yet they have lower rates of participation than non-Indigenous people. Pacific twenty-first-century learning requires new culturally inclusive spaces that do not override Indigenous cultures but draw upon them as a learning foundation on which to build new digital learning. Research on technology and equity as a means of raising school achievement are becoming more attractive in education systems seeking to improve school processes and outcomes. Although international research in this area is extensive, covering about two decades, there are still gaps in its research base specifically on the concept of Culturally Responsive Digital Education for Indigenous peoples. While literature on culturally responsive schooling (CRS) for academic improvement of American Indian and Alaska Natives peoples has emerged, this literature is yet to theorize Indigenous online education and complimentary teacher

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pedagogy, especially in the Pacific. This chapter will define culturally responsive digital schooling (CRDS) for Indigenous peoples of the Pacific drawing from robust information communication technology (ICT) research, critical and CRS studies. This chapter first argues the need for CRDS that comprises of three interdependent dimensions of “*benefits*,” “*decolonization*,” and “*cultural responsiveness*.” Understanding these dimensions are necessary before purpose, effects, or impact of CRDS can be understood. Finally, the chapter defines CRDS and proposes a ten-point model as a cultural standard to support CRDS Indigenous schooling in the Pacific.

Keywords

Culturally responsive · Digital education · Aboriginal education

Introduction

Na marni purrutye marni “Defining Culturally Responsive Digital Education for Classrooms” pepe. Welcome to this chapter “Defining Culturally Responsive Digital Education for Classrooms.” *Ngai narri Lester-Irabinna Kudnuitya Rigney.* My name is Lester-Irabinna (Warrior), Kudnuitya (name of third child if son) Rigney. *Ngai yaitya meyu Narungga, Kaurna, Ngarrindjeri, Buhhiyanaunungho.* I am a man from the Nations of the Narungga, Kaurna, and Ngarrindjeri. *Ngai Taihurtinna Nellie Raminyemmerin Yakkana Ivaritjiburha.* I am a descendant of Nellie Raminyemmerin who is the sister of Ivaritji. *Pangkarra ia, Kaurnako yerta warrabutto pepe.* This is Kaurna country (Adelaide Plains) where I write this chapter.

As is my cultural custom before speaking, it is important to locate myself in Kaurna language protocol that respects the laws of my Narungga, Kaurna, and Ngarrindjeri cultures. Speaking (in this case writing) in Kaurna language before entering into English dialogue acknowledges Kaurna land on which this chapter was written and makes transparent the position from which the author conceptualizes and argues for culturally responsive digital schooling.

Indigenous peoples in the Pacific do not want to be excluded from the economic and political opportunities shaped by technology. We want our governments, schools, and teachers in Oceania to skill our children in the benefits of e-commerce to improve our poverty. We want biotechnologies to protect our land and sea organisms. We need access to technologies to transform our status as oppressed colonial subjects. We recognize that modern information communication technology (ICT) and mobile phones have changed the world and its cultures. Now the foundation of all economic, social, and educational activity, these technologies have become important to society and are regarded as critical to improving quality of life (Radoll 2015). As digital technologies become ever more central to school and work, the disadvantages of not being connected increase. Many across the Pacific, including three million Australians, experience digital exclusion that deepens social, economic, and cultural inequalities. Despite unequal schooling and the widening of achievement gaps, Indigenous peoples of the Pacific are calling for schools to build

essential skills through the enormous resources of the Internet to engage how and when they want and wherever they live (Keegan et al. 2011; Radoll 2015; Rigney 2011a; Smith 2003).

Digital education and ever-increasing access to online learning promise to improve schooling processes and outcomes. Digital education, technology-rich schools, and smart classrooms particularly configured by cloud computing and blended learning programs are increasingly present in education systems. Participation in education is a key factor affecting the life chances for Indigenous children of the Pacific, yet they have lower rates of participation and/or success than non-Indigenous people. Pacific twenty-first century learning requires new culturally inclusive spaces that do not override Indigenous cultures but draw upon them as a source of learning foundation on which to build new digital learning.

Education reformers, researchers, and teachers view the use of ICTs in teaching and learning as a means to enhance teacher competency and thus deliver improvements in student outcomes within disadvantaged schools (Rizvi and Lingard 2009). Specific claims of digital education having power to improve Indigenous learning outcomes through building teacher and school capacities are in their infancy, with empirical studies supporting such claims not well established. Furthermore, although international research on technology and equity is extensive, there remain gaps in its research base, specifically on the concept of culturally responsive digital schooling (CRDS) for Indigenous peoples – especially in the Pacific (Warschauer et al. 2004).

This chapter is informed by three vast literature sets: critical theory; ICT studies; and culturally responsive schooling (CRS). It argues that although the plethora of writing about technology and equity schooling reviewed here is insightful, it has dealt little with Indigenous digital education, teachers work, and the need for online empowerment. Blind spots include a definition of CRDS from an Indigenous Pacific perspective and the theorization of the CRDS concept or construct that privileges Indigenous values, interests, aspirations, and epistemologies (Carlson 2013; Donovan 2007; Keegan et al. 2011; Rigney 2011a; Radoll 2015). This research gap possibly explains why there is no agreed universal definition of CRDS or a model of cultural standard that supports it in schools. This also raises another gap in the research in the lack of theorization on the causality or effects of CRDS on improving Indigenous performance outcomes. Therefore, there is a clear need for more social and empirical theorization to explore the claims made about the effects of online education on student improvement.

Educator Mark Warschauer (2003) stressed that research about new technologies and social inclusion has focused on the oversimplified notion of a “digital divide” that can be overcome by providing equipment to the poor, and must shift to explore how teachers can improve student’s ability to use technologies for greater societal participation. Warschauer (2003) rightly argues that such ability to access, adapt, and create knowledge using ICT is critical to social inclusion. This chapter seeks to extend the notion of “digital divide” in education beyond exploration of the gaps in ICT access, and toward conceptualizing the effective integration of ICTs into Pacific schools in ways which increase Indigenous people’s online ability to engage in meaningful social practices. Beyond the intermediary effects of culturally responsive

digital schooling (CRDS) on Indigenous learning outcomes, there is also a need to look beyond the classroom to the desire and purpose of CRDS from Indigenous perspectives based on three interdependent dimensions: “benefits,” “decolonization,” and “cultural affirmation.” This chapter proposes that these three intimately related dimensions provide important context to understanding Indigenous theorization of CRDS and that understanding these dimensions is necessary before purpose, effects, or impacts of CRDS can be understood.

Literature that has emerged from the United States on culturally responsive schooling (CRS) for academic improvement of American Indian and Alaska Native youth (Castagno and Brayboy 2008) has as its common characteristic and strength a theorization of education that is informed by Indigenous first peoples’ epistemologies ontologies and cosmologies. Yet it lacks theorization of Indigenous online education and complimentary teacher pedagogy especially in the Pacific, an absence which leaves a major research gap in the CRS literature. This chapter will define culturally responsive digital schooling (CRDS) for Indigenous peoples of the Pacific drawn from robust ICT studies, critical social science, and CRS studies. Drawing heavily on the CRS literature, the chapter defines the construct of culturally responsive digital schooling as an epistemological construct. In other words, the effects of cultural responsive digital schooling on student outcomes are affected or moderated by school context and Indigenous epistemological views of how knowledge is constructed and transmitted.

Finally, the chapter outlines the purpose of culturally responsive digital schooling from an Indigenous Pacific/Oceania perspective and discusses its characteristics for future schooling of Indigenous children. Currently, there is no definition of CRDS and we as Indigenous peoples of the Pacific are constrained in our capacity to determine future formations of our digital world act to produce. The primary aim of this chapter is to propose a ten point CRDS model as a cultural standard to transform the way we educate teachers and Indigenous students in Pacific schools. Presenting this theoretical model on CRDS provides a framework based on Indigenous epistemologies to build Indigenous First Nations Oceanian futures. As more interest and investment of resources are directed to technology in schools for improvement, there is an urgent need to develop a research agenda on this kind of CRDS model as a cultural standard capable of supporting the claims of digital improvement in Indigenous education.

Benefits of ICT and the Internet

Converging technologies that exemplify information and communication technologies (ICT) include powerful new tools of the Internet and Web 2.0-capable devices such as computers, tablets, mobile phones, and social media. Although ICT is often considered an extended synonym for information technology (IT), its scope is broader. The Internet is a driver of change. It has mobilized many human endeavors, produced globalized information exchanges, and developed new emerging e-commerce to move goods and services. Studying globalized schooling Rizvi and Lingard (2009: 153) conclude that “educational opportunities are shaped by access to technology.”

Digital literacy skills born from school connect individuals to benefits of the Information Revolution. ICT careers include banking, health-care, software technicians, IT support, and multimedia to name a few. Wagner (2008) argues that the new world of work will require schools to develop skills in problem solving, collaboration, adaptability, entrepreneurialism, communication, analytics, and imagination. The Internet is widely used in school for teaching, news, entertainment, and keeping touch with parents, students, and staff.

Outside of schools, political, economic, and institutional applications have been central to the Internet's history. The United States organization *Partnership for twenty-first Century Skills* indicates that a "growing number of multinational corporations" require as prerequisite skills "abilities to network with people across boundaries from different cultures and languages" (Wagner 2008: 25). Wagner supports the idea that digital entrepreneurialism requires schools to build student core competencies in global awareness of diverse cultures to thrive in the changing nature of collaboration in today's workforce.

Many tribal communities and Indigenous educational leaders, as well as a number of Indigenous scholars in the Pacific, advocate for the benefits of ICT. Keegan et al. (2011) highlight the importance of web-based Maori language dictionaries, resources, and lessons (e.g., Ngai Tahu) for successful Maori language and cultural revitalization. In Australia, Leavy (2014) outlines best practice in ICT to preserve and maintain Aboriginal virtual heritage. Donovan (2007) and Radoll (2006, 2010) consider how teachers can use the connection between Aboriginal Pedagogy and ICT to engage Aboriginal students in an Aboriginal way. Rigney's (2011a, b, c) and Rigney et al. (2013) studies confirm the need for CRDS to promote greater social inclusion and the need to draw on 20,000 years of relevant cultural epistemes.

Carlson (2013) examines the rapid rise of social media among Aboriginal Australians and how it is used to communicate self-representation to other online communities. Podber's (2014) research suggests that the interrelationship of oral tradition and technology has revolutionary potential for social change. Similarly, the Tangentyere Council and Central Land Council (2007) outline mobile phone use among low-income Aboriginal people and how remote Australia seeks to utilize technologies for empowerment. From this research, it is understood that challenges and opportunities for Indigenous education in the twenty-first century abound and are potentially accompanied by benefits across welfare reform, heritage protection, health care, and workforce growth. Indeed, these public policy and schooling contexts and goals must be intentionally considered and pursued for ICTs' potential to "leap frog" economic and social disadvantage is to be realized (Davison et al. 2000).

Liberating Digital Possibilities: Empowerment in Indigenous Oceania

The author of this chapter argues that Indigenous Pacific futures are tied to Indigenous digital entrepreneurialism propagated by innovative schools. Indigenous digital entrepreneurialism is defined here as digital emancipation and empowerment through schooling to nurture Indigenous entrepreneurs who will create online

systems, enterprises, and platforms for Indigenous futures that are new and optimistic. Teachers in modern classrooms engaging young people to build the Indigenous Pacific of the future need to be giving pedagogical tools to honour students' entrepreneurialism. But discourses of entrepreneurialism are rarely used about the Indigenous Pacific.

In Oceania, colonial-inspired derogatory views of Indigenous cultures pervade. For the reader to understand why we in Indigenous Oceania believe that information technology has become fundamental to equity policies, they must first understand that Oceania's Indigenous "digital divide" is inextricably linked to Pacific colonialism by distant European Empires. Equally important for the reader to understand is what we mean by decolonization. For us a decolonized Pacific is one that is secured firmly to an Internet future that is affordable, socially just, liberating, profitable, and a means to mobilize Indigenous Oceania for our self-determination. The goal of decolonization carries the dreams and aspirations of the colonized peoples of the Pacific. An important question is why?

Bevacqua (2010: 80) writes "that amongst the 16 remaining official colonies in the world left today (as recognized by the United Nations) 14 of them are islands in the Pacific, Atlantic or Caribbean." Bevacqua highlights that 2010 ends the "second decade of UN attempts" to eradicate colonialism and notes that this "is failing miserably" (2010: 80). Early European interactions with Indigenous cultures often constructed us as lazy, heathen savages, constructions that have had prolonged and sustained negative impacts on people's views of us and even our own Indigenous views of ourselves.

European Imperial voyages and migrations through the Indigenous Pacific over the past hundreds of years confined Indigenous mobility to fictitious imperial borders, shaped our schools and determined whose knowledge is valid and whose is excluded (Rigney 2006; Connell 2007). Prevailing colonial views of the modern Indigenous Pacific include the language of disadvantage, isolation, and welfare dependency (Moreton-Robinson 2000; Larkin 2014; Arbon 2008). The Pacific was seen as joke, the cause of dangerous isolation, a place where you dump your convict undesirables, and waste land to test nuclear weapons.

The claim that the Indigenous Pacific had no history or literacy stems from Western representations of Pre-colonial Oceania (Smith 1999; Thaman 1988, 1993; Bishop et al. 2007). European colonial expansion replaced Indigenous knowledges and schools with European versions (Moreton-Robinson et al. 2012). As Heugh (2015) points out the emergence of scientific rationalism, nation-state ideologies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, followed by mass education in the nineteenth century, resulted in the marginalization and silencing of minority communities and an invisibilization of their languages, knowledges, and cultures across Europe. This process coinciding with European colonization has been replicated across Africa, the Americas, much of Asia, and the Pacific.

Tongan scholar Epeli Hau'ofa, a prominent thinker in disrupting colonial narratives and Pacific Islander Studies, claims that colonization and its imaginary borders interrupted trading that was otherwise unimpeded across large seas from Australia, United States, Canada, Polynesia, and Micronesia (Hau'ofa 1994). These trade

winds routes promoted interconnection and communication that was practiced by ancestors and is still reinforced today. Languages and cultures in the Pacific interlinked and were woven into epistemology, ontology, and cosmology. Hau'ofa's (1994) seminal essay "Our Sea of Islands" charts a grand regional vision to profoundly reimagine the Pacific to promote Indigenous interests beyond such colonial inscriptions.

His vision includes the decolonization of the Pacific and the rejection of pervasive hegemonic notions of "smallness, isolation and dependency" born from ways others see the Pacific (Hau'ofa 1994: 148). Instead he calls for the re-establishment of order through restoration of Indigenous Pacific collaboration that binds cultures for a common identity to build new and sustainable futures for self-determination. Hau'ofa's view is that we are the minority of the Pacific, but we continue to remain the Majority. For Hau'ofa, the modern project of decolonization must draw on past cultural innovation legacies in order to thrive in the ocean while using technologies to build new economies.

This chapter proposes the need for digital entrepreneurialism in schools that mobilize the Indigenous Pacific collective for transformative action toward fulfilling Hau'ofa's vision. Liberating digital possibilities optimistically seeks empowered change from smallness, isolation, and dependency. Hau'ofa's renewed reformation of Indigenous Pacific identity through technology is not a call to return to pre-European pasts resistant to modernization. Instead, he pursues futurist collaboration with those who are willing to decolonize. Digital revolution for the kind of Indigenous entrepreneurialism argued here delivers power to Indigenous Pacific to control their own futures.

Like Hau'ofa, other Indigenous scholars and thinkers seek counter-narratives to settler-versions of schools that embrace digital inclusion and empowerment. Oceania bounds together numerous writers including: Aboriginal Australians; New Zealand Maori; Indigenous Hawai'ians; First Nation US west coast mainlanders; First Nation west coast Canadian; and Indigenous peoples from the vast "Sea of Islands" across the Pacific (Fredericks et al. 2014; Moreton-Robinson 2000; Smith 1999; Arbon 2008; Martin 2008). These alternative discourses argue that schooling must be culturally responsive to revitalizing and empowering Indigenous communities. Technology and schooling must enable Indigenous First Peoples to de-link from post-colonial habitus toward pluri-versal views of a collective political and economic future.

Digital Divide, Schooling, and Equity

Are Indigenous students of the Pacific ready for a technology-rich world? According to Rizvi and Lingard (2009) in a "knowledge economy, education opportunities are shaped by access to technologies." They outline the digital divide as: "unequal internet access" between industrialized and developing societies; the "social divide" between information rich and poor; and a "democratic divide" between those who can use the Internet and those who cannot (Rizvi and Lingard 2009: 154). Thomson

and de Bortoli's (2007) analysis of OECD 2003 PISA education tests concludes that while all Australian and New Zealand students have access to a computer at school, and most also have computer access at home, fewer Aboriginal and Maori students have access at home. They conclude that students with access to a computer at home frequently achieved at a higher level in mathematics than those students with no such access. OECD member countries continue to invest in ICT to build productive workplaces and as such there is an increasing demand for schools to adapt curriculum to produce technologically literate students (OECD 2012b).

The 2001 and 2006 New Zealand census indicated Maori use of ICTs continues to be low and that a digital divide existed with 25% of Maori households having access to the Internet compared with 45% of other New Zealand households (Keane 2012; Statistics New Zealand 2001). Of the two biggest island nations in the Pacific, OECD (2012a) studies reveal that Maori and Aboriginal Australian households are the least connected due to low income and high cost of technology. The Australian Index of Digital Inclusion (Thomas et al. 2017: 16) highlighted that the gap between Indigenous Australian and non-Indigenous Australian's digital inclusion cannot be explain by low socioeconomic status alone and that "there are important distinctions in how Indigenous Australians access the internet" and as such, even as their "technology adoption increases [...] aspects of digital exclusion may persist" for Aboriginal Australians. This creates what Wolff and MacKinnon (2002) call an "information underclass." Where Indigenous peoples of the Pacific experience higher connectivity at school than at home, schools become crucial sites for effective use of gained knowledge to enact Indigenous digital empowerment and entrepreneurialism. To reduce the "digital divide" and the "information underclass" requires, among other priorities, the development of culturally responsive digital schooling while transforming curriculum and teacher pedagogy.

Research on technology and equity has mainly centered on unequal physical access to computers and the Internet, through lenses of race, income, and education (Warschauer et al. 2004). With the intensification of ICT use over the past decade, technology is now considered important to addressing education inequality. Warschauer et al. (2004: 563) conclude that new technologies are a double-edged sword that has the potential to either alleviate or exacerbate existing inequalities. If ICT is distributed equally and is designed and deployed in well-considered ways, it can contribute to societal inclusion, while unequal access and/or colonial configurations at home and school will widen the digital divide and social exclusion. The Internet and its societal transformations present enormous opportunities and challenges for schools (Selwyn and Facer 2007; Fink and Kenny 2003; Wolff and MacKinnon 2002).

Pacific schools are located within a geographical and political region that has the most heterogeneous levels of ICT development globally (International Telecommunication Union 2016), with international aid for ICT development reducing since the mid 1990s on the presumption of the private sector playing an increasing role in the provision of ICT infrastructure (OECD 2005). Although Australia, New Zealand, and some Pacific Island Nations have made considerable advances to bridge the digital divide, rural villages and Indigenous communities remain the most

underserved sections of society (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2012a, b).

Indigenous peoples of the Pacific seek more than being consumers of technology but want to be producers, managers, and creators. Digital inclusion that only considers issue of access is not enough. This chapter defines Indigenous digital inclusion as: equal Indigenous ICT access that empowers Indigenous peoples and increases skills and capacities to exercise their fundamental rights and freedoms as first peoples in the Pacific. In the spirit of our ancestors we seek digital self-determination, digital empowerment, digital entrepreneurialism, digital equity, and digital excellence. An effective technology pathway to full empowerment and participation in a digital society is via schools. But a central question is how?

Defining Culturally Responsive Digital Schooling

In seeking to define digital education agenda for the Indigenous Pacific the emerging literature on culturally responsive schooling (CRS) offers valuable insights. Relevant themes include: Indigenous culture based curricula (Demmert and Towner 2003), culturally and epistemologically responsive pedagogy (Ladson-Billings 1995; Villegas and Lucas 2002; Castagno and Brayboy 2008; Klump and McNeir 2005), cultural classrooms (Delpit 1995); American Indian pedagogies (Cajete 2001; Grande 2004; Swisher and Deyhle 1989); Multilingualism and multi-literacies (Dick et al. 1994; McCarty and Watahomigie 2004); Alaskan pedagogy (Swisher and Deyhle 1989; Alaska Native Knowledge Network 1998); and New Zealand Kaupapa Maori (Bishop et al. 2007; Smith 2003, 1991). In Australia and other Pacific areas, this issue has been articulated in a number of key policy texts (Rigney 2011b, c; Taufe'ulungaki 2002; Nabobo 2006; Teairo 2003; Thaman 1988).

This body of research illuminates the important roles curriculum and pedagogy play in improving achievement gaps. The CRS literature suggests they can play even more powerful roles for Indigenous youth if they are enacted within the context of decolonization, Indigenous epistemology, ontology, and cosmology. In previous work on Indigenous Australian epistemologies within the CRS domain, the author argued for three integrated principles that include: knowledges that brings emancipation from the unjust Aboriginal human condition; knowledges that uphold the integrity of Indigenous languages, beliefs, and values; and knowledges that privileges Indigenous voices (Rigney 2006). The key point relevant to CRDS emerging from this work on epistemology is the centrality of Indigenous worlds, ways of knowing, speaking, seeing, and being to all forms of curricula, pedagogy, and teacher–student relationships (Rigney 2001, 2002, 2006).

The conclusion reached was that any education system digital or otherwise that attempts to disrupt or dislodge Indigenous languages, cultures, and epistemes from Pacific schools weakens their cultural fluency repertoire needed to bridge other languages of power (Rigney 2002). This view concurs with Battiste (2002) that not all ascribe to the same Indigenous epistemology and that it is diverse in definition. She defines epistemology as “Indigenous knowledges and technologies”

that “sustained their cultures” and “passed to generations” (Battiste 2002: 2). This diversity is seen within two important examples of culturally responsive schooling that inform the digital entrepreneurialism framework proposed in this chapter.

One of the many alternative versions of culturally responsive pedagogy, Gloria Ladson-Billings (1995) work is focused primarily on improving learning outcomes for African-American children. Her version of culturally responsive pedagogy “rests on three criteria or propositions: students must experience academic success; students must develop and/or maintain cultural competence; and students must develop a critical consciousness through which they challenge the status quo of the current social order” (Ladson-Billings 1995: 160). Villegas and Lucas (2002) propose that to increase classroom cultural and linguistic diversity good teaching must have six characteristics: is socioculturally conscious; has affirming views of students from diverse backgrounds; is capable of bringing about educational change that will make schools more responsive to all students; is capable of promoting learners’ knowledge construction; knows about the lives of his or her students; and uses his or her knowledge about students’ lives to design instruction that builds on what they already know while stretching them beyond the familiar (Villegas and Lucas 2002).

Although the work of Ladson-Billings (1995) and Villegas and Lucas (2002) is relevant for building culturally responsive digital schooling, the author argues for two important points of departure. Firstly, online environments now allow Indigenous children to create their learning, beyond that which is designed by adults, using their cultural funds of knowledge, languages, and epistemologies. The social nature of technology and digital platforms provide the teacher with new opportunities for student self-expression, information gathering about students own cultures, and to create cross-cultural collaborative learning throughout the Pacific. This is the underlying technological basis of the society those in the Pacific now inhabit. Secondly, in ways not imagined by Ladson-Billings, Villegas, and Lucas, using digital classrooms makes achievable the development of local online Indigenous content related to the Pacific context in which parents, local elders, and community stakeholders can be encouraged to participate. Such activities simultaneously expand the languages available on the Internet by prioritizing local Indigenous vocabularies and literacies that predate colonialism in the Pacific by thousands of years.

Given these new and ever-emerging digital possibilities, CRDS must contribute to changes in the dominant educational paradigm in relation to the nature of what it means to know, the role of the teacher in the learning process, and the relationship between the teacher and student. In digital classrooms, the teacher is no longer sole expert or the center of all wisdom, a position that has predominated in the profession for decades. Rather the role of teacher is far more complex as mentor and leader while providing learning experiences for students to achieve creative and personal interdependence through web technologies.

In New Zealand, principles of culturally responsive pedagogy from Kaupapa Maori education scholars reinforce this necessary shift in teacher role as all knower. Kaupapa Maori education sees: power as shared between teacher and student; culture as counting; Maori being Maori as priority; learning as interactive and dialogic; connectedness as fundamental to relations; and a common vision of

excellence for Maori in education (Bishop et al. 2007: 15). Similarly, the Alaskan Native Knowledge Network Culturally Responsive Teacher Standards include: teaching philosophy encompassing multiple worldviews; teacher competency in learning, theory, and practice knowing how students learn; teaching for diversity; content related to local community; instruction and assessment building on student's cultures; learning environments using local sites; family and community involvement as partners; and continuous professional development (Alaska Native Knowledge Network 1998). When grafting this work onto modern technological developments and digital-learning contexts, it is important to note that such pedagogies do not dismiss the specialist knowledge of the teacher, nor their pedagogical expertise and authority. Rather, they compelling see inherent reciprocity in the relationship between teacher and learner for empowerment. The current generation of Web technologies provide opportunity for the nature of such relationships to nurture personal interdependence for students to pursue their own agency.

The field of Indigenous Studies research in Australia also has valuable insights for virtual learning environments that are categorized into four main areas: Indigenous funds of knowledge and epistemologies (Buckskin et al. 2010; Rigney 2006, 2011a,b; Ma Rhea 2015; Perso 2012); community engagement, improving teacher pedagogy, and high student expectation (Ma Rhea et al. 2012; Sarra 2007; Craven et al. 2005); Anti-racism and social justice education (Hattam et al. 2009; Comber 2016); and students at risk strategies (Krakouer 2015; Freebody and Freiberg 2012; Aveling 2012). Although digital literacy is touched upon by a number of these scholars, it is rarely a central theme. What is common in this literature is that teachers' attitude to students and their understanding of students' cultures have shown to improve academic performance. In other words, success requires teachers' knowledge of local cultures, community involvement, and schools that are culturally responsive to, and compatible with, the community environments that surround them.

Synthesizing these CRS research findings makes evident the need for inclusive digital environments for successful learning to adopt a strengths-based approach that privileges Indigenous epistemologies and ways of knowing. The message is clear: any technology-based learning or good culturally responsive digital schooling system should have three purposes:

1. Provide all Indigenous students who want to learn with access to technology
2. Empower all Indigenous students to empower others
3. Connect e-learning to ways that take into account the sovereign status, self-determination, and digital entrepreneurial goals of Indigenous First Nations communities

The ramifications of digital schooling for Indigenous youth are complex. This includes the inherent right of tribal groups peoples to determine the digital nature of schooling for their youth and how best to benefit from technologies and digital platforms now available in the Pacific. At present, there is no Indigenous definition of culturally responsive digital schooling, nor are there articulated conceptual frameworks for greater digital inclusion. Unfortunately, the theory and practice of

culturally responsive digital education in Australia is insufficiently developed, has had no significant peer-evaluated reviews, and currently has only a few productive advocates (e.g., Rigney 2011a, 2013, 2014; Radoll 2010, 2015; Yunkaporta and McGinty 2009). To propel the Indigenous of the Pacific to be ICT-savvy nations there is a need to define digital inclusion and conceptual frameworks for culturally responsive digital schooling.

In this chapter, the author defines culturally responsive digital schooling as:

Schooling that uses dialogical and participatory teacher pedagogies, which authentically connect learning of subject-specific knowledge to the lifeworlds, epistemological experiences, and languages of Indigenous students, for both improving learning outcomes and addressing social inclusion challenges.

This definition recognizes that ICT-access alone, whether in schools or Indigenous homes, is not the solution to Indigenous poverty or inequality in the Pacific. Rather, being digitally literate, a necessary precursor to being able to efficiently contribute to and access benefits from digitally transformed economies and societies, requires enabling school environments accompanied by inclusive ICT infrastructure and policies. For this definition of culturally responsive digital schooling to be realized, it will be necessary for professional learning in which teachers and educators engage to redefine schooling and pedagogy to meet the requirements of twenty-first century Indigenous learners. Teaching in the Pacific will have to undergo pedagogical changes that match the evolution of digital delivery technologies. School and pedagogies continuously evolve. Digital tools, implemented in culturally responsive ways, can help to facilitate, further, and perhaps even improve the outcomes and processes of existing pedagogies.

Thus, culturally responsive digital schooling and its new pedagogies seek to engage diverse learners and connect students to learning communities, knowledge, and experiences beyond the classroom to empower and improve their lives. To underpin these aims, the author proposes ten standards for culturally responsive digital schooling:

1. Ensures teacher qualifications in ICT teaching and student e-learning
2. Provides students and community access to technology to build skills to participate in online environments and economies
3. Engages parents, local elders, and community as partners to develop local Indigenous digital content
4. Provides e-learning that builds on students' cultural epistemologies, ontologies, and cosmologies
5. Advocates a strengths-based approach to Indigenous e-learning by recognizing the skills, funds of knowledge, and world views students bring with them to school
6. Emphasizes web-based financial, social, and individual cyber safety
7. Cultivates twenty-first century workforce skills of problem solving, adaptability, communication, and analytics

8. Expands languages available on Internet by prioritizing local Indigenous languages and cultures
9. Engages three digital learning purposes: (a) Provide all Indigenous students who want to learn with access to technology, (b) Empower all Indigenous students to empower others, and (c) Connect e-learning to ways that take into account the sovereign status, self-determination, and digital entrepreneurial goals of Indigenous First Nations communities and
10. Reconnects traditional Indigenous engagement and communication across the Pacific and builds core competencies in global awareness of other diverse cultures

Indigenous children of Oceania live in a multitasking, multifaceted, technology-driven, diverse, rapidly changing world. Pacific twenty-first century digital learning and information technology requires new spaces that are culturally safe, coherent, and consistent with Indigenous interests and values. They require learning spaces that do not override Indigenous epistemes and cultures but instead draw upon them as a source of learning foundation on which to build new digital learning structures. They need schooling that connects school, home, country, and community learning in successful ways. Further conceptualization, and enacted programs and evaluations of culturally responsive digital schooling as defined here, framed by the ten principles outlined, are now imperative to bridging the digital disconnect in the Pacific and sustaining and transforming Indigenous Pacific futures.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined a meaningful purpose and definition of “cultural responsive digital schooling” that moves beyond settler-versions to empower Indigenous communities and Pacific futures. Any program to reduce the Indigenous digital divide must involve teachers, schools, and Indigenous communities as partners. How do we prepare Indigenous students of the Pacific for technology-rich worlds, while retaining and sustaining their languages and cultures that are central to their self-determination? Given the fast uptake of Web-based technologies globally we must develop strategies for educators to meet both of these imperatives. Schools are part of the solution to generate digital innovation and sustain socioeconomic well-being of all children including ours in the Pacific.

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The Transformative Role of Iwi Knowledge and Genealogy in Māori Student Success

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Abstract

Iwi (tribal) knowledge systems can hold powerful narratives about the past, present, and future – prioritizing distinct languages, worldviews, teachings, and technologies developed and sustained by generations of iwi members. Narratives that emphasize the innovative deeds, qualities, and achievements of ancestors can

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be used in education to reinforce the notion that Māori students descend from a long lineage of scholars, scientists, philosophers, and the like – negating the powerful effect of stereotype threat (Steele 1997).

The recognition and reactivation of iwi knowledge in one iwi region of Aotearoa, New Zealand was an act of reclamation, remediation, and renaissance, whereby notions of *mana tangata* (student success – expressed as status accrued through one’s leadership talents and respect from others) were reconceptualized by drawing on the richness of iwi genealogy, narratives, and worldview. The Ka Awatea (A new dawn) Project was an iwi case study that examined the qualities of “success” through a quintessentially iwi lens by grounding the research undertakings in iwi protocols and history and linking findings to historical iwi icons. By emphasizing the key qualities of ancestors, we can better understand what enabled them to make outstanding contributions to the society of their era, and their feats can continue to guide the pathways to success of Māori students in contemporary times. To effect educational transformation and reform, local high schools, in conjunction with iwi in the region, then made a conscious and unapologetic call to carve out time and space to affirm this iwi knowledge – legitimizing its dignity, identity, and integrity. Speaking to Māori student success from a distinctly iwi perspective has revitalized cultural pride among Te Arawa students connecting learning to their *mana tangata* – their proud histories, tenacious present, and promising futures.

Keywords

Iwi knowledge · Māori student success · Stereotype threat · Positive Maori identity · Connectedness · Belonging

Introduction

The English-medium classroom does not speak the language of our children. It does not include their Māori ways of knowing in the curriculum, nor does it hold any of their ancestors up as role models of academic excellence. Yet, Māori know vis-à-vis whakapapa (genealogy), pūrākau (moral stories), and our distinguished history of whaikorero (oratory) that they descend from a long line of greatness. The discourses within Māori communities themselves do not focus on academic underachievement and deficit. Instead, the focus is on the strengths, wisdom, and skills our children have developed or need to develop, to flourish in their own community and family contexts as well as wider society. Māori families want their children to learn in schools that teach them that their ancestors were great philosophers, scientists, mathematicians, entrepreneurs, and researchers. Māori parents also want their children to stand tall in the knowledge that they have a rich and distinct heritage of scholarly endeavors; and for this to serve as a solid foundation for transformational learning, positive identity development, academic motivation, innovation, and intellectual and social development (Macfarlane et al. 2014). Our collective Māori futures rely upon it.

There is a strong relationship between Māori identity and the educational outcomes of Māori students (Bishop and Glynn 1999; Durie 2001; Macfarlane 2004; Webber 2008). The underpinning assertion is that a positive sense of Māori identity, experienced as cultural competence, cultural efficacy, and ethnic group pride, can improve the educational outcomes of Māori by ameliorating their negative experiences at school. So, what does a strong and positive Māori identity look like? Generally, positive Māori identity has been defined in terms of positive self-identification as Māori; an understanding of Māori language and culture; involvement in Māori social and cultural activities; and a close attachment to other Māori, for example, familial kinship groups, such as whānau (family), hapū (sub-tribe), and iwi (tribe) (Houkamau and Sibley 2010, 2011; Stevenson 2004). The fundamental building block in early works on Māori identity was the notion of whakapapa and genealogical linkages (Makereti 1986; Hiroa 1949). These linkages clarify one's sense of place and belonging and an individual or personal identity is often considered secondary to the dominant social identity based upon a communal way of life. Walker (1989) has also suggested that Māori identity is a social concept based on descent but also suggests that developing mechanisms by which one may ascertain Māori-ness are problematic because many are too static and/or unable to account for the multiplicity of human behavior. It is clear that Māori identity is a dynamic phenomenon predicated on social belonging and connectedness and many of these factors necessarily manifest differently in different social contexts. Indeed, the need for *social belonging*, for seeing oneself as socially connected, is a basic human motivation (MacDonald and Leary 2005) and a sense of social connectedness predicts favorable outcomes (Stuart and Jose 2014; Webber et al. 2013). A positive sense of Māori identity plays an important role in healthy adjustment and school functioning and can have a significant influence on how Māori students deal with adverse circumstances (Webber 2012).

Māori Enjoying and Achieving Educational Success as Māori

Recent statistics demonstrate that despite improved overall academic results for Māori students, the achievement gap between Māori and non-Māori in English-medium education in New Zealand continues. In 2015, the total number of Māori students leaving secondary school with NCEA (The National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) is New Zealand's national qualification for senior secondary school students) level two or equivalent was 62.2%, while the top performing ethnic groups (Asian and European) had 90.6% and 83%, respectively (Education Review Office 2016). In addition, the Programme for International Student Assessment New Zealand Summary Report (OECD 2016) continues to highlight the fact that Māori students score below the average score for New Zealand, and the OECD, in all three subjects – literacy, numeracy, and science. (The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) is an international study that assesses and compares how well countries are educationally preparing their 15-year-old students to meet real-life opportunities and challenges) Although

New Zealand performs well overall on the PISA, the distribution of student performance in New Zealand shows that we have relatively low equality (equity) in learning outcomes, and there is a wider gap between the top 10% and bottom 10% of our students than in most other OECD countries (Education Review Office 2016).

The success of Māori students at school is a matter of national interest and a number of recent initiatives have been implemented in New Zealand secondary schools to address the educational disparities between Māori and non-Māori. Many of these initiatives have been premised on an influential Māori education strategy called *Ka Hikitia* (2009, 2013). The overall goal of the *Ka Hikitia* strategy is to enable Māori to enjoy and achieve educational success as Māori. The Ministry of Education (MOE) has described this as being when “Māori students have their identity, language, and culture valued and included in teaching and learning in ways that support them to engage and achieve success” and when they “know their potential and feel supported to set goals and take action to enjoy success” (Ministry of Education 2013, p. 13). The MOE further suggests that enabling Māori to succeed as Māori involves: (1) implementing teaching and learning approaches in schools that are engaging, effective, and enjoyable for all Māori students; (2) having appropriately high expectations for all Māori students; (3) tracking and monitoring what works to support excellent Māori educational outcomes, and; (4) developing productive partnerships with *whānau*, *iwi*, and community that are responsive and reciprocal – leading to collective action, outcomes, and solutions (Ministry of Education 2009, 2013). Yet, the Auditor General’s report on Māori education (Controller and Auditor-General 2016) stated that many schools still lack an understanding of what constitutes Māori success. This report recommended that the Ministry of Education work with schools to establish a framework for collecting cultural information (e.g., a Māori student’s ties with their *iwi*) and other information (e.g., a Māori student’s goals and aspirations) to better understand what Māori enjoying educational success as Māori means for their communities.

A number of research and development initiatives have investigated how to improve the educational achievement of Māori students in the mainstream secondary school classrooms. *Te Kotahitanga* was a research and development project that promoted an education in which: (1) power was shared between self-determining individuals within nondominating relations of interdependence; (2) culture counts; (3) learning is interactive, dialogic, and spirals; and (4) participants are connected and committed to one another through the establishment of a common vision about what constitutes educational excellence (Bishop et al. 2014). From their student interviews, Bishop et al. (2009) learned that when Māori students have good relationships with their teachers, they are better able to engage with their learning. Meyer et al. (2010) identified that Māori students who were thriving in *Te Kotahitanga* schools were proud of their Māori culture and identities, could “be Māori” as learners, rather than having to leave their culture outside school in order to succeed.

The *He Kāmano* initiative (University of Waikato and *Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiāraangi* 2010) was a strategic school-based professional development program with an explicit focus on improving culturally responsive leadership and

teacher practices to ensure Māori learners enjoy educational success as Māori. The premise behind this program was supporting school leaders to champion and enhance the social and cultural conditions necessary to bring about positive change for Māori students. School leaders in the study evaluation reported “enhanced understandings of their own relational positions, values and beliefs towards Māori students and their communities, increased awareness of Māori students and their current achievement levels, and shared responsibility for Māori students and their achievement” (Hynds et al. 2013, p. 29). This evaluation also concluded that despite a number of gains school leaders still needed more practical advice and direct guidance on how to implement evidence-based community partnership models that are highly effective in enabling Māori students to achieve educational success as Māori.

Another project of significance was The Starpath Project, which focused on equitable outcomes for New Zealand students who were underrepresented in tertiary education, particularly Māori and Pacific students from low-decile school contexts from low socioeconomic backgrounds (Yuan et al 2010). A school’s decile rating indicates the extent to which it draws its students from low socioeconomic communities. At a decile one school, most of the students come from low socioeconomic backgrounds, while decile ten schools have the smallest numbers of students from low socioeconomic backgrounds (Ministry of Education 2013.) Starpath findings revealed a marked and persistent difference in the success rates between Māori and Pacific students, and Asian and Pākehā students. Starpath identified a number of structures and processes that limited student academic progress and replaced these with practices that could help them including enhanced data utilization, two- and three-way academic mentoring, target-setting, and ongoing tracking and monitoring of achievement outcomes and opportunities (Santamaria et al. 2014).

More recently, the *Kia Eke Panuku: Building on Success* initiative has aimed to, “give life to Ka Hikitia” (Ministry of Education 2015) by bringing together key findings from five previous programs of research and development: Te Kotahitanga, He Kākano, the Starpath Project for Tertiary Participation and Success, and the Secondary Literacy and Numeracy Projects. *Kia Eke Panuku* placed importance on staff working in their schools to use data and evidence to effect positive change in classroom and school-wide practices, systems, and structures (Ministry of Education 2015). The *Kia Eke Panuku* findings showed that in order to promote conditions for accelerating school reform, three critical factors must be present: deliberate professional acts applied with adaptive expertise; culturally responsive and relational pedagogy/leadership across the school; and powerful home, school, and community collaborations (Berryman and Eley 2017). Berryman and Eley (2017) argue that schools who focus on these dimensions as levers for accelerated school reform can close the gap between Māori and non-Māori participation and achievement. *Kia Eke Panuku* findings have suggested that schools and communities can support Māori students on their journey towards success as Māori by fostering and encouraging six expressions of Māori success: (1) living confidently – with affinity to whakapapa and at ease with a growing cultural competence in language, tikanga, and identity; (2) connected to and in harmony with the people, the environment, and systems

around about them; (3) articulate and confident in expressing thoughts, feelings, and ideas; (4) skilled in building and navigating relational spaces; (5) thinking respectfully and critically about the world and ideas; and (6) achieving qualifications from school and wider life that lead to future options and choice (Berryman and Eley 2017).

Despite the rich information from these national research projects, we still know little about how success as Māori is defined by diverse groups of Māori themselves, across diverse contexts. It is also important to decipher what factors both within school, and outside of school encourage Māori to enjoy success because, what it looks like in one context could be very different from the next. Cockrell et al. (2007) have stated that, “definitions of success, and the criteria used to determine success are likely to be unique to each school, community, and/or culture” (p. 7). This means that a one-size-fits-all approach is not appropriate for all Māori in terms a singular definition of success. There is, however, some common consensus about broad indicators of Māori educational advancement, including Māori living as Māori, participating as citizens of the world, having good health, and a high standard of living (Durie 2001). Specific notions of “success” are necessarily context dependent in that “success ‘as Māori’ means different things for different people. . .some are strongly connected with their Māori heritage, others less strongly connected” (Averill et al. 2014, p. 36). Houkamau and Sibley (2015) have explained that there are many ways of being Māori, and that cultural identity for Māori is defined in different ways such as, whakapapa (genealogy), Māoritanga (Māori way of life), iwitanga (tribal links), hapūtanga (kinship links), and whanaungatanga (family relationships). Durie (2005) has also asserted that Māori experience diverse realities that take shape based on the context within which they are formed.

According to Rata (2012), a school’s cultural environment can enhance, or constrain, Māori identities, which in turn can increase, or decrease, psychological wellbeing and engagement in learning. In mainstream settings, some of school factors which influence Māori identities in either positive or negative ways are, the teachers’ expectations for Māori students, whether or not schools initiate Māori representation in decision making, and whether there is a school-based marae or not (Rata 2012). Rata’s (2012) research implies that how well an institution understands and values te ao Māori (the world of Māori) is perhaps the most important factor determining whether Māori students will achieve success in the mainstream school setting or not. Similarly, Whitinui (2008) has long argued that kapa haka can provide a culturally responsive learning environment where students appear to participate, learn, and achieve more consistently as Māori. The research clearly indicates that schools need to be places where Māori students not only achieve academically but where they are happy and comfortable to be themselves; where they can feel at home, valued, and cherished; where they can realize their potential; and where they are able to be strong in their Māori identity. Schools which can promote this positive cultural environment are more likely to create atmospheres where students are empowered by their experiences and at school and, “develop the ability, confidence, and motivation to succeed academically” (Cummins 1986, p. 23).

Stereotype Threat and Its Impact on Academic Efficacy

Māori wisdoms, distinct iwi knowledge, and local role models matter. Not only are they important to remedying the continuing failures of the mainstream classroom, but they can also be a positive approach to dealing with the threat of academic stereotypes, low academic efficacy, low self-esteem, and poor school engagement among the Māori student population. Māori identities, localized curriculum content, and transformative school cultures matter for Māori students because they influence their perceptions about the relevance of schooling to their lives. These concepts impact Māori students in that they influence their identification with the school context (or not) and subsequently their attendance, engagement, and achievement. In most English-medium schools, Māori identity, our worldview and knowledge, and our own role models are not used effectively to enhance teaching and learning. This is troubling because school culture significantly influences Māori students' social and academic identities and subsequently affects how they respond to opportunities to learn. Māori-centric cultural values, norms, customs, ways of being, ways of knowing, and traditions can provide Māori students with a framework for interpreting reality, making sense of school content and responding to academic challenges. Furthermore, in light of the current academic disparities between Māori students and their non-Māori peers, there is a need to further examine the role Māori identity and culture can have on the attitudes, behaviors, and learning orientations of Māori students.

To increase Māori participation and achievement in education, we must address the persistent negative stereotypes and media misrepresentations that suppress their achievement. Māori student achievement continues to be impacted by negative stereotypes that allege intellectual inferiority (Turner et al. 2015; Webber 2012; Webber et al. 2013) and state-mandated statistics that perpetually portray Māori educational performance as a problem inherent to Māori people themselves (Mahuika 2008; Walker 1985). Given the power of these stereotypes to shape Māori underparticipation and disengagement from education, the depth of Māori estrangement from the compulsory education sector should not be underestimated. The ongoing sense of injustice and the continued disempowerment of Māori people as they progress through English-medium schools remain deeply painful and continue to have a profound impact on the psyche, efficacy, and motivation of Māori students (Bishop et al. 2014).

Steele (1997) has called this phenomenon “stereotype threat” and has stated that these stereotypes impact the performance, motivation, and learning of students who have to contend with them. Steele's writings (1997, 2010) highlight the way in which being the target of a negative group stereotype (even when one does not believe the stereotype) can undermine student confidence, participation, and performance in academic tasks. Steele asserts that the students who are most vulnerable to stereotype threat are those who care the most and who are most deeply invested in high academic performance. This means that the Māori students most likely to disengage from schooling contexts where negative stereotypes about their academic potential remain unchallenged are those with the highest academic potential. In essence, our

highest achieving Māori students are more likely to be negatively impacted by stereotypes that reinforce the idea that “Māori students are not as smart as non-Māori students.”

However, international literature suggests that developing a positive ethnic identity could play a protective role in Indigenous students’ lives (Miller and Kaiser 2001). According to extant research, Indigenous students who identify strongly with their ethnic group are better able to negotiate potentially negative environments, deal with discrimination and prejudice, and have high self-esteem. Other evidence (Bowman and Howard 1985; Oyserman et al. 2007) has shown that positive ethnic socialization is associated with better school efficacy, higher educational aspirations, increased cultural knowledge, and a greater understanding of the racial prejudice (Quintana and Vera 1999). More recently, Altschul et al. (2006) examined three components of ethnic identity that act together to buffer the impact of stereotype threat and strengthen persistence at school. The components are: (1) a positive sense of belonging to one’s ethnic group, (2) a high awareness of racism, and (3) a strong sense of embedded achievement. Embedded achievement is the belief that achievement is an in-group identifier, a part of being a good in-group member, and a belief that the achievement of some in-group members helps other in-group members succeed. Webber et al. (2013) examined the same components of ethnic identity with Māori students in the Aotearoa, New Zealand context and found that a strong and positive Māori identity does indeed help Māori students to buffer the potential impact of stereotypes, and subsequently engage, persist, and succeed at school.

Ka Awatea: An Iwi Case Study of Māori Student Success

Te Arawa people are a confederation of iwi that occupy the Rotorua Lakes district and part of the central Bay of Plenty coastline in Aotearoa, New Zealand. In the Ka Awatea project, a Te Arawa worldview was used to examine the connection between Māori identity and the perceived characteristics of success among a selection of nominated successful Māori high school students from Rotorua, New Zealand. In a time when “Māori enjoying and achieving education success as Māori” (Ministry of Education 2013, p. 5) was the catch phrase of New Zealand educational practice and policy, this study sought to understand the role that various academic, social, interpersonal, and cultural influences have on educational achievement as they foster and demand different understandings and identity enactments among Māori students. This iwi case study took a social-psychological perspective on questions of Māori student success in that it articulated indigenous student achievement as a concept always situated in, and mediated by, social contexts, cultural settings, and social group memberships (Macfarlane et al. 2015).

Using a Kaupapa Māori informed approach, the Ka Awatea project conducted interview/focus groups and a survey over 2 years to examine the conditions for success, and the perceptions of success, from successful senior Māori secondary students ($n = 132$) aged between 15 and 18, their whānau ($n = 58$), and their teachers and principals ($n = 93$). The successful students were nominated by their

school principals for a number of reasons: most notably, high achievement, leadership, and cultural expertise. All but one student could identify their iwi affiliations and 47% of the student participants identified as Te Arawa. All students in the Ka Awatea study attended schools in the Rotorua district. The Ka Awatea Project consequently uncovered the individual, family, school, and community conditions that enabled Māori students to mobilize various types of mana (pride and status) to achieve their educational, social, and cultural goals. It also identified eight personal, academic, and cultural qualities that exemplified successful Māori high school students from this iwi area. As such, the Ka Awatea project developed a measure, model, and definition of Māori success that was iwi specific (Macfarlane et al. 2014).

Mana: The Five Personal, Familial, School, and Community Conditions Required for Māori Student Success

One of the greatest challenges facing Māori participation in education concerns the restoration and experience of cultural pride and efficacy in the lives of Māori students. Māori scholar Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal (2006) has argued that it is *mana* (honor, pride, and esteem) that lies at the heart of Indigenous self-worth and the degree to which we feel empowered and good about ourselves. Royal (2005, p. 68) has also explained that, “. . .mana is a person’s knowledge and sense of knowing – knowing about what to do, what they ought to do and how to do what they should do.” Royal (2005, p. 68) argued,

The purpose of education is to facilitate the flow and experience of mana in the individual and in his/her community. The “fullness” of life was considered to be a function of the degree and quality of mana at play in a person’s life. The outward expression of mana in the life of the individual is evidenced not only in their skills, attributes and talents – expertise and skill was widely celebrated – but finally in their “spiritual authority,” their intuitive and wisdom filled knowledge and insight of knowing what, when, how and why to do something.

As such, the concept of mana is important for Indigenous student participation, engagement, and achievement at school because it relates to their sense of being, motivation, and personal and collective identity. Mana tangata, or secure sense of mana, can influence Indigenous students’ thoughts and behavior, enabling them to act purposefully in the world to achieve their goals and aspirations. In this way, the development of mana is crucial because it is a profoundly powerful social–psychological construct that affirms and advances Indigenous student connectedness and belonging in the school context, undoing the impact of negative societal stereotypes, including “the master narrative” (Carretero and Van Alphen 2014) that speaks of the Indigenous problem in education (McCarty and Lee 2014) and/or the long brown tail of underachievement (Torrance et al. 2015).

Royal (2005) has also argued that the purpose of education is not so much the acquisition of knowledge but rather the growth of mana in the individual. He suggests the following attributes or qualities as essential for the development of

mana in the individual: that he/she does not boast about his/her own prowess or abilities; when faced with an issue or problem, they understand traditional lore and extended discussions as a process, a way of addressing an issue/problem in order to seek an answer, outcome, or direction; they are gentle and humble; they listen to what the spirit is telling him/her; is supported by his/her people; is quick thinker, an alert mind; they adhere to their thoughts and beliefs; they are industrious, knowledgeable, and have a repository of knowledge.

In the Ka Awatea study, five mātauranga (educational) themes concerning the personal, familial, school, and community conditions for success emerged. The five themes, described below, are: Mana Whānau, Mana Motuhake, Mana Tū, Mana Ūkaipo, and Mana Tangatarua. The first concept, Mana whānau, appeared to have no bounds – it appeared with incredible regularity throughout the course of the study rendering it the most important condition of Māori student success.

Mana Whānau: The Students Came from Child-Centric Family Environments

Successful Māori students occupy a central position of importance within their whānau – and this includes the school and community “whānau” as well. The Māori students in this study were nurtured into succeeding by their whānau, teachers, and peers; were consequently socially capable; and had a sense of belonging across a number of contexts. The Māori students knew that their families valued education, and that their school success was important to the whole whānau because it had the potential to be a driver of wider whānau success.

The successful Māori students were held in high regard by their whānau, their peers, teachers, and members of the wider school community. For the main part, most of these students were placed at the heart of the whānau and were nurtured, protected, and guided towards success from an early age. Whānau saw their role as integral to the formation of healthy lifelong attitudes and learning behaviors and viewed this as a serious undertaking if their children were to realize their potential as successful Māori students and emerging adults.

This “tamariki-centric” (child-centered) positioning of Māori students was evident from the comments made by both the students and their parents. Successful students were quick to praise their parents for providing them with a safe and loving environment where encouragement and support for all their endeavors never wavered. This consistent and constant presence of care and concern in their lives made them want to try hard at school and achieve educational success. Students saw educational success as a means of paying back their parents and making them proud for all their unwavering support and the sacrifices they had made. Parents on the other hand were forthcoming about placing their children’s needs first and their own second. They recognized the vulnerability of transitioning from childhood to young adulthood and were committed to ensuring their children were advantaged by having their physical, emotional, spiritual, and cultural needs met. Parents saw this task as their primary responsibility and developed strategies to ensure that they were

equipped to support their children and that they were not disadvantaged by their own limitations. Students who were raised in tamariki-centric home contexts learnt to respond in kind and reciprocate behaviors that were highly valued by others such as respect, humility, thoughtfulness, and compassion. These skills were viewed as crucial in order to become a socially capable and identity secure individual across a range of circumstances and are essential in building towards a successful future (Tahau-Hodges 2010).

Mana Motuhake: A Positive Sense of Māori Identity

Mana motuhake (positive identity) was experienced by the students in this study via their developing sense of cultural efficacy, connection, and belonging. This included their ability and knowledge of how to engage meaningfully with Māori culture. Successful Māori students purported to have a keen sense of belonging and connectedness to others in their whānau, hapu, iwi, school, and community. All participants also agreed that knowledge of one's whakapapa (genealogy) was critical. Kāretu (1990) has described whakapapa as the glue that connects individuals to a certain place or marae, locating them within the broader network of kin relations. According to the participants in this study whakapapa is not simply about having "Māori blood" but knowing about that descent and having a meaningful relationship to it. Knowledge of whakapapa had a major part to play in the resilience of the Māori students and their ability to stay focused, as well as committed to achieving their aspirations at school for the collective benefit of their whānau, hapū, and iwi.

Whānau played the most important role in terms of socializing their children into the Māori world and helping them to develop cultural efficacy. Cultural efficacy is the extent to which an individual feels they have the personal resources to engage appropriately as Māori across a range of contexts (Houkamau and Sibley 2011). The findings of the Ka Awatea study show that the most important developmental asset a parent can imbue in their children is to ensure that they are aware of their collective belonging, cultural connectedness, and responsibilities to others. Many of the successful students in this study asserted that any decisions about themselves were made while recognizing their responsibilities to others – their whānau, hapū, and iwi. Therefore, healthy and supportive whānau are fundamental to positive Māori identity development and for promoting educational advancement.

The shaping of student attitudes towards Māori and more specifically iwi identity, and the associated languages, values, and cultural worldviews need to be a fundamental function of whānau. Constructive and supportive relationships between members of whānau including (importantly) extended whānau are important determinants of Māori student success, and lay the foundations for positive relationships in later life. Modeling whanaungatanga – that is the establishment and maintenance of supportive relationships – is also a critical whānau function that contributes to student success at school.

Moreover, iwi can also play a role in the positive Māori identity development of students. As a consequence of this study, Te Arawa developed a range of iwi-specific

resources and professional learning opportunities for teachers that promoted the inclusion of culturally rich learning opportunities, contributing to the wider goals of whānau, the schools, and the iwi. Many hapū within Te Arawa have also established wānanga where parents and other whānau members can participate in learning programs that will improve their opportunities to participate on marae and in other cultural arenas. For some whānau, these wānanga have strengthened their existing knowledge of language, marae kawa, whakapapa, and tikanga. For other whānau, these wānanga importantly offer a point of entry into te ao Māori and their connectedness to their iwi. Initiatives such as these wānanga contribute to whānau wellbeing and consequently they positively impact on Māori student success.

Mana Tū: A Sense of Courage and Resilience

Successful Māori students develop positive self-efficacy, positive self-concept, resilience, and an internal locus of control to thrive in the school context and, eventually, beyond it. They tended to be aspirational, have high expectations and enjoy overall physical, emotional, and spiritual wellbeing. Whānau need to ensure their children have a healthy home environment that supports this physical, emotional, and spiritual wellbeing. Whānau members need to model practical resilience strategies – for example, work ethic, perseverance, determination, and discipline – because students looked to whānau as their “first teachers” and ultimate “motivation for success.”

Many Māori students today are being exposed to increasingly difficult home, neighborhood, and/or school environments that can significantly obstruct their path to academic success. However, successful Māori students thrive at school despite having to overcome adverse personal and contextual factors. Such students are often labeled as resilient. Resilience largely consists of two components: the presence of significant adversity and the achievement of a positive outcome despite the threat or risk (Masten and Coatsworth 1998). However, resilience can also be thought of as a continuous interaction between the individual and characteristics of his or her environment. In this sense, resilience is context dependent. Māori students who experience themselves as resilient, and are seen by their communities as resilient, are those who successfully navigate their way through adversity, each in his or her own way, and according to the strengths and resources available to the student as well as his or her whānau, community, and/or culture.

Māori students often experience some type of risk or adversity and some are still doing relatively well despite the risk(s). Māori students who were seen as successful in this study revealed a combination of personal and environmental characteristics that enabled them to stay focused in the face of educational adversity. Familial support, enhanced academic and cultural self-efficacy, and an internal locus of control helped the Māori students in this study to thrive in the school context. The concept of resilience was also closely linked to personal attributes such as determination, persistence, confidence, and focus. All of the Māori students who were interviewed demonstrated characteristics of resilience in order to overcome

adversity, and also employed a range of self-regulated learning behaviors in order to direct their own learning and achieve their goals.

Many of the students in this study stood out because of their desire to learn, their generally positive attitude towards school and their motivation to pursue a career that would improve the wellbeing of their whānau. More specifically, the majority of the students:

- Had positive self-concepts, positive academic self-efficacy, were intrinsically motivated, and did homework regularly
- Were described as being resolute and tenacious and said they were confident or were able to encourage or push themselves towards success
- Were goal-oriented and future-focused
- Saw a strong relationship between school and work and had chosen a possible career
- Had received consistent support and guidance from their whānau
- Appreciated extra academic support, both in the classroom and outside it, and valued teacher contact with their parents and teachers who took a personal interest in them as individuals
- Saw choosing “like-minded” friends as crucial to their ability to stay focused at school

The resilient Māori students in this study also had individual characteristics associated with academic success such as cognitive abilities, motivation, and self-efficacy. Although many students may possess these individual characteristics successful Māori students seem to rely on these capabilities to help them overcome adverse circumstances in their environment.

Various protective factors seemed to contribute towards the development of resilience in the Māori students in this study. The development of a strong self-belief was evident in most of the Māori students and was manifested in an understanding about who they were, what they wanted to achieve in life, and the direction they needed to take to realize their goals.

Common personal characteristics demonstrated by the Māori students, in addition to resilience, included tenacity, motivation and inner will, independence, realistic aspirations, and an appreciation of their cultural uniqueness. Protective factors also included support networks that existed within and outside of the school to develop their achievement, including peers, whānau, supportive teachers, and other encouraging adults. This support network is essential to the academic success of Māori students.

Māori students who expressed a strong connection with their Māori identity also tended to utilize their “Māoriness” as a support structure, calling on whānau and their cultural beliefs/traditions when facing adverse circumstances in the environment. Māori identity and the associated sense of connection and belonging served as a buffer to protect them from negative school and/or home difficulties.

This study also found a number of important protective factors contributed to academic engagement including whānau support, school responsiveness, and engagement in te ao Māori. In this study, the link between the school and the

Māori culture of the student, as well as strong whānau support, was shown to be two of the key components that contributed to educational resilience. Development of students' self-esteem and educational resilience is significantly linked to positive familial, cultural, and social supports.

Whānau socialization also played a vital role in empowering Māori students to function successfully in the milieu of the school culture while remaining grounded in their Māori identity and culture. This study showed that whānau need to ensure their child strengthens their resilience by providing a healthy home environment that supports the student's emotional, cultural, physical, and spiritual wellbeing. Many of the participants in this study believed that a sense of accomplishment and interconnectedness led to a state of overall wellbeing.

In order to successfully navigate their worlds, Māori students need to acquire a range of skills and qualities, most importantly a resilient character. However, it is clear from this study that a Māori student's capacity to exhibit resilience depends on more than individual and/or innate ability. Māori students learn the skills and strategies of resilience from their whānau and/or other supportive adults in their immediate worlds.

Mana Ūkaipo: A Sense of Place and Belonging

Successful Māori students sought a synergy between their school-based learning and the unique Rotorua context. They also wanted to see iwi role models of success made visible and prominent in schools. Te Arawa students wanted iwi knowledge to have some resonance with their educational activities, and expected iwi knowledge and history to occupy a position of importance in the school curriculum. They perceived iwi knowledge to be a viable platform for their future aspirations and achievement.

All participants involved in the study were keen to see iwi knowledge underpin relevant educational and recreational activities. Te Arawa icons and special features of the area such as the many lakes, Mokoia Island, geothermal landmarks such as Whakarewarewa and Ohinemutu, and forests and mountains were considered by the majority of students and whānau members as crucial to anchoring a person to their homelands and genealogy.

Such an approach as described by Penetito (2009) is often termed Place Base Learning (PBL). Penetito (2009) argues that this educational model endeavors to provide students with the answers to two essential questions: what is this place and what is our relationship to it? It essentially draws on the strongest features, characteristics, history, and personalities of the land or place where students are born, raised, and educated; thereby creating a synergy between school-based learning and the unique context of the surrounding ecology. It teaches "through" rather than "about" culture and encompasses ecological studies, biodiversity, community education and community relations, local history, and sustainable development (Barnhardt 2005).

Whānau were especially keen to ensure that their children were steeped in iwi knowledge and were informed about their environment as well as the people who

have and continue to influence the changing natural and social landscape of the area. Being familiar with their ancestors and understanding the history over time helps anchor a person to the land, the water, and the sky and develops in them a sensitive awareness of those who they descend from and the potential they hold for the future. The development of a strong cultural identity and affiliation to a place where their ancestors stood was described as security against adversity.

Whānau strongly believed that being possessed of the knowledge of the land, the people, and te reo was a strong foundation upon which to acquire other knowledge, other language, and other ideologies. Advocates of PBL, such as Kawagley and Barnhardt (1999), Penetito (2009), and Kidman et al. (2011), believe such a framework can help alleviate the tension that currently exists between Western education pedagogies and holistic indigenous education models. These authors also assert that PBL can move the curriculum towards a new and exciting place where ownership by students over characteristics and features of classroom-based learning can be given heightened relevance. It should provide new meanings to enquiry and knowledge that draws upon local examples. All participants agreed that PBL was the key to strengthening the relationship between students and their local area. It was also seen as a fundamental tool by which the relationship between Māori and non-Māori people could be enhanced creating greater synergy between all who live in the Rotorua area and beyond.

Whānau who were particularly passionate about the need for their child to identify first as Te Arawa, and then secondly as a citizen of Aotearoa, New Zealand, saw PBL as an approach that enriched and supported their efforts and endeavors to raise a child who was confident, secure, and resilient no matter where they went or settled in the world. Many Māori teachers across a broad range of subjects reported using elements of mātauranga Māori and/or Te Arawatanga in almost all of their classroom activities and school-based curriculum. Students and whānau were supportive of this practice as it helped elevate Māori knowledge to a central position of consideration.

All participants in this study supported the view that iwi role models of success, either living or dead, should be used prominently in local schools as a strategy to promote aspiration, cultural pride, and achievement. Students with a strong identity and historical link to iconic features and people of the land are best placed to draw on this relationship and to emulate the successes of those icons. By isolating the characteristics as representative of success, students were more likely to value PBL, and to use this as emotional leverage towards developing resilience, strengthening their cultural distinctiveness, building upon shared learning, and ultimately achieving a collaborative story of success.

Mana Tangatarua: Navigating Success in Many Worlds

Academic success should not come at the expense of Māori identity – all Ka Awatea participants saw both identities as vital to overall success. However, students need the appropriate “navigational skills” and “role models” and a strong sense of

emotional and spiritual wellbeing to navigate the two (or more) worlds of Aotearoa successfully. Ka Awatea participants indicated that supportive and galvanic relationships were essential to success. Families were primarily responsible for “success as Māori” and often modeled what this should look like. Schools contributed largely to Māori students’ “success in the non-Māori or ‘generalist’ world” because they offered students many opportunities to be innovative and creative, to try new things, to go new places, and to take risks (which many Māori families could not offer them). Therefore, schools were seen to offer students new experiences that “unleashed their potential” to bridge multiple worlds and increase their “range of opportunities” in terms of “possible futures” (Macfarlane et al. 2014, p. 175)

While academic achievement was considered a crucial measure for potential future success, it was considered to be only one feature of a Māori student’s emerging distinctiveness and evolving suite of skills. According to all of the students in this study, their Māori identity lay at the heart of all things important and their educational attainment was considered complimentary to this. Together these two constructs, Māori identity and academic identity, were viewed as fundamental to their personal growth, transformation, and journey from one developmental stage to the next – and from one world to the other. Academic success and cultural fluency were viewed by all participants as requiring a nurturing whānau, a responsive school community and a learning environment which includes the provision of educational and cultural experiences beyond the classroom. As seemingly different as two (or more) worlds can be, the ability to successfully traverse them was dependent on the acquisition of navigational skills such as: the demonstration of determination and motivation, diligence and forbearance; a healthy self-esteem; resilience; and a strong moral compass.

Te Arawa Icons: Footprints of the Past to Inform the Present

How might Māori students be better equipped to thrive personally, culturally, and educationally in today’s diverse world? When the Ka Awatea study looked to the past and recounted some of the deeds of historical Te Arawa icons and ancestors, we were able to see that they were exemplars for those of us who are engaged in the pursuit of success in today’s world. It was evident that our iwi knowledge systems held powerful narratives about the past, present, and future – prioritizing distinct languages, worldviews, teachings, and technologies that have been developed and sustained by generations of iwi members. These narratives emphasized the innovative deeds, qualities, and achievements of ancestors and reinforced the notion that these Māori students descended from a long lineage of scholars, scientists, philosophers, and the like.

The Ka Awatea study used a widely known iwi metaphor “Ngā pumanawa e waru – the eight beating hearts of Te Arawa” and transposed the beating hearts metaphor into the qualities demonstrated by the same number of historical iwi leaders/icons. These icons were nominated as role models by participants in the study. Reflection on outstanding Te Arawa leaders and what underpinned their greatness led to an

analysis of the key values, qualities, and characteristics that shaped their leadership. These qualities were then examined in light of the Ka Awatea participant data to examine whether they persisted and endured in successful Māori students in today's world. The purpose of this task was not to reify traditional notions of success and leadership, but rather to better understand how these qualities might, or might not, manifest in contemporary times. Eight common central qualities were identified (and are listed below) and were linked with the same number of Te Arawa leaders selected from across varied eras of iwi history (there were, of course, other historical and contemporary iwi leaders too numerous to be included here). The researchers found that the application of the following eight key qualities enabled the Māori students in the Ka Awatea study to thrive in education and make outstanding contributions to the society of their era – much like their ancestors did. Recounting the past in this project showed us that personal, cultural, and educational success can be derived from a combination of enduring iwi qualities including: identity, tenacity, relationships, innovation, wellbeing, scholarship, humility, and core values (see Table 1).

By linking back to the past and recounting some of the deeds of Te Arawa icons and/or tūpuna (ancestors), we were able to see that by way of their respective and collective qualities, they offered guiding examples to those engaged in the pursuit of success in the modern world. They pointed not only to how these leading figures made outstanding contributions to the social fabric of their time, but also how they continue to guide Māori students who seek to enjoy and achieve educational success as Māori today. The Ka Awatea study affirmed the importance of distinct iwi groups sustaining their unique worldviews and associated knowledge systems across millennia. This study illustrates that many core values, beliefs, and practices associated with those worldviews have “an adaptive integrity that is as valid today as in the past” (Kawagley and Barnhardt 1999, p. 1).

Iwi-Led Educational Transformation: Te Rangihakahaka and Matakōkiri

The school-community research suggests that when schools cultivate authentic connections with parents, community-based organizations, and other local partners, they can improve their ability to serve indigenous students (Austin 2005; Hall et al. 2015; Miller et al. 2013). In addition, it is increasingly viewed as “common sense” that schools involve their communities in some form of engagement (Anderson 1998, p. 572). The Ka Awatea research findings contribute to the research by emphasizing a different kind of engagement – one where the iwi itself led the charge for school collaboration and transformation.

Shortly after the findings of the Ka Awatea project were shared with the Te Arawa community via a series of presentations and hui (formal meetings), two distinct iwi-led initiatives were launched by a leading iwi educational provider in Rotorua – Te Taumata o Ngāti Whakaue Iho Ake – an iwi-led organization committed to strengthening and empowering whānau through leadership in education, health, identity, language, and culture. The two programs were called Te Rangihakahaka

Table 1 The eight qualities of successful Te Arawa students: Ngā Pūmanawa e Waru

Quality	Indigenous icon	Characteristics – successful Te Arawa students	Application to schoolwork
Identity	Tamatekapua – the commander of the Te Arawa waka, renowned scientist, and celestial navigator	Have a positive sense of Māori identity, a belief in and knowledge of self; strength of character, strength of personality; a strong will; boldness and a tendency to take risks	Positive self-concept Resilient to negative stereotypes Some language knowledge and cultural efficacy
Tenacity	Reverend Frederick Bennett – the first Māori bishop in New Zealand's history	Are diligent and have an internal locus of control, are patient, committed to learning, can overcome difficulties, and maintain a resolute confidence	Disciplined Self-motivated Attentive Focused
Relationship focused	Te Ao Kapurangi – a woman of mana, known for her cunning, fortitude, networks, and courage	Establishes, nurtures, and maintains strong peer, whānau, and teacher relationships premised on manaakitanga	Encouraging Willing to learn from mentor and others Aware of own strengths and weaknesses
Innovation	Ihenga – an intrepid explorer known for his extensive travels around Aotearoa	Are curious and innovative, have an enquiring mind, and an exploratory orientation that is exploited in social and academic activities	Creative Courageous Competitive Curious
Wellbeing	Dorothy Huhana Mihinui – a health and education advocate	Pays attention to their overall wellbeing – including physical, spiritual, and mental health needs	Fit Healthy Resourceful Balanced
Scholarship	Makereti Papakura – a scholar, the first Māori woman to attain a Master's degree from Oxford University	Is committed to advancing their own knowledge, has an aptitude for things scholarly and a commitment to excellence. Displays an intrinsic desire to learn and an innate curiosity	Can apply themselves Driven Purposeful Aspirational
Humility	Te Hiko o te Rangi Hohepa – a tohunga (high priest) and whakapapa specialist	Understands the important role of humility, service to others, and generosity of spirit	Puts others before self Accepts criticism Team player

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

Quality	Indigenous icon	Characteristics – successful Te Arawa students	Application to schoolwork
Core Māori values	Wihapi Winiata – a paramount chief of Te Arawa loved by many and multiply skilled	Understands the role and purpose of key Māori values portrayed by way of unbridled care, inclusion, a keen moral compass and sense of social justice, and spirituality	Honors others Displays mana Connected Respectful

(Aspiring to Lofty Heights) and Matakōkiri (Light up the Sky). The programs are named after well-known Te Arawa aphorisms and all of Te Taumata o Ngāti Whakaue Iho Ake's associated school materials cite the findings of the Ka Awatea project as critical to the development of their programs.

Te Rangihakahaka is an iwi-driven professional development initiative underpinned by the history and whakapapa of Ngāti Whakaue (one of eight Te Arawa iwi). The program is designed to ensure that all Rotorua schools, community, whānau, and students have a strong knowledge base of Ngāti Whakaue (Ngāti Whakaue's distinct worldview), that all learners understand what it means to be Ngāti Whakaue, and that teachers and leaders see Ngāti Whakaue as integral to all teaching and learning. To this end, Te Rangihakahaka has four core objectives:

1. To deepen teachers' knowledge of Ngāti Whakaue identity, language, and culture through engaging in korero (discussion) about whakapapa (genealogy), tikanga (protocols), and whenua (land)
2. To develop resources that best support teachers in the teaching and learning of Ngāti Whakaue
3. To identify strategies and approaches for involving whānau and the local community in education
4. To contribute to the development of a learning framework that reflects Ngāti Whakaue and aligns to the learning expectations of (all) Rotorua schools

Te Taumata o Ngāti Whakaue Iho Ake have stated that the Ka Awatea research forms part of the theoretical framework for the program – particularly the importance of successful Te Arawa students developing cultural flexibility, resilience and leadership, core Māori values, academic self-efficacy, and motivation. The documentation also cites Ka Awatea in that they aspire for Te Arawa students to be goal driven and self-managing (Te Taumata o Ngāti Whakaue Iho Ake 2017). The full program is delivered to teachers via three full-day wānanga (seminars). Over 3 years, Te Rangihakahaka has seen an increase in the numbers of teachers and other educators participating in the program; from 50 participants in 2014 to 342 participants in 2016. In total, 595 educators from Rotorua schools have participated in the Te Rangihakahaka program in the last 3.5 years. The iwi cites a number of positive outcomes from the Te Rangihakahaka program including: one school receiving a

new Māori name, one school renaming all of their house groups after the six Koromatua (chiefs) of Ngāti Whakaue, most schools implementing elements of Te Rangihakahaka into their arts, reading, writing, social studies and science programs, and many more invitations from schools for Ngāti Whakaue to either advise or be active participants in school curriculum design and teacher professional development.

The Matakōkiri program is a school holiday science program developed by the iwi for Māori students and their whānau. The program provides opportunities for the participants to experience science and innovation that is grounded in place-based learning and iwi knowledge. Te Taumata o Ngāti Whakaue Iho Ake have completed eleven science-focused week-long wānanga with attendance rates between 95% and 100%. They have implemented the program with a total of 492 Maori students, over 240 whānau members, and have collaborated with over 100 science and technology experts and professional organizations (Te Taumata o Ngāti Whakaue Iho Ake 2017). The Matakōkiri program has five key principles:

1. Each wānanga (program of learning) is based on Ngāti Whakaue narratives.
2. Each wānanga uses local iwi experts as well as local scientists.
3. It is compulsory for whānau to attend the program with their child.
4. The science is contextualized and relevant.
5. The science is hands-on.

The Te Rangihakahaka and Matakōkiri programs have prioritized an education that links Māori students learning to the physical and cultural environment in which students and schools are situated. These place-based educational practices and programs have integrated scientific, historical, and cultural knowledge associated with local environments as a critical ingredient for developing what Cajete (2000) terms an interdisciplinary pedagogy of place. The ways of constructing, organizing, using, and communicating knowledge that has been practiced by Te Arawa for centuries has come to be recognized as a form of science with its own integrity and validity. By giving emphasis to the integrity of iwi cultural knowledge and skills, Te Arawa have utilized the findings of the Ka Awatea project and engaged in an act of reclamation, remediation, and renaissance, whereby notions of *mana tangata* have been iwi determined.

Mana Tangata: Celebrating the Proud Histories, Tenacious Present, and Promising Futures of Māori Students

While the development of a strong Māori identity is largely dependent on an individual, whānau or iwi, it is crucial for schools, teachers, and other educators to recognize, acknowledge, and support the process. The acquisition of positive Māori identity is fundamental to a student's potential for success because it can act as a protective factor when Māori students are confronted with deficit messages about their academic potential (Webber 2008, 2012). The educative process must include

strategies that strengthen Māori students' ethnic identity, cultural connections, cultural competence, and iwi continuity and all members of their community can play a role in supporting, shaping, and preparing a student to this end.

Māori students must learn to accommodate and manage the tensions and conflict that arise from different worldviews (cultural and academic). They must also learn how to navigate successful pathways that enable them to remain firmly anchored to their cultural roots and belief systems, while at the same time experiencing the freedom to navigate the broader context of their expanding worlds. Many of the students in the Ka Awatea study identified strong role models, humility, and emotional, physical, and spiritual wellbeing as critical to their educational success.

Success was considered a collective responsibility in their families, rather than a singular pursuit, and students were encouraged to observe and draw upon the inspiration of others to support their own developing aspirations. Role models were considered by all participants in this study to be an extremely influential feature of students' school, home, and community lives. Exposure to local mentors, ancestral stories, and role models, who were known for and/or demonstrated particular characteristics of success, were considered by all of the participants to be immensely helpful to student motivation for learning. The Māori students themselves were highly influenced by people they interacted with in their daily lives – their immediate and extended family members, their teachers, and members of the wider community.

Effective role models were perceived to offer helpful advice including early career guidance and information about travel and cultural experiences outside of their local context. Seeing and/or hearing about the world and/or travel experiences were considered by the participants to be part of the necessary grounding or foundation upon which success is built. Access to these experiences was seen to prepare the Māori students for the development of global citizenship and future employment. According to Wyn (2007, 2009), indigenous students need these kinds of experiences in order to develop skills to navigate a way forward in an increasingly diverse world. It is also critical for them to manage the values and expectations of the competing cultures they find themselves in. To overcome adversity and the constant threat of negative academic stereotypes, Māori students need their home, school, and community contexts to actively engage in helping them to develop positive Māori identities and *mana tangata*.

As a concept *mana tangata* implies that the strength of a person or collective is drawn from the depth and breadth of their social relationships. According to Tomlins-Jahnke (2011, p. 1), the “philosophies that underpin the concept of *mana tangata* are long-standing and reinforced in customary traditions, socially founded values, ideals and norms.” However, as stipulated by Roskrug (2011), the concept of *mana tangata* is not rooted solely in the past but also reflects our relationship to the current world and to new generations with quite different expectations. Roskrug states:

These new generations live in various parts of the world, among many cultures and ideologies, and as such they seek ways of providing for those around them from a myriad of resources. . . To this new generation of young Māori, *mana tangata* will be an expression of personal identity and uniqueness. (p. 256)

In Ka Awatea, mana tangata was related to a Māori student's ability to engage meaningfully and successfully in the school context, as well as to make profound connections with Māori culture, peoples, and contexts. Māori students in the Ka Awatea study exhibited mana tangata as a developing sense of cultural connectedness, academic and social self-efficacy, and leadership. Overall, mana tangata was related to the contribution of an individual to the community and the wellbeing of the collective.

Conclusion

Commenting on the social conditions necessary for positive Māori identity development, Durie (2003) has noted that “Cultural identity depends not only on access to culture and heritage but also on the opportunity for cultural expression and cultural endorsement within society's institutions” (p. 68). The engagement of Te Taumata o Ngāti Whakauae Iho Ake with schools across Rotorua illustrates the ways schools might work alongside iwi to ensure Māori students' cultural engagement and identities are enriched by their experiences at school. Māori student engagement and success needs to be an integrated, community-wide responsibility rather than the responsibility of one or two teachers who “go the extra mile.” Durie (2001) has also emphasized the role of schools in affirming Māori students' identities by asserting that if formal education does little to help prepare Māori students to interact within their own communities, then no matter what has been learned their education would have been incomplete. Like Penetito (2010), the findings of Ka Awatea show that there are two main ways that schools can help Māori students to thrive: “firstly if it holds up a mirror to them and they can see themselves growing and developing in a way that is personally meaningful for them; and secondly, if it helps them to project themselves into the immediate world around them as well as into the world at large” (p. 35). The findings of the Ka Awatea project indicate that when whānau, iwi, and the wider community are invested in education, positive school behaviors and a Māori student commitment to school completion and success improves. Whānau play the most important role in terms of socializing their children into the Māori world and helping them to develop cultural efficacy and healthy and supportive whānau connections are fundamental to positive Māori identity development and for promoting educational advancement. The most important developmental asset a parent can imbue in their children is to ensure that they are aware of their mana tangata – their unique leadership potential, collective belonging, cultural connectedness, and responsibilities to others.

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Doing Indigenous Work: Decolonizing and Transforming the Academy

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Abstract

This chapter addresses the strategies for decolonizing, transforming, and creating meaningful spaces for Indigenous Peoples within the structures and practices of the academy and the principal institutions through which the academy works.

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It draws on insights and kaupapa Māori understandings of the academy and the work to transform these contradictory and challenging spaces. We argue for decolonizing the academy and developing a theory of transformation to conceptualize, initiate, and implement multilayered change. Ultimately, the chapter sees the academy as a space of possibility because it has a powerful role in the control over knowledge. We conclude with a framework and some strategies for thinking about and implementing a model of change.

Keywords

Decolonizing · Transforming · Indigenous theory · Kaupapa Māori

Preamble

Many years ago, at a First Nations Language Conference in Squamish Territory, British Columbia, we listened to an elder describe his spiritual and cultural responsibilities as just going about doing his everyday work. He shared the thought that we, as Indigenous people, all needed to work harder and apply ourselves more seriously. Such work, in his view, was not simply about practicing our cultural ways of being; he stressed the point that our Indigenous integrity and futures are inextricably linked to the work of protecting the survival of our languages, knowledge, and culture.

It is with this idea in mind that we use the term, Indigenous work, to somehow capture the challenges and responsibilities of decolonizing and transforming the academy. Our concept of Indigenous work is that it involves praxis, an integration of Indigenous theory, action, and reflexing. This form of work should be regarded as an honorable responsibility, rather than a burden. It is work of, about, for, and with Indigenous Peoples, communities, and families. The elder's challenge to us and our colleagues was to get on with it. We bring to the chapter a distillation of insights gained through our careers in education working across different institutional and jurisdictional contexts as educationists, as teachers and researchers, as high level administrators, and as academic leaders. We have had parallel careers working in different institutional contexts to make space for Indigenous aspirations, ways of knowing, and being. We have been grounded in, and learned from, political struggles in our own Indigenous community context, especially around the recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi and the establishment of alternative schooling based on Māori philosophies, curricula, and pedagogies. These practical experiences have informed our broader work, the ways we understand the challenges, and how we can respond with innovative and transforming strategies that create new or different possibilities, spaces, and opportunities both within and outside the academy.

Introduction

This chapter addresses the potential of creating critical and meaningful spaces for Indigenous Peoples within the structures and practices of the academy and the principal agencies through which the academy works. These sites of higher

education, public and private, mostly universities, degree granting entities, and research agencies often reflect and reproduce the existing societal relations of dominance and subordination by legitimatizing themselves through mechanisms such as the control over what counts as important knowledge. This social, economic, and cultural control is in turn supported by hegemonic claims to universality of knowledge, the building of knowledge hierarchies, and by operating culturally bound institutional practices. What is often overlooked is that the colonial academy is deeply implicated in both historical and contemporary practices that have systematically excluded and undermined the presence and the validity of Indigenous Peoples, their knowledge, culture, and values. In this contemporary, ostensibly more “enlightened” and “informed” age, colonization has not gone away, it has simply changed shape and is coming at us in new formations (Smith, G. 2009). More recently, we have seen an emerging trend in the diminishment of education as a public good responsibility. Institutions of higher education have become politically captured and narrowed as instruments of state ideologies and politically motivated forms of selected knowledge, and institutions reformed to be more privatized, neoliberal corporate entities (Giroux 2002). Critical flash-points have opened up within the neo-liberal university that are of deep concern for Indigenous engagement in higher education. Some of these flash-points surface in issues related to the rise in managerialism, the commodification of knowledge, the rise of techno-rationalism, selected forms of public accountability, and within level-playing field gate-keeping policies and practices (Ball 2012). At the same time, new opportunities for Indigenous engagement, reconciliation, and indigenization have also emerged within the Neoliberal academy (Durie 2009). In summary, the Academy and the institutions through which the Academy exists is a contradictory site in that it has enormous potential to facilitate the positive transformation of Indigenous life and aspirations, equally it can also be a major influence in the continued colonization and oppression of Indigenous Peoples, their knowledge, language, and culture.

The chapter acknowledges the need to struggle for the transforming potential that resides in all institutions and the need to “make more authentic space” for Indigenous development and advancement at the highest levels of education. We think that it is important to address the critical question of what is to be done, given the continuing masking and marginalization of Indigenous access, participation, retention, success, and transforming outcomes that are experienced across different Indigenous jurisdictions. To hold our “public” education institutions to account in respect of serving all their constituents more equitably and fairly, we argue the need to critically interrogate academic institutions at two levels: firstly, the academy as a broader institution of knowledge (Said 1978) and secondly, the academy as a single institution, located on lands that have histories that are context specific.

In the New Zealand context, we have come to understand the overlapping strategies of institutional transformation inside a broader theory of change that we refer to as “Kaupapa Māori.” The need for Māori and other Indigenous Peoples to develop their own theories of transformative action is critical, the importance of which Paulo Freire noted within the following comment

This work deals with a very obvious truth: just as the oppressor, in order to oppress, needs a theory of oppressive action, so the oppressed, in order to become free, also need a theory of action. Freire 1972:150

While we draw on “Kaupapa Māori” as a theory of transforming praxis that serves the Māori context, the implications of this “idea” potentially have a wider resonance, for other jurisdictions building their own Indigenous theories and strategies of transforming (Brayboy 2014; Rigney 2017; Tuck 2009). We argue that Kaupapa Māori has not just critically and more accurately problematized the Academy from an Indigenous Māori perspective, but that it has also enabled the development of innovative and positive strategies to make space within institutions and across education systems and in turn to enable transforming outcomes that reflect Indigenous aspirations. Although we know that in some contexts, where it may have a negative connotation, we use the term “intervention,” as a deliberate and radical disruption to status quo approaches. It is important that we, as Indigenous communities, take over the responsibilities for naming, defining, and intervening in the crises, which fundamentally, are not of our making, but in which we have been situated and which have had on-going and enormous negative impacts on our language, culture, collectives, and families.

In this work, there are different catalysts for change. Faculty and staff may be one source for initiating institutional change, another source can be disaffected Indigenous communities. Another catalyst for challenge and change is often derived from Indigenous students themselves who do the important advocacy and mobilizing work that draws the attention of the institutional hierarchy to the need to address Indigenous concerns. We reiterate that it is important to have an Indigenous theory of change to underpin and give coherence to any strategies for transforming the academy. In this regard, a theory of transforming, which we discuss later in the chapter, can provide a broader agenda that moves the change from simply being a disjointed set of “one off” projects that make good public relation stories to being more institutionally coherent, sustainable, and transformative.

It is important to have a nuanced, theorized, and accurate understanding of what has gone wrong in order to develop more effective transforming responses. We begin this chapter by addressing why the academy needs to be a focus for decolonizing and transforming efforts and explores some of the complexity and competing notions at work when trying to introduce Indigenous change discourse and do meaningful Indigenous work. We conclude with some frameworks and strategies that we have found useful in our work and suggest some ways to sustain a reflexive approach that stays connected to Indigenous aspirations.

Why Does the Academy Need to Change?

It would not be an exaggeration to say that the academy, namely, institutions of higher education, have been woefully neglectful, dismissive, and hostile to the participation of Indigenous Peoples (Deloria 1988). The Academy has historically

produced scholarship that legitimated dominant hegemony about Indigenous Peoples as justification for vilifying their culture, excluding their people while often benefitting from their lands (Nakata 2007). Theories of intelligence, race, human development, eugenics, nature, and early foundations of many disciplines were formed in or from colonial ideologies (Smith, L. 1998). Many institutions were built on the confiscated and stolen lands of Indigenous nations. The Academy, including newly formed academic institutions, often claim a tradition of higher learning and advanced knowledge that is deeply steeped in colonial and imperial paradigms (Said 1978). The power of the academy lies in its symbolic self-representation of advanced, civilized, and human accomplishment. It is reinforced through its hegemonic role of (re)producing “real”/legitimate knowledge, and in its actual social and cultural relations of dominance embedded in the very systems, structures, and practices of disciplinary-based knowledge cultures and the assembling of these ideas and resources into a unique institutional force.

It would not be an exaggeration to claim that the colonial academy sits at the top of a hierarchy of a public education system that has deliberately and systematically excluded Indigenous Peoples and their interests and, moreover, continues to actively attempt to colonize them. It is also argued that many colonial educational systems designed specific schooling strategies for Indigenous Peoples that have proven to be so abusive; they have inflicted inter-generational trauma on families, students, communities, and as well as on languages and culture (Adams 1995; Report of The Indian Residential Schools Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2009; Simon and Smith 2001). What this means in the twenty-first century is a historic educational crisis that continues to have inter-generational impacts on Indigenous Peoples, nations, and communities. The crisis has a significant and negative impact in nullifying Indigenous Peoples, Nations, and communities social, cultural, and economic well-being as well as their ability to pursue their own aspirations. The right to an education is considered a fundamental Human Right and a Right for Indigenous Peoples under the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (Battiste 2013). The critical question however is what counts as an education and what mechanisms ensure that this “Right” can be realized.

Indigenous people are increasingly seeking to engage in higher education and aspire to see their knowledges and languages and cultural preferences available as genuine options within the academy (Behrendt et al. 2012). More recently, there have been increased calls from communities for more Indigenous control and self-determining forms of higher education provision. The motivation for this trend is that Indigenous interest groups are tired of arguing against the “mainstream” to create space in contexts of struggle over minimal resources within institutional environments. They argue that their case is not necessarily against other existing options in the academy, but that they would want space and viable options that reflect their aspirations, needs, and “rights.” Arguments about the reproduction of “inequalities,” “disparities,” “injustice,” and “unfairness” are often manifest in visible ways and form an important part of the case for appropriate inclusion in the academy. Some Indigenous communities are now seeking high level constitutional relationships, between Indigenous nations and institutions, and in the form of Memoranda

of Understanding with public institutions. They expect institutions to provide for Indigenous knowledge and language. In this regard, they are seeking more meaningful expressions of reconciliation and decolonization.

Another factor contributing to what is a cumulative cycle of Indigenous underdevelopment is that many Indigenous populations are “hidden” within developed populations of first world countries, for example, the Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders in Australia, Māori in New Zealand, First Nations, Metis and Aborigines in Canada and Native Americans, Hawaiians, and Native Alaskans in the United States. The plight and needs of these Indigenous populations are often submerged and concealed beneath the veil of middle class and elite interests of dominant colonial populations. How they are defined by legislation designed to destroy them determines how they may even be counted in current statistics. In this sense, Indigenous aspirations, needs, and interests are likely to be deliberately obfuscated by these countries wishing to maintain their developed status and reputations within the OECD “developed countries” rankings, World Bank economic ratings, International Monetary Fund credit ratings, and World Trade Organization trading consortiums such as APEC, the Asia Pacific Economic Consortium, and an emerging array of Free Trade Agreements (Breidlid 2013; Mead and Ratuva 2006; Smith, G. 1990b).

Quite often the Indigenous populations within these countries are (mis-)categorized as “developed” by virtue of the overall country’s economic development status despite numerous reports that identify (in some instances) their “fourth world” status (Manuel 1974). Many of these Indigenous populations tend to fall outside of the immediate gaze and concern of the specific groups and funding organizations designed to assist the underdeveloped world and populations. Furthermore, the politics of these developed countries ought to be critically understood in terms of the colonizing impulses of political domestication, social control, and the reproduction of cultural dominance. In these First World countries, colonization has changed shape and is being sustained in different ways from historic colonization of past centuries. Many of these new formations can be critically linked to neo-liberal economic intentions that are developed at the intersection of economic exploitation and cultural oppression (Smith, G. 2009). Thus, from the point of view of the Indigenous populations trapped in these conditions, and who encounter a different reality, these conditions are experienced as “more of the same” outcomes, ongoing conditions that are linked to colonization, oppression, and exploitation.

In many jurisdictions, the academy has been a bastion of colonial privilege protected from having to change and be more inclusive of Indigenous Peoples by the social, cultural, economic, and political superiority of a dominant colonizing population. It is not that higher education institutions have not changed at all, but that they have barely changed, when it comes to the genuine inclusion of Indigenous Peoples aspirations and interests. Since the end of World War II, there has been some movement towards greater democratization of public universities and an opening up of wider professional and curriculum qualifications and opportunities. This gave rise to the notion of public institutions serving more of the general public rather than just elite groups. Over time there has been a retrenchment from this position because of the rise in neo-liberal economic ideology. In this shift, public institutions have

become less about a liberal education for the “public good” and more about an instrumental functionality to serve the state’s need to embed the hegemony of the neo-liberal economic vision (Ball 2012). Academic institutions have become more specialized, and many publicly funded institutions have represented themselves as serving their “privatized” interest groups or, in more corporate speak, their stakeholders and markets. In the 1970s, the feminist movement was somewhat effective in influencing institutional practices, but their success has not translated across to impact for Indigenous Peoples. The work of antisexism, gender inclusion, anti-racism, and multiculturalism are still on-going projects albeit within the framework of neoliberalism (Hale 2005). Indigenous Studies began as an academic subject during this time in some parts of the world (Hokowhitu et al. 2011). There have also been many attempts over the decades by Indigenous Peoples to enter into Universities as students and on graduating then trying to use their education to support their communities and advance Indigenous aspirations. These forays into higher education have not required the academy to change; rather, they have required Indigenous individuals to change themselves to “fit in.” “Fitting in” is a classic requirement of cultural assimilation.

Since the 1990s there have been a range of strategies employed to create more autonomous space for Indigenous Peoples and their knowledges and languages and to grow greater Indigenous intellectual capital through providing both curriculum and pedagogical spaces that fostered academic success and developed Indigenous capacity (Kirkness and Barnhart 1991; Smith, G. 1990b). The story of the development of Māori education at the University of Auckland in New Zealand is one such example, and it is where we began our own academic work. Our formal entry into the academy was as a joint appointment to one position that meant we were each half time, but it also meant there were two of us, supported by Faculty allies, to plan and strategize. From that position, we created a curriculum that was inserted into core courses as well as a specialist curriculum at advanced level. We co-wrote a foundational text with our non-Indigenous colleagues to support our teaching and set about writing and publishing as much research as possible (Jones et al. 1990; Smith, L. 1986).

We identified, recruited, and developed a strong cohort of Indigenous students to study as graduate and postgraduates. We created a group of academic staff called Te Aratiatia that included Māori academics who have gone on to have their own influential careers, such as Kuni Jenkins, Patricia Johnston, Margie Hohepa, Leonie Pihama, and allies to provide the collective and strategic platform to enact change. We identified educational theory and research as a critical Māori project and co-designed the core curriculum of the education major, and with our colleagues we developed Kaupapa Māori theories and methodologies that connected Māori positioning, aspirations, and strengths to a theory of critical institutional and social change (Smith, G. 1990b; Smith, L. 1998). We argued the case to develop Māori-focused courses which were aimed at the needs of Māori students first and foremost. Moreover, we gave support to other courses by contributing Indigenous content, but we were also clear that we did not want to be co-opted to this kind of teaching, and our participation was an “interim” measure while these staff accessed other resources

to give them support. We had considerable support from colleagues but were also very purposeful in our agenda to develop a Māori education department, graduate program, and research institute which we ultimately achieved.

Education is one of the ways in which Indigenous peoples can work themselves, politically and intellectually, out of the trauma of colonization. To believe in education as an answer is to believe that society is educable and that change is possible. It is also to believe that we, as Indigenous peoples, can educate ourselves and can think ourselves into new visions for our Peoples and Nations. As Graham (Smith, G. 1999a) has argued, the importance of education to Indigenous transformation is so crucial that we will not have a sustainable social, economic and cultural revolution in our Indigenous communities without a prior or simultaneous education and learning revolution.

Decolonizing the Neoliberal Academy

Indigenous people know from firsthand experience that the academy is not a neutral or objective site, although many academic staff genuinely believe this to be so and accept the hegemony that the academy is the home of freedom of thought and speech even though it also allows the perpetuation of racist rhetoric (Squire 2017; Thornton 2009). It is important to understand that the old liberal and the neoliberal version of the Academy are both manifestly implicated in imperialism and colonialism and the critical task of decolonizing the Academy is necessary and goes hand in hand with any efforts to create space for Indigenous Peoples and Indigenous Knowledge (Smith, L. 2018). Furthermore, we contend that colonization has not ended but continues through new formations that we need to understand and resist (Smith, G. 2009). The new formations of colonization are currently driven by conservative, neo-liberal, and moral retrenchment politics (Smith, L. 2008).

The shift to a neoliberal reframing of the academy is reinforced by moves that we have witnessed firsthand in New Zealand in the commodification of education and its development as an export commodity (Smith, L. 2007). In these circumstances, Indigenous interests are made even more vulnerable as institutions develop their international student markets (Wright and Peters 2017). As an example, qualifications and programs are marketed abroad using very generic curricula that diminishes the unique and Indigenous elements of a New Zealand curriculum. The “international” curriculum is heavily Anglo-American in the way it is framed. The Indigenous elements are reduced to providing an exotic experience, while the students study the really important official knowledge of qualifications, for example, in engineering and computer science. Professional qualifications that teach to the New Zealand context such as law and teacher education are somewhat immune from this because they are expected to practice in New Zealand. There have been some attempts to incorporate uniquely New Zealand, and some Māori, understandings in under-graduate qualifications marketed abroad and thankfully, many international students actively seek Indigenous knowledge as well as experiences.

International education has become important especially in highly developed countries where international students, often from developing countries and their former colonies, as well as emerging economic powers such as China are recruited (Dale and Robertson 2009). International education is partly an exercise in making money from education like a business, but is equally important, and has been historically important, in creating cultural hegemony, a way to influence the hearts and minds of the people who return to their own countries. It also facilitates the state withdrawing from paying for public education and passing costs down to individual students and institutions. This reconstitution of the role of education and by extension institutions generally is signaled in the catch cries of the “Knowledge Economy,” the “Knowledge University,” the “Research-led University,” and “Knowledge Enterprise” (Ball 2012). The particularities of these metamorphoses of the University as a “research informed teaching sites” into the “research-led University” are informed by an overtly economic agenda. These are further seen in a range of performative activities such as knowledge prospecting, controlling intellectual and cultural property rights, and the subsequent emphasis on research performance and productivity as major income streams for universities. It is also seen in the competitive race between universities to attract the “best and brightest” students; in the increased emphasis on innovation and patenting; in the formation of global multinational university conglomerates; in the institutional and credential hierarchies that put accent on research competencies; in the development and emphasis of university research careers as opposed to “research informed” teaching; in the graduate student emphasis that is focused on research; and in the hegemonic participation and in the public spectacle of league tables and performance indicators and university ranking systems.

The consequences of these trends (at least in NZ) are seen in the diminishment of humanities and liberal arts courses and a correlating rise in the status, funding, and support afforded science and technology courses, a corresponding rise in emphasis on the relationship between education and work exemplified in emphases on “training” and “professional” programs, the reconstruction of equity provision within a “level-playing field” ideology and the undermining of affirmative action and compensatory equity programs, the “massification” of undergraduate teaching, increased competition between institutions for the available research dollars, higher fees, and so on (Guri-Rosenblit et al. 2007). Over and above the reshaping of the University as a new “market place,” the impediments that have traditionally militated against the access, participation, retention, and success of Indigenous students remain and in some instances, have been deepened and made more complex.

Strategies for decolonizing the academy are often subverted or co-opted by other reform agenda that may seek, as examples, greater efficiencies, more innovation, or international education. They can also be subverted by the beliefs, actions, and purposeful inactions of individual colleagues, in the Faculty and in the administration, in what Tuck and Yang (2012) have referred to as “settler evasions” and “settler moves to innocence.” The unhelpful attitudes and actions of colleagues have also been referred to as “epistemologies of ignorance” (Sullivan and Tuana 2007; Jahnke 2016). Graham refers to them as a politics of distraction because these colleagues

deploy strategies and discourses that distract us from the goals we are trying to achieve that can shift the agenda towards appeasing others and forcing early compromises (Smith, G. 2009). These strategies are often deployed by colleagues some of whom may see themselves as allies setting their own parameters about what is possible and as interpreters of what “indigenous people really want.” The educational crisis that disproportionately impacts Indigenous Peoples can be co-opted as a rationale for enabling the academy to reform itself to better deploy its intellectual power and institutional resources to reinforce the privilege of existing dominant group interests. Indigenous peoples are frequently forced to argue for their place in the reform agenda and use instruments such as the UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and Treaties, if they have them, to get a seat at the table or a voice into the process of reform.

In most democratic jurisdictions, the public funded education system has a public good responsibility to deliver improved outcomes for society including groups such as Indigenous Peoples, First Nations, or in our case, Māori. These and other equity rationale can be used as arguments for more dedicated resourcing, to enable some changes to curriculum, to management, to governance, and for wider system change. In general, one or two more positions for the provision of Indigenous oriented curriculum, encouraging more Indigenous teaching and research, are often surface, cosmetic changes that mask the need for more substantial change. Such change must challenge multiple sites of resistance and gate-keeping that are (re) produced by the dominant structures entrenched in the system. At a more fundamental level, the decolonizing work must begin with the academy being able to critically self-reflect on how dominant non-Indigenous interests, power, and control over selected knowledge is structurally and culturally perpetuated within the taken for granted status quo conditions (Apple 2003). In some instances, where institutions are located within large Indigenous populations, institutions may need to redefine their identity, their very sense of being, their relationships to the lands on which the institution is situated, and with the peoples whose lives have been, and continue to be colonized by Western dominant cultural systems and intellectual traditions. In this sense, the academy might be likened to a “Trojan horse” with hidden dangers for Indigenous Peoples (Smith, L. 1986).

There is urgency in overthrowing the existing circumstances of marginal access, participation, retention, and success by bringing more focus on transformative outcomes and more evidence of its impact on the well-being and flourishing of Indigenous and other socially excluded communities and wider society. Getting more meaningful change requires careful monitoring of the propensity of institutions to reproduce existing inequalities. Such attention may require structural change that engages at the level of economics, ideology and power. The issue of “transforming” itself needs to be addressed specifically and urgently, particularly around the following types of critical questions.

- What counts as transforming outcomes?
- Transforming in whose interests?
- What is meaningful transforming?
- How do we know when we have real transforming?

- Whose responsibility?
- Who is accountable?

A key development in the New Zealand context has been a move, by the Government to pay more attention to the issue of transforming outcomes of education and to hold institutions more accountable for their results. This contrasts with most equality of opportunity approaches that focus on the opportunity to gain access and to participate with little or no accountability on institutions to ensure success (Bowen et al. 2009).

Indigenous Work Is More than Equality of Opportunity

Indigenous work, however, is more than just a broadening of equality of opportunity strategies to be more inclusive of Indigenous people. In the context of the academy, Indigenous work refers to the agenda, strategies, tactics, policies, relationship building, actions, and programs designed and implemented to improve access, expand visibility and participation, improve outcomes, and reflect Indigenous cultural, linguistic, historical understandings, and strengths inside academic institutions. It is work that engages horizontal and vertical institutional transformations, building both Indigenous and institutional capability and securing the full participation and engagement of Indigenous Peoples, their nations, and communities, ensuring successful outcomes for Indigenous students and the inclusion of teaching and research of Indigenous knowledge/s, languages, and cultures. It is also work conducted at the interface of institution, community, and society. Indigenous work is inherently political and is overtly pro-Indigenous. This is because it is focused on changing the status quo and challenging unequal social and power relations between dominant non-Indigenous interests and subordinated Indigenous interests. Indigenous work raises critical questions about how power and control are mediated and given effect by State, institutional, and public structures and practices. It seeks to expose how power works to exclude and include in explicit, complicit, and implicit ways. Indigenous work in the academy is an important part of the process of decolonization because the academy plays such a significant role in the production and legitimation of knowledge.

Indigenous work is often framed by institutions and public policy within the broader agenda of equal opportunities and social equity that, for example, might include gender, disabilities, race, ethnic and religious minorities, nonspeakers of the dominant language, or groups that live in specified regions. Sometimes it is homogenized under the title of “affirmative action,” a term which is dominated by the public policies and legal frameworks of the United States (Bowen et al. 1998). Generic labels can translate into practices that further the marginalization of marginalized groups and reinforce the privilege of the dominant group. This approach is often manifested in practices such as a singular administrative champion with no influence on academic decisions, staff from diverse, mostly black or brown, diversity groups all being on a committee chaired by either a white man or white

woman, a hierarchy of competing interests managed and refereed by a mid-level official, a high level official with minimal resource support trying to make a difference for multiple groups, and as institutional rhetoric that constantly emphasizes the need for students to try harder to “fit in” and be “the same” when it is clear they cannot fit in or be the same.

Common Objectives in Equality of Opportunity Programs

There are different definitions of equality of educational opportunity and equity and therefore different approaches to addressing issues inside institutions (Bowen et al. 1998; Dworkin 2002). Equality of opportunity programs is variously defined, depending on jurisdiction and context, as ones that seek to;

- Remove barriers that exclude and discriminate against designated groups
- Ensure fairness and equality of opportunity
- Ensure equal access to the University for disadvantaged groups
- Address social disadvantage
- Focus on and attempt to bridge the gaps in access, achievement, and participation by using the dominant population as the norm or standard
- Ensure equitable treatment of individuals regardless of gender, race, disability, sexual orientation, age, and religion
- Provide targeted tutorial and support systems for students
- Meet human rights and other legislative obligations
- Address under-representation of designated groups

There are many different approaches to meeting these aims; some are much more active than others. These approaches are often manifested in particular types of programs, such as ones aimed at preparing students for academic study, providing extra tutorial support, building strong pastoral support programs, providing staff with professional development opportunities, and helping students become successful in the system (Craven and Mooney 2013). Level playing field approaches tend to focus on “trying harder” to attract participants from designated groups, removing obvious barriers to access and practicing more transparent processes of “fairness.” More active approaches try to incorporate diversity into their systems so that people from designated groups can engage and participate fully without losing their identities and having to conform to a dominant cultural view of what is normative. Many equity frameworks are defined by legislative requirements and policies that identify specific designated groups. Most designated groups are also designated as “minorities” or ethnic minorities except for women.

Here we are focusing more on the challenges of doing Indigenous work rather than on covering the broad spectrum of work in the multiculturalism, diversity, or inclusion arena. There is naturally some overlap and intersection with these other equity approaches; however, there are quite different historical contexts, visions, moral arguments, cultural values, and practices that differentiate Indigenous work

from other kinds of equity work (Brayboy 2014; Rigney 2017). It is the kind of work that requires a special kind of Indigenous leadership (Katene 2015; Kenny and Fraser 2012). In the Indigenous area there are, by definition, different constitutional, governance, legislative, or historical frameworks and imperatives that are drivers of policy and institutional change (Durie 2009). In New Zealand, for example, the Treaty of Waitangi 1840 between Māori and the British Crown has framed relationships, expectations, and protocols for working together, which impact on Indigenous work in significant ways. The “Treaty” relationship, for example, is sometimes reflected in governance arrangements with Māori representation, and in support for Māori language and culture that is backed up by other legislative and policy frameworks (Hutchings and Lee-Morgan 2016). Māori people are also citizens of New Zealand and have rights as individuals to participate fully in society and to receive the full benefits of society.

Potential Objectives in an Indigenous Work Program

In addition to the points made in relation to equality of opportunity objectives, Indigenous work seeks different kinds of recognition, relationships, and outcomes. Indigenous work may also engage in the following objectives:

- Addressing constitutional and governance relationships between Indigenous Nations and the Nation State
- Implementing Treaty obligations, where there are Treaties, and formalizing agreements between nations and the institution
- Responding to a reconciliation agenda
- Being informed by, and including, Indigenous language, knowledge, and culture in core curriculum and research as well as in official documents, ceremonies, and signage
- Removing anti-Indigenous references, statues, mascots, and other symbols of racism and colonialism that are literally written into the bricks and mortar of an institution
- Recognizing the land and place as an Indigenous Territory and as having an Indigenous history
- Forming and honoring relationships with Indigenous Nations and communities. This may also involve an Apology for past actions or inactions
- Supporting Indigenous community and nation building development efforts and contributing to Indigenous capacity
- Having dedicated spaces and holding events that support Indigenous identities, build community for Indigenous students, and welcome the participation of elders and community people
- Including Indigenous concepts and stories in architectural design, landscaping, academic ceremonies, and university signage

An example that may illustrate the difference between an equality of opportunity approach and an Indigenous approach is from an institution situated on Indigenous

lands that are mostly desert, with a bloody history of conquest and Indigenous removal that has created a built environment reflecting a very European notion of a university. The lawns are watered and the gardens are designed to reflect a philosophy of human control over nature and planted with introduced species that require regular watering. An Indigenous garden seems not only to be a great idea but one that would be sustainable in the desert conditions. At a common-sense level, it seems like a great initiative, but Indigenous initiatives are not always viewed as “common sense.” The Indigenous garden which would once have been the entire environment prior to colonization is seen almost as a concession. It does not fit the landscaping, but the garden is eventually agreed to, named and becomes a source of pride for everyone. As an initiative of equality of opportunity, it works and the institution feels good and it has not ruined the manicured and well-watered gardens that dominate the campus. This initiative says that Indigenous landscapes, plants and gardens, have been given an opportunity to be revitalized but with permission and within defined parameters so as not but to upset the dominant design of the campus gardens, that is, the status quo. An approach, from an Indigenous perspective, might be, firstly, to conduct ceremonies to heal the land and let the land speak again. This may be followed by letting the natural environment re-emerge and by re-establishing relationships between Indigenous people, the community, and the land. That may be followed by discussions and consultations on how best to take care of the landscapes and gardens in ways that nourish the peoples’ well-being. The restorative process could also co-create and name a special “European Garden” that requires watering, somewhere on campus.

Theorizing Transforming Approaches to Change

Recently, Māori have developed some distinctive transformative strategies to various crises that they have faced (Smith, G. 1999a, 2009, 2015). Of interest has been the implementation of a range of innovative strategies for the re-development of Indigenous/Māori education and schooling in New Zealand. Given the depth and breadth of the changes that have occurred at all levels in the education and schooling of Māori in New Zealand, it may be of potential benefit to inform other Indigenous situations. A central focus of Māori (and acknowledging that every Indigenous context has its own individual nuances) has been a deliberate emphasis on shifting away from being reactive to what the dominant non-Māori population think, want, and propose for them, to being more assertive about what they themselves want. In this sense, Māori have become more proactive and engaged in making decisions and changes for themselves. In this way, Māori have moved to initiate, for themselves, the necessary actions to begin transforming themselves rather than inheriting initiatives for change based on other peoples’ decisions and thinking. In seeking to exercise greater control over their own lives (and subsequently more self-determination in their thinking and actions), Māori have become more interested in the academy and the place of theory, drawing on Indigenous knowledge as

well as disciplinary-based knowledge, and have theorized their own Indigenous transformation.

Māori have challenged the social and cultural construction of the academy and the central role of theory in perpetuating the status quo of Eurocentric dominance and Indigenous marginal positioning (Pihama 2015). Māori resistance has emerged on two fronts. They have systematically and critically challenged the colonial construction of the academy, and they have proactively advanced the case for the validity and legitimacy of Māori/Indigenous knowledge, language, culture, curriculum, scholarship, staffing, and theory among many sites of struggle (Penetito 2010; Walker 1999).

A key part of the general struggle over theory has been the need for Māori to theorize their own experiences, histories, and efforts at transformation (Penetito 2010; Pihama 2015; Smith, G. 1990b; Smith, L. 1999b). This has informed much of the work we have been engaged in and through education. There is a continuing need to develop transforming ideas that are portable and can be applied across many sites, that are tested through practice and enactment, that are critically informed and responsive, and that are ultimately transforming of our conditions of social, cultural, and economic underdevelopment. This work related to theory building is also important in legitimating our own spaces within the academy – to create and build our own knowledge spaces connected to our own Indigenous theorizing (Henry and Pene 2001; Smith, L. 1998; Pihama 2015). This advance by Māori into theorizing is beginning to produce a more coherent and methodical approach to intervening in educational crises. It has also produced a set of intervention elements (Smith, G. 2009) that are now being successfully applied to develop change within and outside of education. These intervention elements, also referred to as principles of praxis, are

- The principle of self-determination or relative autonomy
- The principle of validating and legitimating cultural aspirations and identity
- The principle of incorporating culturally preferred pedagogy
- The principle of mediating socioeconomic and family difficulties
- The principle of incorporating cultural structures which emphasize the collective rather than the individual
- The principle of shared and collective vision/philosophy (Smith, G. 2009:25–26)

We see five discernible and important outcomes of this new “change” context.

First, it has centralized the need to focus on decolonization and transformation, of society and education systems in particular, as key structural issues (Hutchings and Lee-Morgan 2016). This is based on the reality that for most Māori the status quo of policy intervention being developed from the outside, over the top of Māori, has had minimal positive impact with respect to making the necessary changes. Transforming society has several elements within it that include constitutional, governance, policy, curriculum, and pedagogical interventions. This focus also requires the state to develop the capacity to work with Māori, to engage, partner, co-design, and mature alongside Māori communities.

Second, there has been a need to build our own intellectual capacity and capabilities of scholars and community workers connected to Indigenous communities who can act as critical agents of change and advocacy (Smith, L. 2018). Our Indigenous strength is in our ability to mobilize our cultural ways of collectively organizing and supporting a larger vision for our communities and Peoples rather than as competitive individuals, engaging in privatized acts of academic achievement. The new capacity for Indigenous theorizing may not just be clustered inside academic institutions or in the professions but within a broader collective network of intellectual capital that spans Indigenous communities, institutions and interest groups (Smith, L. 2018). Intellectual capacity for new theorizing is produced both organically – out of Indigenous community struggle – and formally through traditional education and learning. This enhanced networking of intellectual capacity will potentially design and create new thinking, theorizing and practices that better respond to the needs and aspirations of Indigenous communities.

Third, there is an urgency to work simultaneously in our own communities to heal intergenerational trauma and to support the self-development efforts of our own collectives (Pihama et al. 2014). Communities are facing multiple crises in health and well-being, in economic participation, and in basic survival that requires our collective effort and imagination to address. The decolonizing and transforming elements of Kaupapa Māori begin with whānau, the collective entities that need to flourish if Māori society is to flourish. Academic achievements have traditionally been a ticket to cultural assimilation. The Kaupapa Māori approach has been to prepare students to return to communities and work across a range of contexts while remaining deeply connected and committed to the advancement and development of Indigenous nationhood.

Fourth, Māori theorizing (Kaupapa Māori) has embedded within it several key transformational elements that can be potentially applied across other Indigenous contexts as a more general “theory of transformation” (Smith, G. 2017). These elements in the academic context have saliency because the academy as a set of knowledge institutions is international and draws from the same Anglo-European traditions of the university. Kaupapa Māori provides a way to position our struggles for institutional change in a wider collective struggle faced by all Indigenous Peoples. One example of this is in relation to supporting Indigenous students through their doctoral qualifications. The MAI Doctoral program which originally sought to graduate 500 Māori with PhDs has inspired similar programs in other contexts (Smith 2016). The SAGE program (Supporting Aboriginal Graduate Enhancement) in Canada and support programs in many institutions are focusing on assisting Indigenous students through their entire educational experience while at the same time creating powerful networks that will serve them throughout their lives.

Māori people have also been wary, even hostile, to some of the activities engaged in by academics, researchers, and institutions. This antagonism has often been for good reason as Māori communities have felt exploited by researchers, academics, and institutions. A further cause for resentment among some Māori resides in the continued limited access and participation in higher education particularly within universities. This has contributed to the exclusion of Māori from the important

domain related to the production and reproduction of legitimate knowledge. In general universities have been somewhat reluctant to include Indigenous knowledge in the curriculum, employ Indigenous academic staff to teach Indigenous knowledge and to systematically attending to the issues of access, participation, retention, and success of Indigenous students. Many university institutions have become well practiced in the excuses that are essentially designed to preserve the status quo access and participation in higher education.

Understanding Why Strategies and Interventions Have Failed

Many of the strategies and policies that were originally intended to make change for Indigenous contexts and that have failed to work show some common faults. It is important to learn why interventions even when based on good intentions have failed and to understand how success has often been seized from the jaws of defeat. Decades of policies and programed interventions have been constructed predominantly by non-Indigenous policy-makers who stay constrained within policy frameworks and sets of interests that are essentially hostile or in conflict with Indigenous perspectives and aspirations. These policies and interventions are often referred to as deficit-based programs that focus on fixing up perceived deficits within indigenous students, families, communities, and cultures and their entire race (Bishop and Berryman 2006). Such failure is often embedded within the hidden agenda of cultural assimilation, economic exploitation, racism, and sexism. Almost inevitably there is an underpinning assumption of the superiority of western language, knowledge, and culture. These culturally presumptuous views and practices are often embedded in “taken for granted” ways within the theories, selected curriculums, examination systems, pedagogical practices, and physical structures of the academy that in turn give authority, legitimacy, and authenticity to “what should be counted” and accepted in that society as the prevailing conventional academic wisdom and knowledge. What is problematic here is that Indigenous communities have little influence in the academy.

In the recent initiatives related to “theorizing for themselves,” Indigenous people are questioning the role of the academy and their complicity in the control over the production and reproduction of elite knowledge. What is interesting is that rather than spending inordinate amounts of time trying to convince non-Indigenous academics of the validity of Indigenous knowledge, many Indigenous Peoples are simply announcing what they are going to do, with or without dominant societal support. They are refusing to be side tracked or constrained by the politics of distraction which is exhibited in the mono-cultural, defensive views of non-Indigenous academics (Pihama and Harry 2017). In this sense, Indigenous academics are proactively assuming their own intellectual spaces in the academy – they are also building their own institutions. This marks a radical shift from the previous stances adopted by Māori of either not engaging at all or engaging hegemonically and capitulating to the prevailing norms, values, knowledge, expectations, and aspirations of the academy. What is being confronted here is the very

essence of the “taken for granted” academy that organizes around ideals of “academic freedom” and “public good” as central values and the contradiction of these ideals presented by the selected exclusion of Indigenous languages, cultures, and knowledge. The effect of maintaining the “status quo” situation of policy inertia is to maintain the existing unequal power and social relations of dominant non-Indigenous control and subordinated Indigenous domesticity. The reproduction of the “status quo,” put bluntly, is about the reproduction and maintenance of “white privilege,” power, and control. Indigenous communities must act to free themselves from the hegemonies that effectively hold these inequalities in place (Moreton-Robinson 2016).

In most countries, the ongoing and deepening crises related to the educational and schooling under-development of Indigenous students is simply not improving. So-called “mainstream” Education and schooling sites in these countries have typically tended to be dominated by “white: mono-cultural” educators and academics. Most of them are likely to have been defined, informed, and ultimately constrained by their “euro-centric” and deficit thinking which often has limited relevance in understanding and dealing with the issues confronting Indigenous students and their communities (Bishop and Berryman 2006). Typically, their aspirations for Indigenous students is to make the students look exactly like the non-Indigenous students as fast as possible. Dominant white society tends to equate outcomes of what counts as a “good education” as someone who thinks, acts, and conforms to a norm that is defined by the dominant social order. Indigenous communities are often thinking of the need for skills in “world knowledge” and skills that fit them for their “cultural existence.” Thus, for Māori, there has been a contradiction in the reproduction of white dominance (and subsequently brown marginalization) within the academy and within education more broadly (Milne 2016). This reproduction of colonization through hegemony takes a particularly abhorrent form when “white” thinking is reproduced within and through “Indigenous” individuals and groups (Moreton-Robinson 2016). This speaks to the reality of assimilation, colonization, and oppression faced by many Indigenous students who are trapped in a mono-cultural, white dominated education system and need indigenous tools to make sense of their experiences (Brayboy et al. 2014).

The line of argument being pursued here is not against western knowledge(s), theories, and practices per se; rather, it is an argument about trying to add to the range of knowledge(s) already at our disposal within the academy (and by extension within schooling and education). That is, to develop a range of knowledge(s) and theoretical tools with which Indigenous students might more appropriately engage with their own cultural world(s). The argument here is the need to add new knowledge(s), skills, and expertise (currently missing to any great depth in most Universities) to improve the relevance and usefulness of the academy for Indigenous. The interface of Indigenous wisdom, thinking, and knowledge with other knowledge(s) also provides enormous potential for new, fresh opportunities and innovative ideas that can potentially be more effective transformation of the Indigenous crises.

Twenty Ideas to Strategize and Action a Change Agenda

We now turn to identify some ideas that Indigenous workers might find useful in creating space for enhancing Indigenous learning opportunities. We group these suggestions into four larger areas for consideration; Firstly, personal skill development, secondly, critical understanding and transforming institutional structures and practices, thirdly, building innovative and transforming initiatives, and fourthly, building community support and interface.

A. Personal Skill Development

Personal skill development is important because, and as noted elsewhere, you cannot expect to change others if you do not model and commit to the expected changes yourself. It is not enough to simply be an Indigenous person, with an Indigenous genealogy as if this work comes innately and does not require knowledge, experience, commitment, and some nuanced understandings of Indigenous and colonial history, knowledge, and cultural practices. Indigenous workers should

1. Have an overt and positive consciousness about being Indigenous and the collective responsibility (and courage) associated with this.
2. Work at developing and maintaining cultural and academic credibility with Indigenous, peers, students, and community.
3. Have a good critical, informed, and pro Indigenous overview of the institutional environment and practices. It is important to understand accurately, using theory, policy, and data, what is not working to assist you to design solutions that solve problems at the systemic levels.
4. Understand the institutional pressures to become a “privatized” (self-interested) academic, often at the expense of our cultural responsibilities to work collaboratively and collectively to improve existing conditions of high and disproportionate levels of inequity and marginalization.
5. Actively support Indigenous student access, participation, retention, support, and success
6. Critically understand and challenge policy and practices that marginalize and undermine the legitimacy of Indigenous language, knowledge, and culture.

B. Critically Understanding Transforming Institutional Structures, Systems, and Practices

1. Be clear what you are struggling for, what the goal of change is. It may involve different strategies and practices at different times, for example,
 - Struggle for inclusion, for equal access and participation in the dominant societal culture and structures
 - Struggle to make space for difference, for recognition of the validity of cultural difference – Indigenous knowledge, culture, and practice, make space for indigenous self-development.
 - Struggle to develop bicultural elements, for the development of bicultural outcomes (the best of both).
2. Understand that public institutions reflect dominant societal interests and often have systems and practices that maintain and reproduce this situation

and the privileges infused within it. Indigenous and other minority groups' interests often struggle for the fundamental rights of recognition, inclusion, and legitimacy.

3. It is important to see that institutional structures and practices were created by human beings with interests, as such systems can reflect dominant group interests through selection, validation, and other mechanisms. These are often problematic and contribute to Indigenous underdevelopment rather than accepting hegemonic deficit explanations. Change needs to be targeted at the system as much as changing Indigenous learners.
4. Systems that select students before they enter the front door and that determine the curriculum and pedagogies are often using sophisticated data and arguments that are fundamentally about exclusion rather than selection. These selection systems and the data used to make decisions need to be interrogated. This also applies to the ways in which scholarships are awarded with arguments used that continue to privilege students from specific backgrounds who have had specific educational opportunities and developed specific educational profiles.
5. There is often much to be done in transforming conservative institutional policies which tend to reproduce the status quo circumstances of unequal access, participation, retention, and success. It is important to engage with the Institution's Strategic Vision, planning processes and institutional or corporate rhetoric to identify opportunities, influence discourse, and create an environment for change. There is also a need to monitor "well-meaning" rhetoric that ostensibly is responding to Indigenous needs to ensure that the intended outcomes are in fact realized.
6. Some areas that are constantly being challenged by Indigenous workers are the need for more Indigenous academic staff, more Indigenous focused courses that respond to Indigenous interests, developing more research that has applied and beneficial outcomes for Indigenous communities, developing more meaningful accountabilities for "underperformance" in the institutional environment in respect of Indigenous populations, and developing more positive and proactive recruitment strategies to encourage Indigenous students.

C. Building Innovative and Transformative Strategies

1. Significant work must be developed around academic courses and programs to ensure there is curriculum space for Indigenous knowledge, thinking, and engagement with communities.
2. Build a distinctive section in the Institutional plan that creates policy, practice, and outcome targets for Indigenous change including student outcomes, staff and faculty outcomes, meaningful engagement with communities, and respectful relationship and research outcomes.
3. Build horizontal (institutional wide) strategies as well as vertical (Department, Program & Faculty) strategies. For example, there is often need to build a critical mass of Indigenous Professors that can participate at Senate and Institutional wide level as well as more Indigenous staff to teach in

Faculties and Departments. More generally there is a need for Indigenous staff to be spread across the whole of the institution at all levels.

4. Build on existing Indigenous success as much as target areas that are underdeveloped; where appropriate set targets and timelines.
5. Understand the Institutional context – what it is charged to do as a public institution and build Indigenous responses that align with and perhaps stretch these policy frames. For example, if you are in a Polytechnic institution then you might seek trade training programs of Indigenous excellence; if you are in a “Research-led” institutional environment, you might build Indigenous PhD programs or Indigenous Research programs and so on.
6. Encourage the respectful and careful co-designed use of Indigenous culture. Make it visible and positive within the institution, including the use of local and appropriate in a secular and institutional context, Indigenous language, elders, ceremony, art and performance, buildings, and landscapes.

D. Building Community Support and Interface

1. It is important to raise the consciousness of institutions in respect of the colonization of the Indigenous populations and how that has had an impact on local and regional and national Indigenous communities. It is also important to raise awareness about how public institutions are complicit in the ongoing colonization of Indigenous communities and what might be done to counter this situation.
2. A significant aspect of Indigenous struggle in the academy is to ensure its relevance to Indigenous communities of interest. It is often important for individuals to have the support and sometimes formal “consent” of community as it is “easy” for institutions and others to minimize your critical work by positioning you as only an “individual” voice and therefore of little substance.
3. There is often some suspicion of the academy and researchers by Indigenous communities whose experience has not been positive. As such there is a need to work on building individual credibility to communities of interest as much as there is a need to build institutional trust and credibility.
4. An important strategy is to build community participation with the institution – the use of elders and wisdom holders, leaders, and cultural/ceremonial events. These elements need to be more than tokenistic, decorative participation at university ceremonies such as graduations.
5. There is often need to struggle to have indigenous work with community recognized and “counted” as legitimate academic work, research, and service.

Critical Reflection as the Transforming Work Unfolds

While these are just a few of the strategies that one might adopt as an Indigenous worker in the academy, how we do this work and how we evaluate its effectiveness improve Indigenous outcomes. There is also need to continually critically evaluate

the effectiveness of our transformative work. The following framework – which Graham has called the “Five tests for the veracity of a Kaupapa Māori/Indigenous transforming approach” is an example of a self-reflecting model from the New Zealand context – again this is an idea that others might build on and adapt in their cultural and academic contexts.

Positionality

Where one speaks from is important; there is need to locate ourselves in time and space. There is a need to clarify why one is speaking. We should be clear about our own capacities and limitations. What is the transforming record of achievement that lends legitimacy to your work? What is your experience, what are your stories that support the validity of your commentary? There is a need to understand, who the audience is? How am I connected to the topic and to the audience? Other important questions here include What and whose interests are served by my work? How do I engage with Indigenous frameworks and theorizing?

Where we speak from and how we speak is important. As a matter of practice, deconstructing one’s own positioning all the time is an important element of an Indigenous approach. The principle of relationality or relationships is a dynamic concept that supports positionality. We often ask our students to write a preamble to their thesis and position themselves and their story into the thesis – this allows students to introduce themselves culturally and establish the basis for their work. It is an important pedagogical practice among many Indigenous groups. In this sense, it is important to introduce oneself and to appropriately connect and identify with the topic being undertaken. Other critical questions include What are your credentials for doing this work? Where are you speaking from? Do you have particular interests (overt or undisclosed) which impact the work that really should be declared/problematised? Understand what you are for rather than just what you are against.

Criticality

There is a need to have a good understanding of the historical, social, cultural, economic, and political relations of inequality, privilege, and colonialism and an understanding of how these relations are produced and reproduced. A fundamental understanding here relates to how power is exercised and manipulated by dominant interest groups to maintain power and control over other minority groups and colonized populations.

Do your transforming intentions adequately account for the politics of our existence?

Are you able to use critical understandings and tools? More importantly, do you understand how colonization is continuously formed and reformed over the top of

us? Do you have the critical understandings and knowledge to argue for the theoretical space for the validity of Indigenous language, knowledge, and culture interests? If you are unable to read the world critically, your efforts at transformations and interventions may come up short.

Do you have an appropriate level of critical appreciation to be able to accurately contextualize the politics of the work that may extend to such issues as understanding the impact of

- Unequal power relations?
- Neo-liberal economic context?
- Production and reproduction of inequities?
- Social construction of knowledge?
- Racism, sexism, homophobia, able-ism
- Knowledge hierarchies and the marginalization of Indigenous knowledge?
- Race, gender, and class politics?
- Hegemonic thinking, internal and self-colonization?

Structuralist and Culturalist Considerations

There is need to work at both culturalist and structuralist change. By culturalist change we mean those changes which people can influence, human agency, and specifically, human behaviors, attitudes and discourses. However, it is not just about changing people as this can become deficit oriented as an approach. We must also challenge the dominant structural impediments that constrain Indigenous cultural, social, and economic interests. Structuralist thinking argues the influence of societal structures over human agency as being inevitable, that is, that our struggle is not one struggle, but many struggles often in multiple sites, in multiple shapes and often simultaneously.

Praxicality

Praxis is an important element in a Kaupapa Māori/transforming approach. An important element underpinning transforming is the relationality of theory and practice, that is, what we do and the rationale for doing it. A further element implied here is the notion of constant reflection and adjustment, a dynamic cycle of review in order to maintain momentum. What are the practical and theoretical elements involved? Praxis requires us to constantly reflect on what we are doing (usually with our communities of interest) and to be responsive to the actions and reactions as they occur. A critical component is the necessity to continually evaluate our transforming intentions with the communities of interest for whom the change is intended. Praxis involves a continuous cycle of action, theory and reflection and reaction. There is a need to test our theorizing against our practical enactments and test our practice

against our theory. Praxicality is a day to day way of thinking and going about indigenous work.

Transformability

Given existing and disproportionate levels of Indigenous crisis, there is a need to accent transforming outcomes. The critical question that surfaces is “What changes as a result of what we are doing?” We need to be not just intentional but accountable for practical and tangible outcomes. Graham refers to this elsewhere as the need for Indigenous workers to get blisters on the hands (Smith, G. 2017). Importantly, what positive changes are there for Māori as a result of your engagement? Maintaining the status quo is often insufficient as it maintains the existing situation of unequal power and social relations. It is important to focus on projects that do not simply describe our pathology but move to enact the transforming of our condition. There is a need to move beyond the reproduction of the status quo and develop meaningful transformative outcomes.

In Conclusion

There are many Indigenous workers and allies across different jurisdictions, who, over many decades, have argued for Indigenous people, Indigenous knowledge, and Indigenous rights in the academy. They have also established pockets of support and respite for Indigenous people who, despite many obstacles, have attended and graduated from universities. There is another story in there about how they achieved success which this chapter has not addressed. Many of that first generation have had to do their work with little community understanding of what is at stake in the struggle for space in the academy. We were fortunate to have had the support of several well-known New Zealand scholars who had hidden their Māori identities and were reluctant to reveal themselves either in the Māori context or the university context. What they did for us was to open doors and quietly support with their votes, their words, and their experience.

The recognition of Indigenous Peoples in the international context of the United Nations has also been a long game. The international work and the local work within a specific institution are part of the wider struggle for Indigenous recognition and the survival of Indigenous knowledges, languages, and cultures. The academy is one powerful site in which this work needs to be done, but it not the only site. As we have both said in many different contexts, our struggles are multiple, layered, and nuanced and require simultaneous actions. Some of our colleagues may see this work as daunting, a burden and ultimately undermining of a “normal” academic career. In contrast, we see the work as “our normal” of what it means to take on indigenous work in the academy. In reflecting on the work of Indigenous workers, there is a need for all of us to appreciate that what may seem a utopian vision is worth striving for

and maybe won through a series of small and incremental gains rather than singular and spectacular actions.

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Part VI

Case Studies

Sharon Nelson-Barber and Zanette Johnson



Sharon Nelson-Barber and Zanette Johnson

Abstract

Looking deeply into our own community histories and learning from one another's experiences provides us with new paths into the future. By becoming aware of the patterns in community processes for cultural self-determination, and by sharing stories across communities, we can build on our strategies and our understandings of one another's solutions to create realities that reflect our local Indigenous values and practices. Similar community-transforming strategies may lead to very different outcomes, due to the profound diversity across Indigenous cultural settings. Indigenous communities that invest in taking risks to try new things and search for effective solutions to persistent issues will continue to grow the circle of beneficial innovation as they document and share their experiences. Understanding the successes of different Indigenous groups and learning how to make appropriate and responsive adjustments are important steps to accelerating cross-community diffusion of powerful, values-aligned approaches.

Keywords

Indigenous learning · Research-based educational interventions · Case examples · Community-based research · Culture-based education

Looking deeply into our own community histories and learning from one another's experiences and can provide us with new paths into the future. By becoming aware of the patterns in community processes for cultural self-determination, and by

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sharing stories across communities, we can build on our strategies and one another's solutions to create realities that reflect our local Indigenous values and practices. Similar community-transforming strategies may lead to very different outcomes, due to the profound diversity across Indigenous cultural settings. Indigenous communities that invest in taking risks to try new things and search for effective solutions for persistent issues will continue to grow the circle of beneficial innovation as they document and share their experiences. Both understanding the successes of different Indigenous groups and learning how to make appropriate and responsive adjustments are important steps in accelerating cross-community diffusion of powerful, values-aligned approaches.

The chapters in this section examine Indigenous experiences across formal and informal learning contexts, and each one is written to highlight case studies and case examples that provide nuanced detail about where they are situated. The accounts structured in this form offer a broader descriptive bandwidth than quantitative studies. The use of cases can help readers imagine and expand the potential adaptability of each vignette. Some of the authors have used case research methods to engage in deep internal observation, for example, to examine the challenges of moving away from practices that are widely accepted outside Indigenous contexts. Other authors included here have been influenced by the successes of distant Indigenous communities and adapted promising ideas for use in their own settings. An emergent theme across all of these quests is the search for patterns: understanding the patterns in our own process that help us to align with our shared values and seeing which patterns to carry forward that may help us continue to thrive.

There is a profound diversity that characterizes us as First Nations and Indigenous communities, and yet we have faced many types of parallel challenges, such as the effects of land loss, colonization, aggressive assimilation, and navigating collective and personal journeys through cultural trauma. We each have found our ways of discerning when to yield and when to resist the paradigms and practices of the dominant Western culture. In today's historical moment, we strategize to address the immanent changes brought by climate instability, looking to the past for ideas about how to adapt rapidly and survive as peoples. In recent decades, we have seen how our collective efforts can inspire one another to creative solution-building that brings about positive changes.

Step by step, we are returning to cultivating our own languages across generations, reclaiming our cultural lifeways, and starting to resolve some of the contradictions that have become pervasive in daily life. We step back to assess our efforts and wonder: Are our efforts getting results that matter? Are we doing things in ways that reflect our values deeply? Are we relating to one another in the ways our ancestors would have understood and respected? Are our children becoming a next generation who we can trust to carry our cultures forward?

The cases in this section recount in depth how First Nations and Indigenous communities are responding to questions like these, and others. They examine the patterns in their own processes – and account for the diverse perspectives that have influenced them; they dig deeper into the realm of reflection, to see how their

community initiatives are, and are not, rising to meet the challenges of modern local/global Indigenous life.

The case written by Jo-ann Archibald Q'um Q'um Xiiem entitled ► [Chap. 56, "Raven's Story About Indigenous Teacher Education"](#) uses storywork methodology to offer a rich example of how the Native Indian Teacher Education Program (NITEP) at the University of British Columbia (UBC) in Canada continues its over 40-year history of offering an Indigenous-based K-12 teacher education program. The NITEP includes partnerships with many Indigenous communities/organizations and has a rich history of Indigenous leadership that has shaped its purpose, philosophy, and structure including four key principles: a cohort-based family approach; community-based relationships; incorporating Indigenous Knowledge Systems in teacher learning; and high-quality preparation of teachers that spans different types of standards. These components derive from the character of Indigenous trickster, Raven, and they guide NITEP's vision of systemic change to ensure that Indigenous people have a better life within and through education. Working together to create the NITEP, Indigenous educators have constructed a culture-based model of teacher learning that looks deep within and stands as an example for how this type of innovation can be seeded and sustained.

Contrasting cultural perspectives appear side-by-side in the work of O. Ripeka Mercier, a Māori scholar, and Beth Leonard, a Dene'/Athabaskan scholar who co-teach a class for diverse Indigenous and non-Indigenous university students on Western science and Indigenous knowledge. In ► [Chap. 60, "Indigenous Knowledge\(s\) and the Sciences in Global Contexts: Bringing Worlds Together,"](#) the authors wonder together about the role of Indigenous knowledge in society during our time of cultural and climactic change. Mercier and Leonard consider with their students what makes Indigenous knowledge "Indigenous" and distinctly valuable, in a time when there is so much pressure to engage with decontextualized, colonized narratives about valid knowledge. In this research case carried out over the past 10 years, Mercier and Leonard describe how they structure a "shared space" within the course for students from two universities spanning the Pacific that allows all points of view to be heard. They invite frank discussion of how some scholars view science as a subset of Indigenous knowledge, and how others dismiss Indigenous knowledge as nonscientific. This discourse around Indigenous knowledge in science furthers their objective of providing science education support for marginalized groups, including the Māori, Alaska Native, and non-Indigenous students who they bring into conversation together across the distance. This case illustrates the type and quality of transformative learning interaction that can take place when an open, curious community of people is carefully brought together from diverse backgrounds, with varied perspectives, to build meaningful relationships, and consider urgent issues affecting the global human experience.

In ► [Chap. 61, "Mā te Rourou: Māori Education and Innovation Through the Visual Arts in Aotearoa New Zealand,"](#) Robert H.G. Jahnke and Huia Tomlins Jahnke provide a descriptive look at the evolution of the tukutuku form of lattice work lashing as it has spread from its original context embellishing the walls of tribal

houses on marae, to settings far beyond, including schools, galleries, institutions, and even the global forum of the United Nations. The diffusion and transformation of the tukutuku art form by artists in the twentieth century has been driven by increased interest and understanding of Māori visual arts traditions; it has both inspired and grown along with emergent educational approaches that are culturally rooted and innovative. The use of tukutuku lattice work patterns outside the marae has renewed interest in the traditional visual patterns and revived participation at schools and universities that encourage culture-based education and integrative pedagogies. Bringing together students, sense of place, and this traditional art form, along with new contexts for display and interaction, tukutuku has preserved its place in the Māori canon, and also evolved and gained a new standing in contemporary art. The journey of tukutuku shared in this case stands as a valuable model of how traditional techniques can be carried forward as deeply connected cultural templates for the creativity and viability of future generations.

► [Chapter 57, “We Voyage for the Earth: Cultural Advantage as a Global Education Framework,”](#) authored by Shawn M. Kana‘iaupuni, directs us to acknowledge the power of the Mālama Honua Worldwide Voyage as a landmark achievement that represents what becomes possible when communities take control over their educational systems. As the fruit of many years of culture-based education at many Hawaiian-focused charter schools, the global voyage of the Hawaiian canoe Hokule‘a was accomplished as the result of an educational movement that recognized Indigenous students’ fundamental cultural advantage. Unlike Western schools that falsely “prove” these students are underachieving on standardized test measures and then set habitually low expectations, culture-based education initiatives emphasize Indigenous learners’ cultural assets and build on those strengths and the resilience within their cultural identity to help them grow. Kana‘iaupuni argues that one cannot underestimate the value of community-based research and leadership that embraces the cultural advantages of students who have diverse experiences of resilience, spirituality, and strength, on the one hand, along with racism, poverty, cultural trauma, and oppression on the other. Using theories, methods, and approaches that highlight the assets found in Indigenous knowledge, values, and stories as models of vitality and empowerment for all, culture-based education is an innovation worth researching and sharing. As the result of a nationwide Hawaiian movement toward culture-based education with diverse approaches to culturally vibrant and identity-affirming learning environments, Mālama Honua Worldwide Voyage reveals that Indigenous communities have the power to reach across space and time to connect and inspire one another.

Rooted in a Māori worldview, the case described by Mere Berryman, Katie Pennicot, and Stan Tiatia follows a new leadership team in one Aotearoa New Zealand primary school who successfully disrupt the status quo expectation that, from entry at age 5, the gap in achievement between Indigenous and non-Indigenous students would only continue to grow. ► [Chapter 62, “Te puna wai ora, e tu atu nei e: Stand Up, Stand Strong, and Be Proud”](#) tells the story of 6 years of change efforts, aimed at encouraging Māori contexts for learning in the schools and the development of school leaders’ beliefs and practices in alignment

with Māori principles. Eventually, the school was recognized as a finalist for the Prime Minister's Excellence Awards in Education, and perhaps more importantly, a cohort of Māori students were spared the pathologizing "deficit" model in favor of a culturally coherent priority on whānau (extended family), relationships, and core values which formed the foundation for academic and interpersonal success. The school pioneered the practice of listening to iwi (tribal group) perspectives about the direction of English-medium education for Māori learners, and in turn placed greater value on intergenerational Māori learning. Challenging the historical educational assumption that Māori and Pākehā children were being prepared for different life trajectories, the transformational leadership of the team at Invercargill Middle School showed undeniably how the development of Mauri Ora (life force) for Māori students is beneficial for academic success, and that it may also be of benefit for non-Māori students.

Jean-Paul Restoule's piece, ► [Chap. 63, "Where Indigenous Knowledge Lives: Bringing Indigenous Perspectives to Online Learning Environments,"](#) highlights two cases that show the opportunities, challenges, and limitations of designing Massive Open Online Course (MOOC) materials focused on the topic of Indigenous worldviews. Restoule designed and researched the course, which was meant for principals in First Nations schools across Canada; his aim was to invite learners of diverse backgrounds and worldviews to engage with Indigenous knowledge traditions in respectful and perspective-expanding ways. Going deeper than the surface-level features of Indigenous knowledge that typically find their way into online learning, Restoule sought to create meaningful exchange between participants while maintaining a culturally appropriate tone for all in the decontextualized online space. Elements of land-based, community-first, and relationship-driven learning were incorporated, as well as an expectation of whole-person engagement that called for openness to spiritual, emotional, intellectual, and physical dimensions of narrative experience. One goal of the courses was to challenge divisive colonialist legacies by rising above historical divisions – to connect through a sense of shared struggle and to honor personal narratives and community stories of cultural resurgence. In this work, Restoule calls upon us to know the limitations of the digital medium and also to see its potential: to awaken participants to the power of coming together across lines of difference to inhabit the dual role of learner and teacher through interpersonal experiential learning.

The reciprocal and simultaneous role of ako, to learn and to teach, is at the heart of Sandra L. Morrison's chapter on Indigenous education in the adult workplace – ► [Chap. 58, "Ako ki he nofo 'a Kāinga: A Case Study of Pastoral Care Between Wakatū/Kono and Recognised Seasonal Employment Workers".](#) In this chapter, Morrison describes the kinds of essential supports needed by those entering a new country as labor migrants, so that they can healthfully adjust to their new workplace and home. Within a strongly capitalistic society where human labor is treated as a commodity, respect for different cultures must be negotiated; some employers offer only the minimum transition services, while others adopt a more caring "family" model of structural support. Morrison describes in detail the case of a Māori employer and their interactions with immigrant Tongan Recognized Seasonal Employment workers who participated in a successful pastoral care model based on ako (to learn

and to teach) and *kāinga* (kin, village, place) – a model that strengthened their formal business relationship through mutual respect for shared values, including genealogy (*whakapapa*). The intentional application of Māori values and worldviews allowed room for the Tongan workers to contribute their cultural capital to the interaction, demonstrating the kinds of positive outcomes that can emerge when consideration is given to common values such as kinship across culture, space, time, and generations.

Set within an Aboriginal Australian context, Daryle Rigney, Steve Hemming, and Simone Bignall chronicle a community journey in ► [Chap. 59, “Ngarrindjeri *Yannarumi*: Educating for Transformation and Indigenous Nation \(Re\)building.”](#) The term *Yannarumi* refers to a Ngarrindjeri concept meaning “to act or speak lawfully as a country” and is fundamentally connected to understandings of peaceful relations and well-being. Since the early 1970s, the Ngarrindjeri people have built an active, resistive, and transformational educational program designed to produce the conditions for community thriving and self-determination – one that is based on Ngarrindjeri knowledges, experience, language, and philosophy. *Yannarumi*, in association with the broader nation building and governance strategies currently practiced by the Ngarrindjeri, is presented as a case study in educating for resistance and transformation. Ngarrindjeri leaders have consistently exercised and asserted their right to “speak as a country” in establishing a peaceful, healthy, and just way of life. The community aspiration is to establish a state of “ex-colonialism,” and while the setting and terminology are unique, the steps of their journey may inspire other communities of Indigenous people who are seeking their own methods to transform the colonial legacy and establish a new equilibrium in educational systems that are self-governing and culturally sustaining.

In ► [Chap. 64, “Whāia te Ara Whetu: Navigating Change in Mainstream Secondary Schooling for Indigenous Students,”](#) researchers Elizabeth McKinley and Melinda Webber describe the design and implementation of a long-term secondary school research intervention called the Starpath Project for Tertiary Participation and Success. Aiming to remedy long-standing issues in some of Aotearoa New Zealand’s most underserved communities, the Starpath Project sought to increase Māori students’ university entrance by changing school pedagogy and improving opportunities for learners. Special learning support was provided for school leaders along with direct assistance to enhance school quality, while students received counseling support and guidance in academic target setting. Starpath encountered a number of challenges, including changes to policy that made their key metric of university entrance even more difficult for students to attain. Analysis of data showed that the results of the intervention were mixed, due at least in part to unexpected policy changes and to the lifetime of unequal access to educational resources that most students had experienced. Māori students in mainstream schools who do not have access to culture-based learning may require additional levels of support in pursuit of academic success. This case illustrates how Indigenous communities seeking to correct long-standing educational inequities may want to reflect deeply on their implicit assumptions about how positive changes take root in their context, and consider as well adopting extended timelines for longitudinal interventions so that sufficient time can be devoted to changing student experiences and the institutions that shape them.

When a group of Diné (Navajo) culture and language teachers identified their priorities for systemic educational change, Zanette Johnson and Sharon Nelson-Barber noticed they frequently mentioned the constraints of adhering to “best practices” as a significant barrier standing in the way of meaningful innovation. Observing and inquiring more deeply about this phenomenon with the teachers led Johnson and Nelson-Barber to report their findings in ► [Chap. 65, “Always Alert, Always Agile: The Importance of Locally Researching Innovations and Interventions in Indigenous Learning Communities.”](#) A case example from Diné school contexts points out how the research-based “best practice” of Comprehensive School Reform (CSR) limits the range of learning for Diné students and teachers. A contrasting case example based in Hawai‘i presents another school’s quest to go beyond generalized research and enact locally tested strategies that were culturally compatible. The authors argue that within Indigenous community settings, scientific research is being overgeneralized and misapplied, because it is unreasonable to assume that interventions that work for the general population are appropriate for communities with unique historical factors and cultural contours. As seen in the case examples, the unexamined use of research-based intervention can lead to limited results for Indigenous learners and may be actively counterproductive by inhibiting achievement and discouraging deeper learning experiences. Indigenous-serving educational institutions are poised to strengthen learning in their communities. They must enact a standard of iterative and empirical research that uses varied methods of assessment and a range of vantage points to locally confirm results and to adapt strategies in response to the distinctive populations they serve.



Raven's Story About Indigenous Teacher Education

56

Jo-ann Archibald Q'um Q'um Xiiem

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Abstract

In 2017, the Native Indian Teacher Education Program (NITEP) at the University of British Columbia (UBC), Canada, continues its 43rd year of offering an Indigenous-based teacher education program (kindergarten to grade 12) that includes partnerships with Indigenous communities/organizations and other post-secondary institutes throughout British Columbia, Canada. NITEP is a Bachelor of Education (BED) degree program option for people of Indigenous ancestry, within the UBC Faculty of Education. This program has a rich history of Indigenous leadership that has shaped NITEP's purpose, philosophy, and structure. Four values have also guided NITEP's development and program revision

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over a 40-plus-year time period: (1) a sense of community/family within the student body and faculty/staff, (2) community-based relationships, (3) the importance of Indigenous knowledge systems for teacher preparation, and (4) good quality teacher preparation.

These values have become the core identity of NITEP. Throughout the years, the practices, program delivery, and program requirements have changed, but the core values/identity of this program has become even stronger. Another steadfast part of NITEP is the Indigenous trickster, Raven. The NITEP founders who were mainly Indigenous teachers chose a traditional story of the Raven and Sun to guide NITEP's vision and purpose. This chapter is based on Indigenous Storywork principles of respect, responsibility, reverence, reciprocity, holism, interrelatedness, and synergy. Both traditional and life experience stories show how NITEP enacts the four values and its successes and challenges throughout its rich history.

Keywords

Indigenous teacher education · Indigenous knowledge · Cohorts · Community-based education

Introduction

This chapter will explore the history, philosophy, epistemology, and pedagogical practices of one Indigenous Teacher Education Program at the Faculty of Education, University of British Columbia (UBC), Canada: the Native Indian Teacher Education Program (NITEP) which is a Bachelor of Education (BEd) degree program for people of Indigenous ancestry. This program is presented as a combined case study and “case story” based primarily on the lived experiences of the author, Jo-ann Archibald, also known as Q'um Q'um Xiiem, of the Stó:lō and Xaxli'p First Nations of British Columbia, Canada. I have worked for NITEP for 19 years as an instructor, a course developer, a coordinator of a NITEP field center, and a director of the program, even though my NITEP work spanned the years from 1981 to 2016. At times, I left the program to work in other areas of UBC, but I returned to NITEP a few years at a time, just like a family member may leave home but returns for sustenance and to help out as needed.

I live on the west coast of British Columbia, Canada, where the Pacific Ocean greets the traditional and unceded land of the Musqueam First Nation every day. Ravens and eagles watch over this land. I write from the perspective of a First Nation woman scholar who has worked at the University of British Columbia for over three decades. In this chapter, I use first person, which is becoming an Indigenous convention in scholarly writing (Absolon 2011; Kovach 2009; Wilson 2008). I also use terms such as Indigenous and Aboriginal interchangeably, for variety, as those terms are commonly used in Canada today. Indigenous is used more frequently; however, the use of Aboriginal emphasizes legal rights in the Canadian Constitution for First

Nations/Indian, Inuit, and Métis peoples. Other times, I use terms such as Indian and First Nation to either denote the time period in which the term was used or to signal the context in which the term is used. As I write about Indigenous teacher education, many memories and stories come to my mind and to my heart. These memories and stories are about those who created solid Indigenous educational pathways at UBC and those who traveled on them for work and study. This chapter presents stories of lived experience with and about the NITEP at the Faculty of Education, University of British Columbia. These stories use an Indigenous Storywork theoretical and methodological framework that I developed years ago (Archibald 2008).

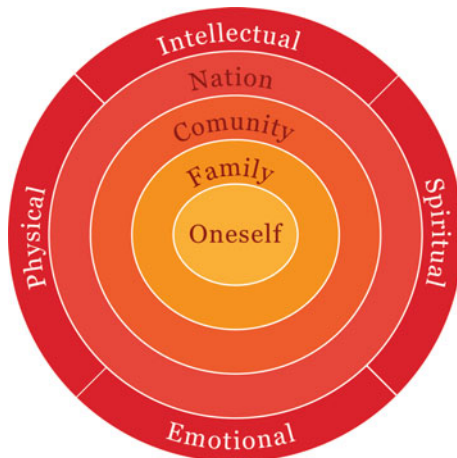
Theory and Methodology

The Indigenous Storywork framework (Archibald 2008), which is both theoretical and methodological in nature, encompasses seven Indigenous-based principles/values of respect, responsibility, reverence, reciprocity, holism, interrelatedness, and synergy. I built upon the 4Rs of respect, responsibility, relevance, and reciprocity first articulated by Verna J. Kirkness and Ray Barnhardt (1991) in reference to making higher education more successful for Indigenous learners. They advocate that the university context needs to have programs and student services that demonstrate respect toward Indigenous learners, that programs are relevant to the needs and cultures of these learners and their communities, that students and the university enact their responsibilities to improve Indigenous higher education, and that a reciprocal relationship exists between Indigenous people, their communities, and the university. With the 4Rs, Kirkness and Barnhardt (1991) imply that the university needs to change and develop its policies and programs in order to be more successful with Indigenous learners. NITEP, as a university program, exemplifies university responsibility and responsiveness to Indigenous learners and Indigenous communities, which will be elaborated upon in this chapter.

The theoretical component of Indigenous Storywork includes the principles of respect, responsibility, reverence, and reciprocity, which relate to ethical ways of working with people and with Indigenous knowledges. The remaining principles of holism, interrelatedness, and synergy relate to how Indigenous knowledges and Indigenous traditional and life experience stories are used in the research process. The term storywork is coined from a Stó:lō–Coast Salish cultural way of focusing attention on learning or “working” with stories. In our cultural gatherings, a spokesperson tells the people gathered, “My dear ones, the work will begin.” When we hear these words, we pay attention to what we hear, what we see, and what we feel because the culturally based work is important to individuals, families, communities, and the larger Indigenous nation in that moment and for the future.

Respect is focused on the cultural knowledge embedded in the traditional and life experience stories and for the people who tell their stories. Taking the time necessary to develop respectful research and educational relationships and to learn cultural protocols is an important ethical responsibility. Reverence is a deep respect for the spiritual nature of humans, nature/land, and for this part of Indigenous knowledges.

Fig. 1 Holism for Indigenous Storywork



Prayerful thoughts and words, time spent in nature, engagement in ceremony, stories, and songs are some examples of reverential actions. Reciprocity becomes a circular action of receiving knowledge through respectful, responsible, and reverential approaches and “giving back” to the people or community with whom one has worked so that Indigenous knowledges are sustained in ways that are beneficial to the Indigenous people and their communities.

Indigenous knowledges and stories often have a holistic nature where they contribute to human spiritual, emotional, physical, and intellectual development (Archibald 2008; Battiste 2000; Brant Castellano 2000; Cajete 1994, 1999; Sarris 1993; Silko 1981; Sioui 1992). An Indigenous concept of an inclusive holistic circle places these four components in quadrants as indicated in Fig. 1. The principle of interrelatedness creates the possibilities of relationships among the holistic components as well as among oneself, family, community, and nation. When stories are shared and when people use them to conduct serious cultural, educational, and research “work” using the principles as described, a wonderful synergy happens that can have a transformational effect.

The principles of holism, interrelatedness, and synergy also create space for meaningful interaction among participants engaged in the storywork setting who listen to life experience and traditional stories (gather data), make meaning from them through critical reflection and discussion (analysis), and develop new knowledge and understandings based upon their learning experiences and interactions (identify findings).

NITEP’s Storywork

NITEP’s storywork in this chapter is based on the teachings derived from a traditional story and my reflective stories working with NITEP from 1981 to 2016. My roles with NITEP included being a sessional lecturer developing and teaching

Indigenous education courses at the NITEP regional field centers. Then I became a full-time 12-month lecturer, located at the Chilliwack NITEP field center, for 2 years and subsequently became the NITEP director in 1985, which, at that time, meant I left my home in Chilliwack and moved to Vancouver. I also returned to NITEP in the role of director for two different terms between 2005 and 2016. My years of experience working within NITEP have enabled me to work with many people and to lead a program that keeps evolving in its Indigenous foundations. My NITEP experiences and understandings facilitate the enactment of Indigenous Storywork principles to create NITEP-related stories and to develop understandings about these lived stories. I begin with a letter that I wrote in 2007. At that time, I was reflecting on my work with NITEP for another paper that I did not finish writing. This reflection was written as a letter to my grandfather, Francis Kelly, who had passed from the physical world into the spiritual realm, many years before. I chose to write the letter to him because he had been an important teacher to me and his mentorship shaped my subsequent work in education, in particular Indigenous teacher education. This letter also introduces some important NITEP values such as family and culture and issues about intergenerational trauma as a result of Indian residential schools.

Letter to my Grandfather, 2007

Dear Grandpa,

I have been thinking about my work and about telling others, especially Indigenous people, who may want to teach and work at a university what it has been and is like. In the circle of Elders who have surrounded me with good stories and teachings, I imagine them telling me to 'think back' and as educators say today, 'reflect.' Doing this 'thinking back' reminds me of the way that you and other Elders tell us your life experience stories to help us, the listeners, learn from them. So what is it that I can share with others that may be of some use? Why do I think that what I have experienced is of any value? Or can I tell a good story? Can I call on Raven or Coyote to help me?

As I think back on my work life at UBC, it is hard to believe that I have been there for over 25 years (as of 2007). Imagine that! When I started to teach there in 1981, it really did not feel like I was teaching at a university because I traveled to BC communities such as Williams Lake and Kamloops to the former Indian residential schools to teach students in the Native Indian Teacher Education Program (NITEP) courses about Indian education history, policy, and other such matters. At that time, the residential schools no longer operated as schools that denied Aboriginal languages, cultures, and values and instead tried to instill Christian or now we say, Western knowledge and values.

What a turn around, imagine Aboriginal people learning to become teachers with an Aboriginal heart and mind, learning to become teachers, qualified to teach in any school, and doing their learning in buildings that not that long ago tried to take the 'Indian out of the child.' Maybe this is the story that I can tell. A story that shows how Aboriginal people resist being colonized in learning institutions, even though, colonization happens in many forms, and it is a constant struggle to maintain and strengthen an Indigenous heart and mind in academe. It is possible, but it is hard.

During my teaching at one the NITEP field centres, some students who were in the course had said that they had attended the particular residential school in which we were learning. It was hard for them to be in such a classroom where they remembered it being a dormitory where either they or their family members slept and all the terrible memories of loneliness, physical, sexual, and emotional abuse that they recalled. But the NITEP students were determined to be teachers who would make a difference in the lives of the children whom they taught. That commitment kept them going and kept them coming back each year until they completed their Bachelor of Education. The program offered Elders' guidance and other counselling options as well as a safe space in which to share these difficult memories. Often during the Indian Studies courses, the NITEP students experienced a conscientization of the impact of colonialism, sometimes getting mad because of the policies that forbade their Indigenous languages to be used or feeling despair because of the realization of the intergeneration effects of years of schooling that took away their Indian identity and family closeness and then seeing how colonization continued in their communities and schools today. I recall seeing NITEP students coming into the program at first not knowing anything about their culture and not thinking it was that important, to moving to anger about the impact of colonization, to eventually finding a way to understand what happened to their parents and grandparents during this dark time of their history, to leaving with a strong sense of who they were as an Aboriginal person, proud to be called, their First Nations names, and proud to be associated with the NITEP family network. NITEP provided a holistic space for its students to learn, to vent and experience their emotions, to soothe and strengthen their inner spirit, and to develop pedagogical plans for their future teaching.

Even though this reflective letter was written 10 years prior to writing this chapter, I felt that it captured some key values and issues that confronted NITEP students and those who led the program at that time and which are still prevalent today, not only in NITEP but in other Indigenous teacher education programs in Canada (Beynon 2008; Martineau et al. 2015) and elsewhere (in the USA, see Castagno et al. 2015). The struggles with understanding and dealing with the intergenerational impact of Indian residential schools and the transformational potential of a university teacher education program are prime examples. At the same time, I felt that what have endured throughout NITEP's 40-plus-year history are its values, which will be the focus of this chapter. The chapter will continue with the historical background of NITEP and a basic programmatic description, followed by a presentation of NITEP values and how those values are embedded in its programmatic structure, and then Raven gets a turn to tell its perspectives and encourages an identification of challenges before returning for one more word or two.

NITEP History

The Native Indian Teacher Education Program (NITEP) was established in 1974 as a Bachelor of Education degree program at the University of British Columbia's Faculty of Education. Students may specialize in elementary, middle, and high

school levels. This BEd degree is of a concurrent nature, where students of Indigenous ancestry from Canada take university arts/science courses along with education courses throughout their program. The university arts/science courses are taken at the local college/university. The education courses are offered by the UBC Faculty of Education (Vancouver campus).

In the early to mid-1970s, the term “Indian” was commonly used in Canada. NITEP students complete 2–3 years at a field center located in various areas in British Columbia before moving to the UBC Vancouver campus to complete the remaining 3–4 years of their BEd degree. The funds for operating a field center are provided by NITEP/UBC Faculty of Education.

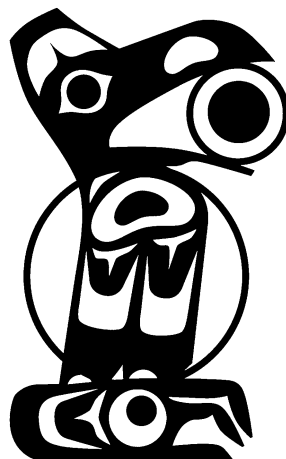
The NITEP founding group members were mainly Indigenous educators who worked with a non-Indigenous faculty ally and dean of the Education Faculty to establish the first Indigenous teacher education program in British Columbia, Canada (More 2015). When NITEP began, it was estimated that there were 26 Indigenous teachers in the province of British Columbia out of an overall teacher population of 26,000 (Faculty of Education Proposal 1974). This very dismal number of Indigenous teachers was one of the key reasons for establishing a new program instead of trying to fix or adapt the mainstream program that was not relevant to or would not change to meet the needs of Indigenous people interested in becoming certified teachers. It is important to present some information about the political and educational context in Canada in order to understand the educational decisions that the NITEP founding group made.

Major research and educational reports began documenting the significant failure of schools to provide an adequate education for Indian/Aboriginal children, starting with the national Hawthorn Report (1967) that noted that 96% of Aboriginal students did not complete high school. I was among the 4% who completed grade 12. I certainly remember that many of the Indian students with whom I started elementary and high school with left school before grade 12. Across Canada, Aboriginal people felt that “enough was enough.” A national political movement to address the crisis in Indian education resulted in the development of the 1972 *Indian Control of Indian Education (ICIE) policy* by the National Indian Brotherhood (now Assembly of First Nations). The ICIE policy was based upon fundamental principles of local control of education, parental engagement, and embedding Indian values, culture, and language in the curriculum. This policy also advocated for more Indian teachers and to increase the cultural sensitivity of non-Indian teachers (Kirkness 1986). The founding NITEP group was coincidentally developing a proposal for an Indian teacher education program that included the principles of the ICIE policy.

The founding group chose the program logo of Raven holding the sun in its beak to symbolize a traditional Indigenous story that provides guidance and vision to the work of NITEP (Fig. 2). Raven is an Indigenous trickster character that often gets into trouble because it does not follow good cultural teachings, but sometimes Raven does something to help others. In the NITEP story:

Raven pitied the people who were living in darkness and had heard about the Sun that could light up the world. Raven decided that he/she would find the sun for them, so that they would

Fig. 2 The NITEP logo



have a better life. Raven went on a journey and after lots of effort and trickery, he/she found a hole in the sky, and captured the sun. Raven brought it back to the people of the earth.

NITEP is like the sun in Raven's beak. This important story, told from oral tradition, reminds the faculty, students, and community members associated with NITEP to find ways to ensure that it as a university-credentialed teacher education program meets the learning needs of all learners in the K-12 schools and in other educational contexts but, especially, the learning needs of Indigenous learners so that through education, they will have a better life. The NITEP story also challenges its graduates to use their "Indigenous heart and mind" values to transform Indigenous education.

NITEP Values

Foundational values of NITEP include (1) a sense of community/family within the student body and faculty/staff, (2) its community-based relationships, (3) the importance of Indigenous knowledge systems for teacher preparation, and (4) good quality teacher preparation. This section will present the meaning of these values and show how they are embedded in the programmatic structure of NITEP.

Sense of Community/Family

Indigenous people admitted to NITEP often enter the field centers as strangers to each other, or they may know each other because they live in the same community. A cohort structure has been a defining feature of NITEP since it started. However, NITEP students, faculty, and staff use the term "family" not "cohort" to describe their relationships toward each other while they are at the field centers. Another term

of “extended family” is used to characterize the network of NITEP groups at the field centers and at the UBC Vancouver campus.

Over its 43 years of operation, NITEP has had 20 field centers located in both rural and urban centers in British Columbia, although usually 3–4 centers are offered each year. In 2017, there are four NITEP field centers located at Williams Lake, Lillooet, Agassiz, and the UBC Vancouver campus. Field centers are established when the Faculty of Education has funds to operate one and Aboriginal communities/organizations indicate that they want to work cooperatively to host a field center and that potential student interest exists. Approximately 12–18 students, on average, attend each field center.

During the first 2 years, each NITEP cohort develops an interactive learning community where they learn from each other, pose critical questions of each other, and work both individually and cooperatively on learning projects. A NITEP coordinator, who is usually Indigenous, teaches the NITEP courses, recruits and mentors students, arranges student support services as needed, and maintains community relationships. Many coordinators are NITEP alumni and have teaching experience in public and First Nation schools. The NITEP coordinators' roles are essential for the success of the NITEP Centre and for facilitating students' holistic development as a future teacher. Because many of the NITEP coordinators have experienced the challenges and joys of completing a Bachelor of Education degree, they understand NITEP students' fears, issues, and opportunities, which they can address in courses and programmatic experiences.

The NITEP courses provide the opportunities for developing a caring professional learning community. When the field center is located in a smaller rural community, the students often form a closer bond because they take both arts/science and education courses together, whereas in a larger community, they have more choice in the arts/science courses or concentrations offered by the post-secondary institute in their region. NITEP provides two-three of its courses per year, except for the last year of the program; these courses also provide bonding opportunities.

In the senior years at the UBC Vancouver campus, NITEP students are fortunate to have the First Nations Longhouse that becomes their “home away from home” until they graduate (Kirkness and Archibald 2001). The 2,043 square meter Longhouse, opened in 1993, resembles a Musqueam traditional architectural style that includes space for individual and group culture/ceremony, study, social, learning, and meeting purposes. The NITEP on campus and main office is located in the Longhouse. NITEP students meet other Indigenous students enrolled in various faculties, fields of study, and undergraduate/graduate studies. Through the various student services offered by the First Nations House of Learning and on-campus programs, NITEP students may develop an extended family spirit to their studies.

NITEP also sponsors an annual NITEP student gathering at the beginning of the new academic year where those enrolled in a regional field center come to the Vancouver campus for a 1-day learning experience. The notion of extended family is emphasized so that each group/cohort gets to meet and learn from each other. This annual gathering serves as an introduction to the large university campus so that

students become acquainted with the location of UBC offices by walking on the land and visiting key offices that they will use once they are on campus.

Community-Based Relationships

As noted above, an Aboriginal community/organization is a necessary partner for a NITEP field center. It is these local community-based relationships that provide access to potential students wanting to become teachers; enhance students' learning through sharing its cultural, land-based, and other community services; and participate in policy and programmatic decision-making regarding the field center and overall program. NITEP students are also encouraged to maintain their community connections and relationships through course projects and educational placements.

An Aboriginal community may be a specific First Nation that is located on a First Nation reserve/Indian Band. An Aboriginal organization may be an Indigenous post-secondary institute sponsored by one or more First Nations or a partnership of Aboriginal groups that provide leadership to a public school district. There have been many different forms of NITEP/Aboriginal community partnerships over the years. Sometimes a formal agreement was established that identified the roles and responsibilities of the community partner and NITEP; at times a working relationship was established without a formal agreement. More will be said later about the difficulties and changes to these community-based relationships.

Each field center works with local Aboriginal community groups and engages community resource people such as Elders and cultural knowledge holders to mentor the NITEP students through cultural learning activities, talking to groups of students, and being available speak to individual students. A part-time Elders in Residence Program is offered at each field center. The Elders may be associated with or from the community partner(s), or they may be identified by students and staff. Examples of learning activities include leading plant/medicine walks, ceremonies such as the sweat lodge, cedar bark weaving, drum-making, telling stories, giving talks to classes, and attending the NITEP classes. NITEP provides honoraria and workshop/learning expenses for material and food.

Another important role for community-based involvement is through NITEP's First Nations Education Council (FNEC) that guides NITEP's program and curriculum policy and other pertinent program matters. Community representatives from the field centers; a Musqueam Elder; alumni; professional educational associations; the UBC Faculty of Education, Teacher Education Office; and First Nations House of Learning comprise the FNEC, along with student representatives from the field centers and on-campus groups. The community partner determines its representative. The NITEP student representatives have decision-making roles on this Council, and they provide field center reports at each FNEC meeting. The students' reports highlight center activities, successes, and challenges. The challenges are opportunities to review aspects of the program that may need improvement.

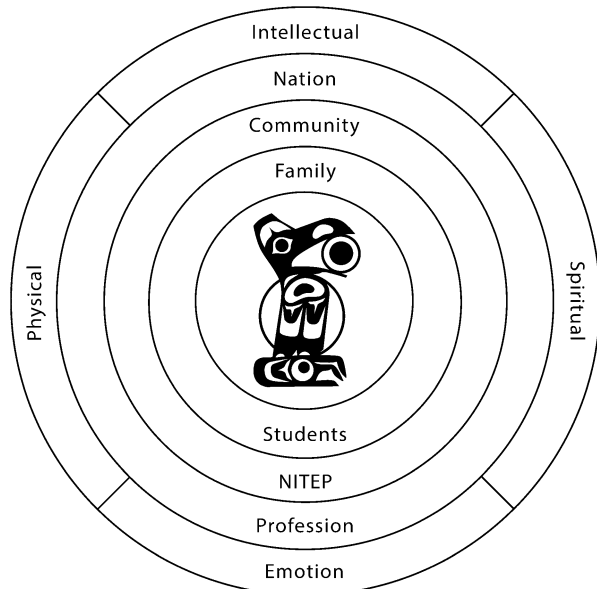
Throughout the years, the relationships with Aboriginal communities/organizations have waned at times, where student enrollment has diminished to the point

where a field center had to close. Those holding leadership positions in Aboriginal communities may change, or they may have other pressing priorities that need their attention, leaving a community leadership void for NITEP. In 2015 and 2016, two centers that had been at a location for 40 and 22 years, respectively, closed due to low student enrollment. It is very difficult, emotionally, to close a field center. Those working with the program are most affected because their appointments are terminated. The program leadership subsequently developed new criteria for the field centers where they would be established in a community for a 4-year period, after which time, it would close and open elsewhere. This decision changed the process where a field center remained open in a region until limited student enrollment or other major limitations such as reduced access to university arts/science courses necessitated closing a center. However, the critical criterion or value for opening a 4-year field center was reinforced: a partnership with an Aboriginal community or Aboriginal organization. Community spirit and community partnerships contribute immensely to knowing and understanding Indigenous knowledge systems.

Indigenous Knowledge Shapes Learning

Besides the NITEP logo and story, an Indigenous holistic learning model is another guiding framework for NITEP (Fig. 3). Indigenous holistic learning involves developing the spiritual, emotional, physical, and intellectual aspects of our human development. Because Indigenous knowledge is often relational and interdependent, the aforementioned four realms are distinct entities, yet they often influence each

Fig. 3 NITEP holistic model



other. The principle of interrelatedness extends to the circles of responsibility and interaction that embrace one self, one's family, one's community, and the wider world (Archibald 2008). Specific examples of how NITEP exemplifies this holistic model will be pointed out below.

Two or three Indigenous education courses are taken in each year of the NITEP degree program, which form an Indigenous education specialization. This specialization could constitute the intellectual realm, and it could also address the spiritual, emotional, and physical realms. NITEP instructors need to understand this dynamic and interrelated nature of the holistic framework. NITEP has control over the course content and selection of Indigenous faculty to teach its courses, thereby ensuring the cultural responsiveness of the holistic learning model. These courses include introductory courses about the history and current issues of Aboriginal people in Canada and British Columbia, Indigenous knowledge and pedagogy, Aboriginal educational history and policy, Aboriginal curriculum, and an advanced examination of current critical issues in Aboriginal education. NITEP also offers educational seminars in years 1, 2, and 3 in which Aboriginal educational approaches and community relationships are addressed. During these educational seminars, students learn to understand the dimensions of the model, and they are encouraged to apply it to their everyday living and to use it for their future learning and teaching. Student projects demonstrate these holistic understandings.

Indigenous people teach the Indigenous education courses, which is another fundamental principle of NITEP. It is a critical aspect of professional modeling and mentoring for NITEP students to learn from Indigenous educators who have completed their BEd degrees and, most importantly, to learn from faculty members that have a critical consciousness about the impact of colonization and the need to embrace transformative educational philosophies and practices. Many of these instructors have been NITEP alumni, so they provide added relevance and authenticity to the topics.

During these courses, NITEP students, as a caring cohort, have opportunities to explore and develop their cultural identities (spiritual), to heal from the intergenerational trauma caused by the impact of residential schooling and assimilation of the public system (emotional), and to develop educational understandings/competencies and concrete educational resources that are based on Indigenous knowledges (physical). This holistic approach is a critical foundation for good quality teacher preparation.

Good Quality Teacher Preparation

One of the key values and principles that the NITEP founding group developed was that this program would be of high quality; therefore, at minimum, it had to be a degree program, for which the university was responsible for offering annually. Two other requirements were that NITEP build upon Indigenous students' cultural heritage and knowledge and that Indigenous people have decision-making authority. Together, these requirements constitute the basis of the value about good quality

teacher preparation. One of the founders, the late Robert Sterling, a highly respected educational leader gave a keynote speech in 1983 and related NITEP's success to these values:

Programs in which Native people have been actively involved in the planning and throughout the developmental phases have shown the greatest success. Among these, our Native Indian Teacher Education Program, NITEP, stands at the forefront of our successes. The program is an Indian idea, is Indian-controlled and its philosophy is Indian, although the program falls under the jurisdiction of the University of British Columbia. (cited in Archibald 1986, p. 33)

Being under the jurisdiction of UBC has created both opportunities and challenges for being a good quality teacher education program. One major challenge related to the degree requirement process will be discussed next.

NITEP ensures that the core degree requirements are met, which means that required courses and practica are offered to its students. In order to have space for the Indigenous education concentration, elective course space is used for this purpose. If needed, negotiations are carried out with the Faculty's Teacher Education Office for accepting some NITEP courses in lieu of some teacher education requirements.

Two major programmatic shifts have occurred to the UBC Faculty of Education's BEd degree requirements that resulted in substantial changes to some of the NITEP courses and program requirements. In 1987, an equivalent of 1 year of arts and science courses was added to the degree requirement, which meant that NITEP moved from being a 4-year to a 5-year degree program. This was a very difficult change because it meant that students had to spend an additional year at the university creating extra financial difficulties for them. NITEP also had to strengthen its relationships with regional post-secondary institutes so that students could access and take these courses at local colleges and universities. In remote rural areas, students often had to take online courses unless an Indigenous educational post-secondary institute was able to offer some of these courses. In 2012, another major change reduced the number of required arts/science and education courses, introduced an inquiry approach throughout the teacher education program, and required that all teacher education students complete an Aboriginal education course. NITEP returned to a 4-year (plus one term) program. The course reduction also reduced the number of Indigenous courses that NITEP could offer. Substantial revisions were made to all of NITEP courses. Even though revisions to these courses occur fairly regularly, these revised degree requirements meant that NITEP lost one of its courses, reduced the total hours for the educational seminars, and restructured some of its Indigenous education courses and educational placements.

Ensuring that NITEP students connect to, learn from, and contribute to Aboriginal communities and organizations is part of the value of good quality teacher preparation. An additional way for these community connections to be realized is through the educational placements/practica that students complete at the field centers. In each of the 3 years, 10 days of educational placements is completed in settings that may be a school but can also be an early childhood education program, Aboriginal cultural center, language program, Aboriginal Friendship Centre, or

Aboriginal youth program. NITEP students learn about the various dimensions of education and being a professional educator as well as establishing community relationships. NITEP students complete 13 weeks of school practica in their final year.

Discussion: Raven's Turn

The enactment of the following *Indigenous values* is a vital part of the history, ethos, epistemology, pedagogy, and structure of NITEP: (1) a sense of community/family within the student body and faculty/staff, (2) its community-based relationships, (3) the importance of Indigenous knowledge systems for teacher preparation, and (4) good quality teacher preparation. The descriptions of the values and the ways that they formed the identity and actions of those involved with NITEP as leaders, students, faculty, staff, and community partners were briefly presented above. Elders' teachings and Indigenous stories, such as the Raven and the Sun, are additional ways that values continue to guide learning and interactions in NITEP. Raven has been too patient for much of the chapter, thus far, and believes that it is time for Raven's perspectives.

Well, it has been very hard for me to wait until now to speak... imagine me sharing the spotlight with the NITEP Sun! Jo-ann's letter to her grandfather mentioned Coyote, but there is definitely no room for Coyote on these pages. I think it is time that those working and studying in NITEP become the Raven or at least think about what they do as Raven-work. I have to admire the vision and foresight of the NITEP founders for setting up a whole degree program for Indigenous people wanting to become teachers. They worked very hard to ensure that the program was different- they challenged the 'status quo' as I have often heard Maori scholar, Graham Smith say and they developed a program that was Indigenous. I like what that fella, Robert Sterling said earlier, 'NITEP was an Indian idea and Indian-controlled' (Archibald 1986). He also said that it fell under the jurisdiction of the university so that the university Senate had to approve it at a time in the 1970s when university programs aimed to assimilate Indigenous people to mainstream thinking and doing. The dean at that time used his leadership role, influence, and stubbornness to ensure that NITEP was officially approved (read More 2015 for more). What I admire most is that I, the Raven was chosen as the central figure for the NITEP logo, with me holding the Sun in my beak. It was not easy bringing the sun to the people who were living in darkness, but it was worth all my effort.

In my travels throughout British Columbia over the years, I have kept watch on the various NITEP field centres. I fly over the sites and admire those where Indigenous community members are helping to find future NITEPers, giving substantial feedback about the program, and providing community support for the students. Once in a while I spot a centre where the relationships between the community and NITEP don't seem to be active, so I figure it is time to change that or find another location, after all, if the centres are not thriving with students and not developing the community spirit, then my role is in question. I didn't like the change

of only having centres in communities for four years, but now, I think it is ok. I remember when that change happened and NITEP sent out a call for proposals for a new centre throughout the province and the demand was amazing. It perked me up and showed that my popularity had not waned. But now, I have to keep travelling around the province to find potential sites and community partners.

My favourite way of spending time is going to the various NITEP gatherings at the field centres and the UBC Vancouver campus. There is always lots of good food, laughing, songs/drumming, stories being told, people talking to one another, and of course they always mention the Raven and how I brought them the Sun. They always talk about family, extended family, community, caring, and sharing. I know that the students value these types of family and community gatherings. I wonder how some students continue in the program with tragic experiences such as deaths in their families, surviving house fires, having their funding greatly reduced or eliminated, or experiencing forms of racism from instructors or other non-Indigenous students. Maybe it is the caring love that they receive from each other, the advocacy and support from NITEP coordinators/faculty and staff, and others that keep them coming back. Sometimes, students will leave the program to work on their personal and other issues. But they often return to complete their program. They are lucky to have Indigenous Elders and those who know about culture guide them through their studies and their development of a sense of community- it means less work for me.

Speaking about Indigenous knowledge, I am sure glad that the NITEP leadership keep finding ways to strengthen the ways that IK shapes students' learning, identity, and keeps challenging them to make their teaching more Indigenous, even though they also must learn whatever a teacher needs to know. After all, I, the Raven and stories about me are a central part of IK systems. One thing I have noticed is that more of the younger NITEP students seem to know little or nothing about their Indigeneity, which is different from earlier times when more NITEP students entered the program who spoke their Indigenous language and who knew their culture. It is a shame that many of these younger students were denied that IK in their schooling and their families/ancestors were subjected to colonial policies that forbade cultural practices, Indigenous language, and fostered family/community separation through Indian residential schools and took many Aboriginal children away from their families and put them into foster care or put them up for adoption. Good thing that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2015) put national attention to the intergenerational impact of these schools and colonial policies. Even though some of these NITEP students may not know much about their Indigenous background, once they begin to learn about Indigenous history, education, policy, and culture they come alive, sometimes with anger, and other times they wrestle with developing ideas about how they will work with Indigenous students, families, and communities and even with non-Indigenous students and others in order to have better relationships with each other. That big word, reconciliation, is probably what they are trying to understand and live. I really think that non-Indigenous people need to become more active in what I have heard some call a 'reconcili-action process' that emphasizes doing as well as talking. This responsibility should not be only for Indigenous people. What makes me happiest

is that IK (and me) are not put on the outer circle – in the margins of NITEP as a teacher education program – we are firmly in the middle.

Another issue that I wanted to talk about relates to that value of being a good quality teacher preparation program. I know that a common mis-belief is that NITEP is not as good as the 'regular' or 'mainstream' teacher education because it is an Indigenous program. I think that other Indigenous teacher education programs face the same type of systemic racism (Martineau et al. 2015). Recently, I read about something called the 'racism of low expectations' that was in the BC Auditor General's report (2015), which reviewed Aboriginal education in BC's K-12 public school system. This school system did not get a good report card about Aboriginal education from the Auditor General. This term meant that educators viewed Aboriginal students as having deficits in their learning abilities and that their home/community situations were responsible, so they placed low expectations upon these children, which could contribute to Aboriginal students being over-represented in special education designations and having lower academic progress. Maybe the racism of low expectations extends to Indigenous programs at post-secondary too. Well, I want to confront that form of racism by reinforcing the strength of a program such as NITEP. It should be considered a value-added program that not only prepares its students to become teachers through a degree program at a highly reputable university, but it builds upon and strengthens important IK values through its holistic approach so that students develop strong hearts, minds, bodies, and spirits to enable them to become effective educators. Well, that was a lot of what was in my mind and heart, now I need to rest and get rejuvenated for the next journey and story. I'll let Jo-ann get to some other challenges.

Challenges

One purpose in creating NITEP was to increase the numbers of certified Indigenous teachers in British Columbia. To date, 400 Indigenous people have completed their BEd degree and gained professional teacher certification through NITEP. This is still a small number compared to the overall need. In BC, there are currently nine Faculties of Education offering BEd degree programs. Until recently, NITEP was the only Indigenous teacher education program in the province. The University of Victoria established a Bachelor of Education in Indigenous Language Revitalization in 2011 that is community-based for the first 2 years. NITEP continues to have the largest enrollment of Indigenous teacher education students with approximately 60–70 per year in the last 5 years. However, at the start of the 2017 academic year, 91 students were enrolled in NITEP (personal communication with NITEP staff, October 31, 2017).

In 2016/2017, the only data that exists about the numbers of Aboriginal teachers teaching in BC public schools is noted in the British Columbia Teachers' Federation (BCTF) Fact Sheet (September 2017), as specialist teachers that total 205. The definition of "specialist" is not given, nor is there any information about how this term relates to enrolling and non-enrolling teachers, which usually means teachers

who teach a classroom of students (enrolling). The total number of enrolling and non-enrolling teachers in BC was 30,466 in September 2017. This data is presented to show the exceptionally low numbers of Aboriginal teacher data in comparison to the overall teacher population. Some professional groups such as the Association of BC Deans of Education (ABCDE) started in 2015 to gather data about the numbers of Aboriginal teacher education students enrolled in Faculties of Education, as well as qualitative data about programmatic services, structures, and Indigenous faculty related to Indigenous teacher education students (ABCDE, 2017). However, the ABCDE information has not been reported publically. The fact remains that there is no ongoing mechanism to gather and report on the numbers of Aboriginal teacher education students or Aboriginal certified teachers. Why is such data necessary and important? The numbers could indicate the actual gap of Indigenous professionals in this important field, and then further systemic issues could be examined in order to identify and understand barriers that prevent Indigenous people from becoming certified teachers. Increasing the numbers of Aboriginal teachers in BC and across Canada has become a priority for many Aboriginal educational organizations, educational professional associations, and provincial and federal governments (Council of Ministers of Education, Canada 2015).

Acquiring Indigenous educational competencies has become stronger expectations of NITEP students. Often these are referred to as developing “Indigenous heart and mind” competencies derived from the holistic learning and Indigenous values that have been discussed in this chapter. Based on the experiences of alumni and other Indigenous educators, the following expectations or competencies are the ones that they have experienced that are beyond everyday classroom teaching: (1) advocacy and leadership roles for improving the success of Indigenous K-12 learners, (2) making systemic change to ensure Indigenous knowledge is meaningfully included in curricula and policy, (3) sensitizing/educating educational colleagues about the impact of colonization upon generations of Indigenous peoples, and (4) assisting colleagues with introducing Aboriginal perspectives to K-12 curriculum (Castagno et al. 2015; Hare 2015; Martineau et al. 2015). These additional professional expectations need to become part of the heart and mind educational competencies. Students develop some of these competencies in their NITEP coursework; however, those working with NITEP have not yet developed a program-wide assessment rubric for these Indigenous heart and mind education competencies. This rubric is an important future cooperative activity that needs to be undertaken by NITEP and other teacher education programs in order to acknowledge and prepare Indigenous teacher education students for these additional roles and responsibilities. These value-added competencies may alleviate the racism of low expectation and systemic racism that was discussed earlier.

Another competency consideration and challenge for NITEP students is to develop critical community consciousness. During NITEP courses, students often talk about the community-based difficulties they witness such as poverty, lack of social cohesion, political divisions, lateral violence, and various social problems. Through their coursework, they are able to understand how these issues are part of the colonial legacy. Yet, they must think about and develop strategies for how they

will deal with these issues once they are teaching in the community. Students often talk about how they want to make positive community-oriented changes through education, and many do teach in Indigenous schools based in Indigenous communities or work in public schools in Aboriginal education roles. They are challenged to think of ways to encourage Indigenous parental engagement with education and the school. They are challenged to think of ways to build better working relationships between the parents, community leaders, and the school educators. In 2015, I taught an Indigenous curriculum course to third-year NITEP students and share my reflection that illustrates the development of a critical community consciousness in a “safe” university class environment:

In one session we talked about using Indigenous traditional experiential learning as a form of pedagogy. The topic of teaching Indigenous language came up. One of the students recalled the way her Indigenous language was taught by a community member, which included fear, punishment, focus on grammar, and segmenting the language. She also remembered learning traditional food gathering from her grandparents by watching and doing, where they gave encouragement and showed a caring positive approach. This student then understood that the language teacher was teaching in a similar way that she was taught in the residential school, but instead of a school subject, it was the Indigenous language that she was using. This teacher did not have the opportunity to learn other ways to teach language nor did she have the encouragement to think of Indigenous ways of teaching the language. This discussion was an ‘ah-ha’ moment for the NITEP student. Coincidentally, she was taking an Indigenous language course at the university and she was able to think more deeply about Indigenous ways to teach and to learn other methods of teaching a language. She thought about land-based experiences that could include language learning. I think the most important part of this session was that the students could talk openly about the negative teaching experiences that they shared where they would not say these things in class of non-Indigenous students; at the same time, they knew that they could teach in a different way, using Indigenous knowledge to guide them.

Raven Takes Flight Once More

I am rested and ready to travel once more. I hope I get invited to the next annual Indigenous teacher education symposium that I am quite proud to say was started by NITEP in 2013. The NITEP leadership had been a coauthor of the 2010 Canadian Association of Deans of Education (CADE), *Accord on Indigenous Education*, in which Faculties of Education across Canada committed to increasing the numbers of Indigenous educators, expanding Indigenous knowledge approaches, working with Aboriginal communities in research, and increasing non-Indigenous teacher education candidates’ knowledge about Aboriginal education and more (CADE 2010). One project that is supported by CADE is this Indigenous teacher education symposium. NITEP leadership started this annual gathering to bring more local and national attention to Indigenous teacher education so that those working in teacher education programs across the country would have a forum to share their programs, approaches, successes, and challenges. This type of gathering is one way for various community groups associated with Indigenous teacher education to learn from one another, to create alliances, and to learn about wise practices in order to improve their programs. I am very glad because it means less work for me, plus I get more attention during these gatherings. Perhaps an international Indigenous teacher education symposium might be next?

Conclusion

Educators with Indigenous community heart and long-term vision acted on their values to make a systemic change to teacher education and Indigenous education within a mainstream university. Believing in the importance of community-based programs, culturally relevant education, and highly credentialed Indigenous educators led to the development of NITEP over 40 years ago. Each year, those who work with and study in NITEP are challenged to live the values such as extended family and community relationships, Indigenous knowledge as a foundation for learning, and good quality education to put them into action throughout the degree program, despite issues such as systemic racism and the intergenerational impact of colonization that confront them. At the same time, these values create transformative educational opportunities that enrich individual and collective Indigenous identities and facilitate the development of Indigenous educators ready to bring light to the world. Two NITEP student perspectives close this NITEP case story. They have recently graduated with their BEd degrees and are starting their educational careers. Each year, NITEP students contribute personal reflections, stories, and poetry to the annual NITEP Newsletter. These two students have lived the NITEP values as mentioned above, and they have made them their own. They also have made Raven happy by expanding Raven's values, story, and impact. They recognize the importance and impact of Indigenous teacher education programs such as NITEP.

Claire Shannon-Akiwenzie, of Anishinaabe-kwe/Chippewas of Nawash, Ontario, wrote the following article when she was a third-year student:

[The term, kobade, an Anishinaabe word]. . .reminds me of the inextricable connection I have to my ancestors, a connection that I didn't feel could exist academically as recently as three years ago, before coming to NITEP. This severed sense of connection was the result of an education system that has underrepresented and misrepresented Indigenous people. In school, I felt that my First Nations heritage was irrelevant and unimportant because we rarely learned about it and if we did, I was made to feel as if I should hide it, as if it were only safe to celebrate in the comfort of my own home. Any link between education and Indigeneity was seemingly non-existent. The concept of this is powerful. Children spend more time in school than at home and for those students whose links and connections to their First Nations heritage have been kinked or severed in other aspects of their life, when does one have the opportunity to recognize that this chain exists and to rejoice that they are a part of it?

NITEP has given me the tools, the knowledge, the resources and the opportunities to recognize that I come from a chain of strong, intelligent, beautiful people who deserve that recognition in all realms of society including the current construct of academia. My ancestors created a strong foundation for me and I want to ensure I create a strong foundation for future generations. One way I may accomplish this is to be the link for my grandchildren and great grandchildren that acts as a conduit for Indigenous energy and knowledge that has flowed from past, to the present and into the future. (NITEP news 2014, p. 12)

Crystal Smith de Molina, of BC Tsimshian and Haisla ancestry, was a fourth-year student when she wrote this poem in consideration of NITEP's 40th anniversary. Crystal is nearing the completion of her Master of Education degree, with an Indigenous knowledge and educational leadership emphasis in the UBC Faculty of Education.

Echoes of our Ancestors

It is in our legend
That Raven brought light to this world
He brought light to this world because he has seen
Seen the sorrow of the people living in darkness

The only way Raven was able to get the light
Was to become part of the family
So Raven was born
Raven was born
Born in the family
Became family

Soon Raven had given the people
The stars and the moon
And through the burning of his feathers
Raven brought the sun

It is so comforting
That this story has been chosen
To represent NITEP

It is our history
That NITEP brought light to this world
Brought light into this world because NITEP had seen
Seen the sorrow of the people living in darkness

The only way NITEP was able to get the light to the people
Was to become part of the family
To become part of this colonial education
So NITEP was born
Born in this family
Became family

Soon NITEP brought the stars
Sprinkling light across the sky
Sprinkling hope
Hope for change

NITEP then brought the moon
The moon reminds us
That even in darkness
We will have light

Finally through the pains of growth
40 years of growth
NITEP brought the sun
And continues to spread the light
Continues to spread hope
Continues to spread wisdom
And will continue for 40 years and more.
(NITEP News 2014, p. 12)

Claire and Crystal have experienced the intergenerational effect of having their Indigenous culture and knowledge denied through educational policy and law (Battiste 2013; Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1996; Smith 1999; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015). Yet, they were fortunate to have an Indigenous teacher education program, such as NITEP, available to them so that they could develop and build upon their Indigenous culture/knowledge as a core component and expectation of their program, which non-Indigenous teacher education programs cannot offer.

In Canada and elsewhere, Indigenous teacher education programs began in the 1970s. Some still exist today despite funding challenges and systemic racism (Archibald and Hare 2016; Castagno et al. 2015). The expertise of these programs for offering Indigenous courses and student support could be shared with non-Indigenous teacher education programs to help them with a systemic change that is beginning to take place in Faculties of Education in Canada and elsewhere (Archibald and Hare 2016). A required Indigenous course or modules are now offered to all teacher education students in many teacher education programs (Hare 2015). This small but significant change to teacher education programs is a beginning step to create awareness about Indigenous knowledge, impacts of colonization, and culturally responsive curricula and pedagogy for all teacher education students (Tanaka 2016). Raven wonders: what else those who lead and teach in universities, faculties of education, and teacher education programs could do to make higher education more attune to the 4Rs of respect, responsibility, relevance, and reciprocity that were mentioned earlier in this chapter (Kirkness and Barnhardt 1991)?

I retired from UBC in June 2017 with many good stories and memories of working with so many dedicated NITEP students, faculty, and staff. The challenges discussed above have made me a better educator who values the expertise, tenacity, and commitment of those who created pathways at the university for me to use. I have tried my best to make these pathways stronger and to create new ones too. Even though this chapter has focused on Indigenous teacher education and Indigenous educators, it is important to recognize that Indigenous teachers are one important component to improving Indigenous education, but they are not the only answer or strategy. But, I feel content knowing that our collective Indigenous teacher education work will continue with the next generation of Indigenous scholars and non-Indigenous allies. Of course Raven will be involved in some way.

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We Voyage for the Earth: Cultural Advantage as a Global Education Framework

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Shawn Malia Kana‘iaupuni

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Abstract

Contrasting the harmful policies and approaches of Western assimilationist agendas, Indigenous education aims to build on and enhance the linguistic, cultural, cognitive, and affective strengths possessed by Indigenous students. Indigenous culture-based education (CBE) often includes efforts to revitalize languages, knowledge, practices, and beliefs lost or suppressed through colonization or occupation. These approaches are consistent with the concept of cultural advantage, revealing “funds of knowledge” where others have only seen deficits. Reframing Indigenous identities as cultural advantage creates counterhegemonic opportunities by giving voice to the expertise of elders and other cultural sources of community, familial, and individual strengths. This study presents Mālama

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Honua Worldwide Voyage as a powerful application of indigenous knowledge to inspire and catalyze positive change on a global scale for the earth now and for our future.

Keywords

Cultural advantage · Culture-based education · Hawaiian · Mālama Honua

Introduction

In the early Spring of 2017, the traditional Hawaiian sailing canoe, Hōkūle‘a, traveled from Panama to the Galapagos Islands. It was year 3 of a 4-year endeavor to circumnavigate the globe, called Mālama Honua Worldwide Voyage (see www.hokulea.com). The entire 4-year ocean voyage, across more than 60,000 nautical miles, was performed without any modern navigational tools, guided only by indigenous knowledge of celestial navigation, using stars, sun, winds, swells, and other natural elements. There were no sextants, no compasses, no GPS, computers, or cell phones used to navigate the canoe around the earth. As crew member and educator on the canoe, our arrival to the Galapagos islands represented a significant milestone on this journey, reflecting the deep interconnections between science, humanity, and culture playing out in this unique environmental landmark.

Stepping back, the Mālama Honua voyage is a story of Indigenous education, bringing people together across the globe on a journey to learn and care for “island earth.” It recognizes the value and need for both indigenous *and* modern science, wisdom, and technology to solve the most complex issues of contemporary society today and tomorrow. Mālama Honua translates most simply to caring for the earth in Hawaiian language. This commitment is guided by ancestral values-based knowledge and practices developed through keen observation about island living. It calls people together to learn about the relationships between each other, our oceans, our lands, and everything in or on them. The lessons from life on a canoe are the same as those necessary to surviving on remote islands in the Pacific, whether it’s working collaboratively, using natural resources wisely, or applying ancestral and modern knowledge and science to solve complex problems – like how to navigate across thousands of miles of unfamiliar oceans and build relationships with unknown places and peoples. These same skillsets, mindsets, and values are those needed to create a healthier future for the earth.

“When we care for the earth, we care for each other.”

This chapter introduces cultural advantage as a driving framework in education, one exemplified beautifully by the Mālama Honua Worldwide Voyage. In addition to catalyzing global action around urgent environmental issues, the voyage is a modern day feat of applied indigenous knowledge. From concept through implementation, the undertaking and all that it signifies is a window into a unique indigenous

epistemology, culture, and values deeply rooted in ancestral wisdom, experience, and sense of place. It is a proof point demonstrating the power of embracing cultural diversity as an advantage for the betterment of humanity. I first review cultural advantage as a framework within the broader sociopolitical and educational forces underlying indigenous and culture-based education (CBE), then discuss research on the impact of CBE on students and communities before turning to Hawai'i's story and the Mālama Honua voyage as place-based examples of positive impact.

A key purpose of Mālama Honua is to catalyze educational transformation. Many of the volunteer crew members are educators, scientists, and community members challenged by critical questions about the education children experience in today's school systems. Is it the education they deserve, which best prepares them for the future? What will they need to know and do? In each global port, Hōkūle'a and crew welcomed the chance to share the message of Mālama Honua with children around the world and at home in the Hawaiian archipelago. In a Hawaiian worldview, human life exists in deep kinship with the ocean and natural world around us, reflecting firmly held values common to most Pacific peoples. Some see the ocean as a boundary separating humanity, but in Indigenous eyes, the ocean is an abundant life-giving force that connects us all, through every breath we take. And, unfortunately, its current fragile state reflects more consumptive views of ocean as human dumping ground, now requiring urgent care and action because without the ocean, there is no life. The belief behind Mālama Honua is that when we care for the oceans and the earth, we care for each other. In many ways, understanding this cultural wisdom is paramount not only for indigenous children, but for all children, to learn and practice.

Mālama Honua is an example of how the voices and leadership of indigenous discoverers, educators, and community members inspire the field to reexamine the structures, paradigms, and practices of effective education. The ideas and research presented in this essay build on the shoulders of many who have contributed to this undertaking, including my CBE research collaborators from Kamehameha Schools and Nā Lei Na'auao Hawaiian Native Charter School Alliance, and with deep respect for the service of leaders like Nainoa Thompson, the captains, and entire crew of the Polynesian Voyaging Society, 'Ohana Wa'a, and the Worldwide Voyage who share their wisdom with the world. Elsewhere my colleagues and I argue that cultural and indigenous knowledge have gone unrecognized too long in mainstream education. Recognizing cultural assets as advantages in education changes forever the landscape of knowledge and action. A challenge for all educators, whether indigenous or not, is to critically scrutinize and counter the way conventional education systems perpetuate systematic inequities in opportunities and outcomes afforded to certain groups in society, in effect curtailing cultural and linguistic diversity and innovation that could benefit the earth and all its inhabitants (Kana'iaupuni et al. 2017; Abt-Perkins and Rosen 2000).

In effect, this call for equity challenges educators and policymakers around the globe to interrogate educational paradigms and practices from the standpoint of Indigenous and minoritized populations who differ linguistically and culturally within Western-based power structures. Educational progress will come from

forward-oriented research and leadership that embraces the cultural advantages of communities with diverse experiences of racism, poverty, cultural trauma, and oppression. Empirical research conducted in Hawai'i and in other places indicates that learners thrive with culture-based education (CBE), especially Indigenous students who experience positive socioemotional and other outcomes when teachers are high-CBE users and when learning in high-CBE school environments (Kana'iaupuni et al. 2017). By cultivating culturally vibrant and affirming learning environments in lieu of "one-size-fits-all" approaches, educators honor assets found in Indigenous knowledge, values, and stories as models of vitality and empowerment for all. Now with much greater environmental and human urgency at stake than ever before, this next decade marks a highly significant inflection point to transform education.

Shifting the Paradigm: Cultural Advantage as an Educational Framework

Mohala i ka wai ka maka o ka pua

Unfolded by the water are the faces of the flowers, flowers blossom in good conditions

The concept of cultural advantage is highly relevant to Indigenous peoples across the globe seeking to redress significant social injustices experienced through colonization (All Hawaiian proverbs in this chapter are found in Puku'i (1983)). It is an example of "flipping the narrative," a tool used in Indigenous critical pedagogy to interrogate the status quo (Grande 2008; Kaomea 2003, 2011). Rooted in critical theory and pedagogy (Apple 2013; Giroux 2011), Indigenous critical theory unveils the seemingly invisible power relations at work within education but from the standpoint of Indigenous community, self-determination, and sovereignty (Brayboy 2005; Goodyear-Ka'ōpua 2013). This standpoint reverses the "Western gaze," offering a lens to challenge the way conventional educational approaches erase the lives of some and privilege others and also to position Indigenous ways of knowing and being as cultural advantages rather than deficits.

The United Nations (2009) counts more than 370 million peoples in 90 countries that are "Indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region. . . at the time of conquest or colonization or the establishment of present state boundaries and who irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions" (C169 Article 1, International Labour Organization 1989). In Indigenous experiences, schooling systems have used colonizing and assimilationist policies designed to erase Indigenous cultures and languages, systematically marginalizing the identities of Indigenous children in the name of progress (Benham and Heck 1998; Lipka 2002; Ogbu 1982; Lomawaima and McCarty 2006; Skutnabb-Kangas and Dunbar 2010; Wilson and Kamanā 2006).

In response to the harmful policies and approaches of these agendas, Indigenous education aims to build on and enhance the linguistic, cultural, cognitive, and

affective strengths possessed by Indigenous students. Indigenous culture-based education often includes efforts to revitalize languages, knowledge, practices, and beliefs lost or suppressed through colonization or occupation (Demmert and Towner 2003). These approaches highlight the assets of their students and communities, revealing “funds of knowledge” where others have only seen deficits (Gonzalez et al. 2005). Reframing Indigenous identities as cultural advantage creates counterhegemonic opportunities by giving voice to the expertise of elders and other cultural sources of community, familial, and individual strengths.

In this vein, we must challenge ourselves to name, conceptualize, and narrate these advantages using Indigenous languages, stories, and values (Kana‘iaupuni 2004). Yosso’s (2005) model of community cultural wealth identifies the significant cultural assets available to students of color, (re)framed as linguistic, familial, and resistant capital. Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua’s (2013) account of sovereign pedagogy in an Indigenous public charter school in Hawai‘i provides a living example of cultural advantage used as an educational framework to guide how students see themselves as change agents in present-day political, media, and community contexts. Seeing culture as advantage drives intentionality, prompting educators to deepen their efforts, because “when we invest our multicultural energies in surface-level cultural exchanges, fantasies of color-blindness, or celebrations of white-washed heroes while ignoring the actual inequities many of our students face, we demonstrate an implicit complicity with those inequities” (Gorski and Swalwell 2015, p. 40).

Behind the Stage: Sociopolitical Context, Tensions, and Dilemmas

‘O nā hōkū nō nā kiu o ka lani
The stars are the spies of heaven

Indigenous CBE sees educational systems embedded within broader sociopolitical contexts, where culture and identity are deeply contested arenas in the politics of European and US nationalism (Kana‘iaupuni et al. 2017). Institutionalizing a single, common language and culture is an all too familiar tool of those in power. Mass education plays a critical role, significantly differentiating the experiences of those living the drama by prescribing the dominant group’s language and culture as the script for all groups, while delegitimizing and silencing potentially competing languages and cultures (Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua 2013; Kana‘iaupuni and Ledward 2013; Spring 2016). The process is eerily invisible and oftentimes people forget (or dismiss) that what is considered knowledge in modern societies, and how it is transmitted, can vary considerably among cultural groups. For example, a big wake-up call came when Native peoples dared protest the use of respected American Indian icons as mascots in sports, prompting national debate and sometimes outrage. Ironically, the misuse happened within the very institutions purporting to educate American Indian students to fully participate in the modern world (see Staurowsky 2007).

Vigilance is required, and the record shows much can be gained when educators challenge institutions, seeking greater diversity of knowledge (Apple 2013). Owing to these voices, multicultural education became widely accepted in the 1990s throughout the United States and other Western countries, albeit not without challenges (Glazer 1997). Continued resistance to the idea reflects the tug between national cohesion and power versus cultural and linguistic diversity, known as the “pluralist dilemma” (Bullivant 1981; May 2014).

Political answers to this dilemma include, on one end, corporate pluralism, which allocates economic, social, and political awards to minority groups based on size and influence, and liberal pluralism on the other, under which no national or ethnic minority group possesses separate standing before the law. According to May (2014), most nations champion the latter. Efforts to protect minority cultures are often portrayed as “irremediably unjust, a disguise for creating or maintaining. . . ethnic privilege” (Kymlicka 1989, p. 4; May 2014). Cosmopolitanism advocates push the line beyond national boundaries, arguing for a universal global citizenry spurred by increasing transnationalism and standardization of experiences (Nussbaum 1997). In effect, these forces create pressure to universalize identity, threatening local diversity.

In Indigenous experiences, notions of a universal national or global identity as common good raise critical questions about profound social inequities perpetuated by education policies supposedly in service to that same common good (Wallerstein 1996). Greater value might be found in learning how to take or serve a global purpose through local identity and action. As presented in this chapter, the case of Mālama Honua is an applied example of this potential.

Building the Toolkit: Education as Individual and Collective Transformation

I ulu no ka lālā i ke kumu

The branches grow because of the trunk, a student is a reflection of the teacher

Clearly culture and language are volatile pivot points in the broad sociopolitical landscape. This knowledge is an important backdrop for understanding the purpose of education. By giving students access to the art and science of critical thought through diverse epistemologies or knowledge systems, including those of their own communities, education creates transformational opportunities for individuals and entire communities to change the world, and themselves, for the better.

Several schools of thought inform this argument. First, from a sociological perspective, education is the primary means to spread the norms, beliefs, and knowledge of society. It accomplishes the crucial task of cultural preservation by transferring knowledge to the next generation. The question is whose knowledge and for whom? How do we account for the data showing cultural-linguistic minority students are routinely denied access to elite academies, influential positions, and earnings enjoyed by the dominant group? Conventional schooling systems

reproduce inequities in power relations while also serving as a primary gateway to mobility and socioeconomic status in Western societies (Apple 2013; Bourdieu 1986). Education, especially higher education in this decade, while often viewed as the greatest equalizer in our society, is arguably also the greatest stratifier of our time (Reeves 2017).

Second, developmental perspectives focus attention on the processes through which education liberates the human mind through reflection and knowledge, in addition to freeing up access to socioeconomic rewards. Theories of learning stress the empowering role of educators who encourage students to reflect on their social world and develop their own refinements (Vygotsky 1978). Through this process, education brings about individual enlightenment and awareness of the self as learner and in relation to others. Social cognitive approaches emphasize the importance of developing self-efficacy in students, through which is gained a sense of empowerment and confidence in the ability to succeed (Mega et al. 2014; Weissberg et al. 2015; Lane et al. 2004).

As youth make their way through school, they develop self-awareness and identity, which in turn provides a foundation for growth, agency, and action in a global world. Banks (1991) traces the formation of identity through six stages of development (Table 1). Although transitions between stages are gradual and nonlinear, educational efforts may use multiple approaches. Sometimes schools unwittingly stop short of the most advanced stage which achieves global competency and action.

Social critical theories draw an even more definitive line connecting education and agency. Through education, students learn to critically reflect, question, and reason using scientific and experiential methods. Learning empowers students to engage in responsible personal action and to make changes in the conditions of their everyday life, to seek autonomy, social interdependence, truth, justice, and fairness (Edwards 2012).

For example, Shor (1992) describes emancipatory education as “a critical-democratic pedagogy for self and social change. It approaches individual growth as an active, cooperative, and social process, because the self and society create each other. . . The goals of this pedagogy are to relate personal growth to public life, to develop strong skills, academic knowledge, habits of inquiry, and critical curiosity about society, power, inequality, and change”(pp. 15–16). It is a multicultural pedagogy concerned for public welfare rather than self-centered gain. These ideas are consistent with certain aims of culture-based pedagogy in indigenous education, which seek to build the critical thinking and other skills for learners to discover their potential as positive change agents in their communities, locally and globally.

In Fig. 1, I show several progressive stages from reflective to agentic capacity development. The top half traces several internal, subjective steps, and the lower half describes major stages in the externalization of this developmental process in learning.

As shown in the figure, education encourages youth to see themselves as valuable actors capable of making improvements to broader society in the areas of justice and freedom (Andruske 2003). Education is about individual growth leading to collective social change. As a case in point, Mālama Honua voyage is a brilliant example

Table 1 Developing ethnic identity as global competency (Based on Banks 1991)

	Description	Teaching and learning implications
Stage 1: Ethnic psychological captivity	<p>Individual believes ideas, assumptions, attitudes about his or her ethnic group (class, gender) that are institutionalized within the society</p> <p>If ashamed, may respond in a number of ways such as avoiding contact with cultural group or striving for total assimilation even if different from culture of origin</p> <p>The more a group is stigmatized, the more they may experience psychological captivity</p> <p>Whether positive or negative, understanding is shallow</p>	Stage 1: Students are exposed to own ethnic/cultural group perspectives and info
Stage 2: Ethnic encapsulation	<p>The individual participates in his or her own ethnic/cultural (race, class, gender) group and believes them superior to other groups</p> <p>Participates in ideas that some groups are inferior and are ethnocentric</p> <p>Can become culturally isolated and unaware</p> <p>Understanding is incomplete</p>	Stage 2: Benefits students in learning about other ethnic/cultural groups and perspectives
Stage 3: Ethnic identity clarification	<p>Individual is able to identify personal attitudes and cultural/ethnic (race, class, gender) identity to reduce intrapsychic conflict</p> <p>Develops positive attitudes about own group</p> <p>Able to understand positive aspects of their ethnic/cultural group and those of others</p> <p>Ethnic (cultural, class, gender) pride is genuine, not contrived</p> <p>Has positive experiences with other cultural/ethnic groups</p>	Stage 3: Benefits students in developing emerging ethnic/cultural awareness and opinion
Stage 4: Bi-ethnicity	<p>Individual has a healthy sense of ethnic/cultural (class, race, gender) identity and skills/characteristics needed to participate successfully in more than one group</p> <p>Has a strong desire to participate in more than one ethnic/cultural group</p> <p>Many marginalized groups function on bi-ethnic level</p>	Stage 4: Supports students' deeper understanding of ethnic/cultural groups other than their own
Stage 5: Multi-ethnicity and	<p>Individual has clarified positive personal, ethnic, and national identifications</p>	Stage 5: Supports students to develop a global sense of ethnic/cultural literacy and to master

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

	Description	Teaching and learning implications
reflective nationalism	Positive attitudes toward other ethnic/cultural (class, gender) and racial groups Able to function within several ethnic cultures within their nation Able to understand symbols, values, and institutions of several cultures within the United States, or more globally, and committed to multi-ethnic ideals	concepts about a large range of groups within the United States or globally
Stage 6: Globalism and global competency	All of stage 5 as well as ability to function within cultures in other parts of the world Ideal balance of ethnic/cultural (gender, class, race), national and global identifications, commitments, literacy, and behaviors Has internalized universalistic ethical values and principles of humankind and has the competencies and skills needed to take action within the world to actualize commitments	Stage 6: Engages students in being global agents of change and in understanding global issues

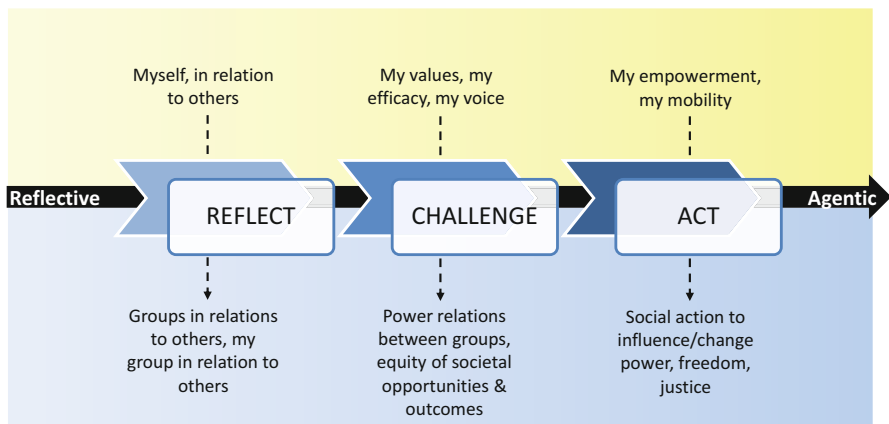


Fig. 1 Developing agency in youth

of individual actions to achieve urgently needed change on a global scale, an undertaking inspired by collective values of indigenous culture and identity.

These are not new ideas, but they somehow seem absent from current discussions in education. In Indigenous education, borrowing from Freire’s (1970) foundational

work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, the most important process is awakening critical consciousness, attuning learners to the sources of human oppression and power, and disrupting the “culture of silence” that powerfully mutes the voices of the oppressed. To awaken learners is to empower them to interrogate racism, discrimination, and “blaming the victim” for outcomes beyond their control. In this endeavor, cultural advantage becomes a powerful tool for positive change and learning. As opposed to imposing the worldview and values of one cultural group on another, education should reflect mutual learning between educators and students. It is about building compassion and holding gracious spaces where students and teachers learn about and resolve contradictions between the worldviews of different cultural groups. The resulting environment becomes an enriching learning community where students and teachers are collectively responsible for learning and where cooperation and interaction are primary educational motives (Adams and Hamm 1994). In this learning environment, there are no spectators, no one who is charged with teaching, transmitting, or giving anything. “[T]he object of the actors’ action is the reality to be transformed” (Freire 1970, p. 180).

Transforming reality is a call to action central to Indigenous educators seeking greater well-being for their people and increased opportunities to preserve, protect, and apply cultural knowledge, tradition, and language (Demmert 2011; Grande 2008; Meyer 2008; Reyes 2013). The Mālama Honua Worldwide Voyage is but one healthy example of success, where Indigenous knowledge became a platform to create a coalition of hundreds of thousands of shared voices and hands inspired to take action to work together to protect the earth.

Sharpening the Focus: Cultural Advantage and Indigenous Education

‘A’ohe pau ka ‘ike i ka hālau ho’okahi

All knowledge is not taught in one school, one learns from many sources

Through the lens of cultural advantage, it is a limited common good that denies itself the full benefits of diverse knowledges. Recognizing this potential, a growing core of educational researchers and practitioners has called for culturally responsive pedagogies (see Table 2 – Kana'iaupuni et al. 2017). In the 1990s, research in this area focused primarily on racial and ethnic diversity (e.g., Gay 2000; Ladson-Billings 1995), suggesting now well-known, though still inconsistently used, pedagogies that authentically engage student cultures in learning by:

- Acknowledging the legitimacy of different cultural heritages
- Engaging children *through* culture and respecting culture as *content* worthy of learning
- Building meaningful bridges between home and school experiences and between academic abstractions and lived sociocultural realities

Table 2 Evolving approaches and aims of culture in education

Ways in which culture is integrated in education	Key aim
1. Invisible: All education is culture-based, typically reflecting an invisible Western cultural norm in the United States	Assimilation, protecting hegemony of western culture in education
2. Culturally appropriate: Cultural styles, competency, or sensitivity approaches emphasizing respect and tolerance for other cultures and ways of learning (Gutiérrez and Rogoff 2003)	Teaching tolerance and respect for diversity
3. Culturally relevant/responsive: Pedagogy and curriculum are culturally attuned and responsive to students' diverse cultural communities and experiences (Castagno and Brayboy 2008; Gay 2000; Ladson-Billings 1995).	#2, and Student engagement and positive identity formation; cultural diversity
4. Culturally sustaining: Pedagogical approaches supporting both traditional and evolving ways of cultural connectedness for youth (Paris 2012)	#2, #3 and Sustains linguistic, literate, and cultural pluralism as the democratic project of schooling
5. Culturally sustaining and revitalizing: Revitalizing connections to identity and mother language that have withstood colonization, ethnicide, and linguicide (McCarty and Lee 2014)	#2, #3, #4 and Rebuilds control over language, self-determination
6. Culture-based: Instruction and student learning evolving from the values, norms, knowledge, beliefs, practices, experiences, places, and language of a cultural group, e.g., Japanese, Jewish, Jesuit, or Hawaiian (Demmert and Towner 2003; Kana'iaupuni and Kawai'ae'a 2008)	#2, #3, #4, #5 and Transmits and applies cultural ways of being, knowing, and doing, past, present, and future

Source: Kana'iaupuni et al. (2017, p. 317S)

- Using a wide variety of instructional strategies to connect with different learning styles
- Teaching students to know and praise their own and others' cultural heritages
- Embedding multicultural information, resources, and materials in all subjects and skills routinely taught in schools

Reflexive, critical scholarship strengthens these approaches, seeing beyond culturally responsive pedagogy to one that will “perpetuate and foster – to sustain – linguistic, literate, and cultural pluralism as part of the democratic project of schooling” (Paris 2012, p. 95; see also Ladson-Billings 2014).

Indigenous scholarship sharpens the focus on social justice and self-determination, arguing that where culture and language have been lost or oppressed through colonizing forces, education, research, and theory must

embrace the purpose of restoring culture and identity to a healthy place (Castagno and Brayboy 2008; Goodyear-Ka'ōpua 2013; Meyer 2008; Reyes 2013). Thus, critical “culturally sustaining and revitalizing pedagogy” or CSR (McCarty and Lee 2014) centers on cultural restoration and self-determination, also spelled out in international conventions such as the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Article 14 (United Nations 2009). Fundamentally, a culturally sustaining and revitalizing pedagogy is one that will “serve the needs of Indigenous communities as defined by those communities” (McCarty and Lee 2014, p. 103; see also Brayboy 2005).

The diverse cultural approaches and their primary educational purposes summarized in Table 2 range from assimilation (definition #1) to sustaining and revitalizing culture (#5) and culture-based education (#6). As one moves down the table, progressively stronger assumptions emerge regarding culture and education. Culture is the subject of a vast body of research (see Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1952; Eisenhart 2001). Native Hawaiians, like other Indigenous peoples, have been romanticized and racialized in ways that reflect a bounded sense of culture (Ledward 2007). Borrowing from Stuart Hall's (1980) notion of articulation, cultural identities are constellations of meanings emerging and evolving through specific sociopolitical histories. Identities are enacted through *connections* individuals make with other people, ideas, and experiences. This view recognizes the multiple positionalities that individuals and groups assume within Hawai'i's diverse social milieu while acknowledging deeper implications of colonization and occupation (Kana'iaupuni et al. 2017).

Most generally, CBE refers to approaches to teaching and learning evolving from (but not fixed in) the languages, values, norms, knowledges, beliefs, practices, experiences, and places that are foundational to Indigenous or other cultural groups (Kana'iaupuni et al. 2017). Fluidity of culture and ideas is central to this definition. As Ladson-Billings (2014) explains, “this notion of pedagogy shifts, changes, adapts, recycles, and recreates instructional spaces to ensure that consistently marginalized students are repositioned into a place of normativity – that is, that they become subjects in the instructional process, not mere objects” (p. 76).

CBE refers to approaches to teaching and learning evolving from (but not fixed in) the languages, values, norms, knowledges, beliefs, practices, experiences, and places that are foundational to Indigenous or other cultural groups.

As Indigenous peoples, our approach to Indigenous CBE recognizes, first, that:

- Educational systems are sites for power negotiation and potential liberation not just of individuals but of entire communities and nations.
- Knowledge tied to cultural heritage and language is essential to identity and self-determination.
- Desired educational outcomes are those useful and meaningful to local and Indigenous communities.

Second, Indigenous CBE practices education within local cultural contexts and in service to a community, based on the specific history, knowledge, and experiences of its people (Kana'iaupuni et al. 2017).

Third, Indigenous CBE is dynamic by design, ensuring cultural vibrancy (past, present, and future) through the *production, transmission, and application* of cultural knowledge, language, practices, values, and beliefs. Finally, it carries the broader educational imperative of inspiring children on a journey of self-discovery clarifying who they are and how they and their communities can impact the world (Kana'iaupuni et al. 2017).

Improving Practice: Research on CBE and Student Educational Outcomes

He puko'a kani 'aina

A coral reef hardens into land; beginning in a small way and gaining steadily until firmly established

Empirical research examining the impact of CBE suggests several findings consistent with a theory of cultural advantage. First, CBE is positively related to student socioemotional development and cultural affiliation based on studies showing Indigenous CBE increases individual and collective identity, building students' positive self-concept, resilience, and confidence (Borofsky 2010; Tibbetts et al. 2007). In turn, socioemotional development improves achievement and other key markers of a healthy, well-adjusted life. For example, among Filipino students, learning family genealogy is positively correlated with school performance, and speaking the heritage language negatively associated with substance abuse and depression (Guerrero et al. 2006). Phinney and Chavira (1992), Phinney et al. (1997) documents well-established positive relationships between higher ethnic identity and self-efficacy and finds inverse relationships with loneliness and depression.

Research evidence shows that culturally contextualizing education generates robust relationships and support from surrounding communities and families, resulting in students' increased sense of belonging at school (Castagno and Brayboy 2008; Kawakami 1999; Lee 2015; Yazzie-Mintz 2007). Studies reveal the strong pull of shared priorities for language- and culture-rich education in schools serving Indigenous communities, drawing in parents, youth, and community leaders alike (Demmert and Towner 2003; Luning and Yamauchi 2010; Yazzie 1999; Wilson and Kamanā 2006).

CBE can strengthen student engagement in learning, including their college aspirations. Prior research shows improved student engagement when educators flexibly “create collaborative and culturally diverse learning environments, adapt cultural patterns in classroom verbal interactions, and other cultural dimensions of reciprocal interaction and dialogic instruction” (Abt-Perkins and Rosen 2000, p. 254). Various case studies find related positive effects, including Indigenous

student gains in math, compared to matched control groups (Kisker et al. 2012; Lipka et al. 2005; Rickard 2005); improved math test scores with Native Yup'ik approaches (Adams et al. 2005); doubled achievement results among Pacific Islander university students taking upper-level mathematics courses (Furuto 2014); and superior Native and non-Native Alaskan student learning outcomes in urban and rural schools using culturally responsive curricula (Sternberg et al. 2005). A recent longitudinal study found that participating in an 8th grade culturally responsive course increased student attendance, GPA, and course credits earned in high school (Dee and Penner 2017).

Longitudinal studies are rare in this field, more are needed to increase knowledge and opportunities that strengthen and build on these promising directions in indigenous education. Taken together, the findings suggest individual, family, school, and community benefits from investing in culturally rich learning environments and educational approaches. Further research is essential to understand the conditions that engage student learners and methods to assess learning most effectively, the kinds of professional development supports that equip teachers with the skills they need to deliver CBE, and successful strategies to engage families and communities in the teaching and learning process. Empirical research in this area is mounting, but still limited, representing a critical area of need for Indigenous educators and researchers (Sleeter 2012).

Bringing It Home: Culture-Based Education and Native Hawaiians

Ua ao Hawai'i, ke 'ōlino nei

Hawai'i is in the brightness of day, it shines, brilliant. Hawai'i is in an era of education

With examples like Mālama Honua Worldwide Voyage, the story of Native Hawaiians and Western education is a promising example of resilience and progress in light of a darker sociohistorical past. Primarily fueled by the concern and passion of community members, parents, and advocates, culture-based education reform has been an organic solution to the chilling negative statistics that plague Hawai'i's indigenous and Pacific Islander children: high rates of poverty, substance abuse, juvenile deviance, criminal activity, teenage pregnancies, poor educational outcomes, domestic abuse, depression, and youth suicide.

As a cultural and linguistic minority group, today's Native Hawaiians share similar experiences with other indigenous and racialized minority groups in the United States. The unique cultural lineage of Native Hawaiians traces back to a thriving, vibrant Polynesian society that achieved highly sophisticated governance and knowledge systems to navigate and prosper in the Pacific. Hundreds of years after settling in Hawai'i, Western contact brought exposure to new diseases and drastic population decimation, reducing this traditional society to one-tenth its size (Nordyke 1989). Importantly, it also brought the codification of Hawaiian language. Shortly thereafter, literacy rates topped 90% within the Hawaiian population. A robust reading, writing, and publishing community in the Hawaiian language

quickly emerged, and the majority of teachers in the first schools in Hawai‘i were Native Hawaiians (Wilson and Kamanā 2006).

Over time, however, growing Western influence in Hawai‘i sought power through educational systems. The earliest missionaries that came to Hawai‘i used education as an effective colonizing tool. Following the overthrow of the Hawaiian kingdom, explicit policies prohibited using Hawaiian language in instruction in all public and in many private schools. In public education, this ban occurred shortly after Hawai‘i became a territory in 1896 by decree of Sanford Dole, who played a key role in the overthrow and was the first Education minister. The deep and lingering effects of this *de facto* ban on Hawaiian language cannot be overstated in regard to Native Hawaiian student outcomes (see Lipka 2002; Skutnabb-Kangas and Dunbar 2010). The impact was systematic in effect, remaining in place for nearly 100 years (Lucas 2000; Wilson and Kamanā 2006).

To protect their children, parents were forced to give up their language involuntarily, a phenomenon common to many indigenous groups, as documented by the United Nations’ Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (see <http://undesadspd.org/indigenouspeoples.aspx>). Children were punished for speaking their language at school, among many other examples of colonizing practices experienced by Native Hawaiian children and families with the introduction of Western schooling (Kana‘iaupuni and Ledward 2013; Benham and Heck 1998). It was not until 1986 that the state’s Board of Education approved an amendment to allow for “special projects using the Hawaiian language” (Lucas 2000, p. 11). The first Hawaiian language immersion public school (*kula kaiapuni*) was opened shortly thereafter and the revitalization of Hawaiian language through education continues to be a growing call to action for the indigenous community and its many supporters.

Past and current statistics on Native Hawaiian well-being attest to the enduring detrimental impact of this history and its related events (Kana‘iaupuni et al. 2005). Comprising one-third of annual births in Hawai‘i and about one-fourth of public school students, Native Hawaiian children attend schools that serve many other racial/ethnic groups, the next largest among them being White (or Caucasian), Filipino, Chinese, and Japanese. In public schools, aggregate Native Hawaiian student achievement levels lag behind these other groups by up to 30 percentile points. Rates of chronic absenteeism, dropping out, and grade retention are significantly higher among Native Hawaiian students, suggesting low levels of student engagement. Native Hawaiian children in special education programs are disproportionately high, whereas graduation rates are some of the lowest in the state. Not surprisingly, the percentage of Native Hawaiians completing a 2- or 4-year college degree is about half the state average, roughly 14% of recent high school cohorts (Kana‘iaupuni et al. 2005; Kamehameha Schools 2014).

Research examining the successes of Native Hawaiian students consistently indicates the benefits of innovative, CBE approaches in reaching the students other public schools have struggled to serve. Elsewhere, for example, my colleagues and I find that students whose teachers are more intense users of culture-based education have higher levels of student belonging (students express trust people in school, feel teachers care about them, and view people at school as family), more often apply

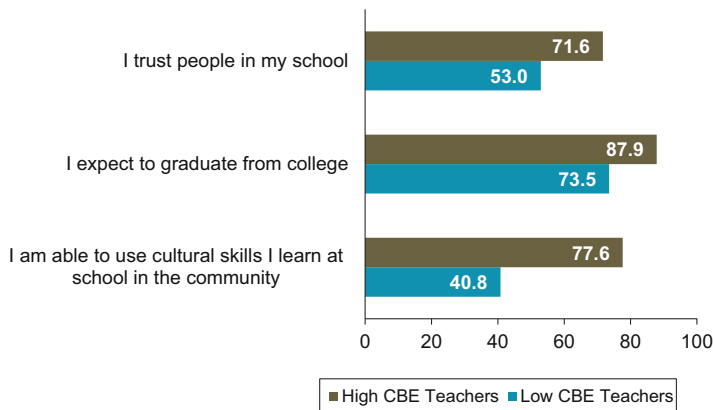


Fig. 2 Belonging, aspirations and relevancy of skills among Native Hawaiian students by intensity of CBE use

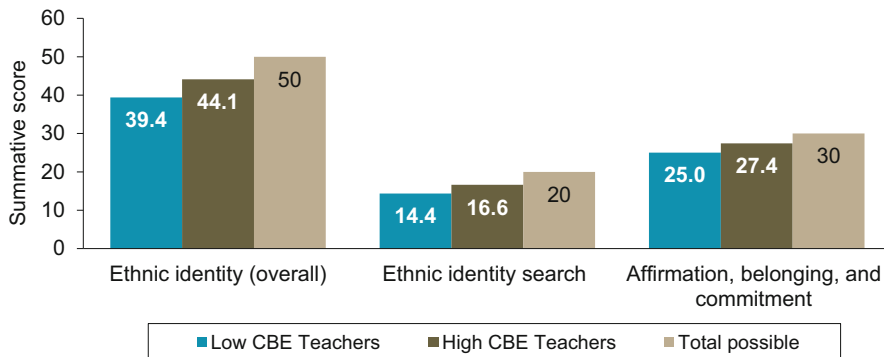


Fig. 3 Cultural affiliation among Native Hawaiian students by intensity of CBE use

their cultural skills outside of school, and are significantly more likely to expect to graduate college (see Fig. 2, Kana'iaupuni et al. 2017).

The same study finds a positive relationship between Indigenous students' cultural affiliation and having one or more high-intensity CBE teachers ($p < 0.001$). Students of high-intensity CBE teachers also have markedly greater knowledge of their culture, commitment to cultural values, and comfort with their heritage language (Fig. 3). High-intensity CBE leads to deeper community connections for students. Over half of students with high-intensity CBE teachers engaged repeatedly in social or political causes of particular concern to the Native Hawaiian community, as shown in Fig. 4. For example, on multiple occasions, one-third of students had attended community or school meetings, and three-quarters had acted to protect the environment in their communities. In addition to these results, students of high-intensity CBE teachers also report greater engagement with local issues such as land

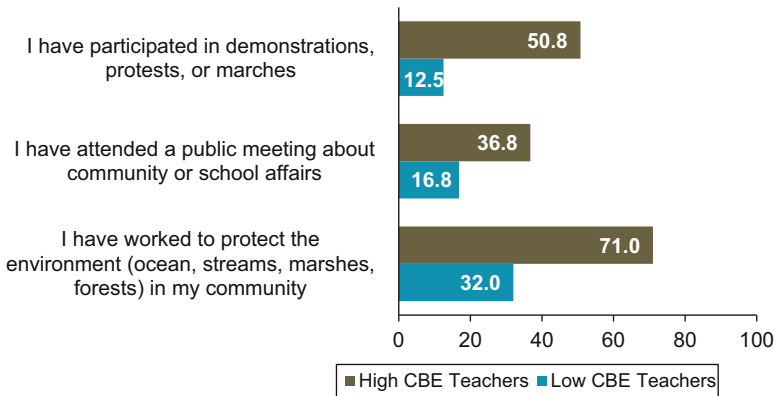


Fig. 4 Native Hawaiian students community action or service (>1 occasion) by intensity of CBE use

development, Hawaiian language revitalization, and Native rights. Together, these differences indicate a consistent positive relationship between CBE and students’ contributions to their communities (Kana’iaupuni et al. 2017).

To bring how it works to life, several examples of CBE follow in this next section, showing the application of five common dimensions of culture-based education (language, content, context, family/community, assessment – see Table 3 in Kana’iaupuni and Kawai’ae’a 2008). First, despite its earlier history and owing to the tenacity of Native Hawaiian communities and many supporters, the state of Hawai’i is a national role model today in reestablishing the indigenous Hawaiian **language** as an official language alongside English in 1978. The state constitution also mandates public education to promote the study of Hawaiian language, culture, and history. Now enrolling about 2000 students annually, the Hawai’i State Department of Education runs K-12 Hawaiian language immersion schools that connect to preschool and post-high programs conducted in Hawaiian and provides additional language classes to parents and community members. It operates roughly 17 Hawaiian language immersion school programs and instructs all learners on the culture and history of Native Hawaiians unique to the state. Additionally, about one-third of the state’s public charter schools also use Hawaiian language as the medium of instruction, and roughly 50% of them routinely use the heritage language, supplemented by language classes. This progress is a tribute to the many Native Hawaiian and supporting community members, teachers, parents, children, and administrators who worked tirelessly to make the vision a reality. Today, although continuously troubled by a critical lack of resources, immersion education has helped grow the Hawaiian language in the past two decades, standing out as a singularly significant educational milestone achieved by and with an indigenous people in the United States.

In terms of pedagogy, place-based learning is a pillar of effective culture-based educational innovation found in many Hawaiian community and school learning

Table 3 Five dimensions of culture-based education (CBE)

Language	Recognizing and using the Native or heritage language.
Family and community	Actively involving family and community in the development of curricula, everyday learning, and leadership.
Content	Making learning meaningful and relevant through culturally embedded content and assessment.
Context	Structuring school, classroom, and other learning interactions in culturally meaningful ways.
Assessment and Accountability	Gathering data and assessing students using various methods to ensure learning and application in culturally purposeful ways.

Source: Adapted from Kana'iaupuni and Kawai'ae'a (2008, p. 75)

environments across the state. Educators use project-based and place-based approaches, interweaving Native culture, community, and the natural environment to inform curricular **content** and instructional **context** for learning (Kaomea 2011; Goodyear Ka'opua et al. 2008). Studies indicate that Native Hawaiian and non-Native children alike learn, connect, and retain knowledge more effectively when the curriculum and instruction are culturally meaningful and relevant to their own lives and experiences (Kaiwi and Kahumoku 2006; Kana'iaupuni et al. 2017; Kawakami 1999). Kahumoku (forthcoming) reports that private school students outperform their peers in advanced placement English and upper-level high school science classes with the introduction of culturally embedded approaches, compared to nonculturally embedded approaches.

Data from Native Hawaiian-focused public charter school (HFPCS) students show high student engagement in learning, which leads to higher attendance and graduation rates compared to Native Hawaiian children in conventional public schools (Kamehameha Schools 2014). Contributing to this advantage are the successes that these schools document in achieving high levels of trust, student sense of belonging, and family commitment in the educational process (Kana'iaupuni et al. 2017). In HFPCS schools, students tackle authentic problems in community spaces and living laboratories without walls. For example, they may conduct science experiments to assess the relative successes of various traditional and more modern methods to restore endangered endemic species or water resources. A 5-year stream restoration project, for instance, partnered *Kanu 'o Ka 'Āina* (Natives of the Land) public charter school students with a team of scientists at the Bishop Museum to entirely restore a Hawaiian stream to natural flow conditions, creating a wealth of lesson plans, data, and presentations documenting their progress (see <http://hbs.bishopmuseum.org/waipio/index.html>).

In schools and programs such as these, curricula include learning about lifestyles, knowledge, and values of Native Hawaiians, including from students' own **families and community** members, who are asked to share their knowledge and their stories with the children in multigenerational settings. As powerful

learning vehicles themselves, “stories can validate identities to the self and the world by providing models of strength and empowerment” (Tusitala Marsh 1999, p. 170). And importantly, learners are **assessed** for mastery in ways that are meaningful to the community. For example, they demonstrate learning through successfully presenting (and implementing, in some cases) their research-based proposal to local residents to restore endemic fish and plants in a river or marsh, contributing to the health of their community ecosystem. In this way, connections to the land, culture, language, and community create a rich educational environment that nourishes spiritual, physical, and educational well-being. These connections generate a sense of *kuleana* (responsibility), love for learning, and students who understand their cultural identity and their role in a local community as the foundation for leading and contributing to broader global communities.

Culture-based approaches also are visible in out-of-school time programs that not only impact students positively but also the broader environmental ecosystem. As one example among many, *Papahana Kuaola* is an organization located on O‘ahu island. It serves roughly 10,000 students each year. The mission of this nonprofit is to “create quality educational programs focused on Hawai‘i’s cultural and natural history, environmental restoration, and economic sustainability fully integrated with Hawaiian knowledge”(see www.papahanakuaola.com). Through a variety of educational programs offered to P-20 learners, learners gain twenty-first-century skills through ancestral practices that build a strong sense of place, critical thinking, collaboration, and communication in modern context, all through a Hawaiian cultural lens. As evidence of their success, the program has forged strong partnerships with local schools and other nonprofit organizations that value Hawaiian knowledge and sustainable lifestyles. The success of their efforts over the past 6 years is evidenced in the dramatic reshaping of the native ecosystem through the removal of invasive plant species, replanting of thousands of native seedlings, lo‘i (taro fields), and stream restoration projects that have improved water quality and riparian health overall.

Navigating for Global Impact: CBE and Mālama Honua

‘A‘ohe pu‘u ki‘eki‘e ke ho‘ā‘o ‘ia e pi‘i
No cliff is so tall that it cannot be scaled

The Mālama Honua Worldwide Voyage embodies the power of cultural advantage on an even greater plane. First, it is a scientific voyaging feat. Second, it illustrates the value of diverse forms of Indigenous knowledge that build compassion for the earth and all of its living and nonliving forms. Third, it radically challenges conventional paradigms and behavior in education. It connects people Hawaiian and non-Hawaiians alike with the spiritual mana

or force that inspires deep relationships and shared understanding. It calls for peace and love, aloha, in a world full of conflict and divides. It is impact with global reach.



Photo By John Bilderback

In casual conversation about education in the United States, one often hears a long list of complaints – outdated instructional models, overly focused on test scores, driven by textbook companies, lacking relevance to real problems and real life, and not engaging our students or attracting our best teachers and leaders. Behind the naysaying, though, is a deep-seated belief that education is a singularly critical process in bettering ourselves as individuals, as a society, as humanity, everywhere around the world. It is sometimes easy to forget that for many people around the world, education is a privilege not equally accessible to all. The United States is no exception. As portrayed in this chapter, Native Hawaiians in Hawai'i, like other indigenous peoples, have fought and continue to work toward greater equity in educational opportunities and outcomes for children today and the future. Equally important and also likely to be forgotten is the need to educate for equity with the natural world living alongside us on this special island called planet earth. Some call it earth or eco-justice. Indigenous culture-based education addresses this call to action. Indeed, indigenous science and perspectives provide a wealth of knowledge, approaches, and tools to use in the effort.

In preparing for each global port, the Worldwide Voyage sought to discover and share stories of hope and inspiration about the innovations and positive impact communities are creating around the world to coexist and to return the planet to greater health. First contact in each place was made with First Peoples of that place to validate and spotlight indigenous sources of ancestral science and wisdom and to point out the gains availed through blended knowledge systems that take full advantage of ancient and modern technologies and science in learning.

So, how do we employ these tools to “crack the code” of how to best care for the earth? This question is a constant for Nainoa Thompson, captain and visionary behind the Worldwide Voyage and the Polynesian Voyaging Society, caretakers of Hōkūle‘a. The answers lie in part in deepening current understandings of local knowledge. Western scientists are realizing that well-being and sustainability rely greatly on local, place-based, and biocultural sources of knowledge and approaches (Sterling et al. 2017).

In the Galapagos, with its history of evolutionary science and protection of some of the earth’s most fragile natural resources, Hōkūle‘a crew members observed that the majority of children grow up understanding a sense of place, in contrast to the seemingly disconnected experiences more familiar to many children in the United States. I noted the following three shared values after visiting several schools and community programs:

- **Deep relationships with nature**, cultivated from interacting outside daily with the native, natural environment, some of it extremely fragile, and observing adults modeling respectful relationships.
- **Mutual interdependence**, based on the connection between human actions and the environment. It’s observable to children in the economy, their parents’ jobs, industry – all rely heavily on understanding reciprocal interdependence.
- **Daily coexistence**, experiential knowledge about how human activity can be managed and regulated to privilege nature as part of everyday life. Galapagueño community members vigilantly guard efforts to achieve greater equity with nature, including limits on the number of tourists or others in any area, respect for wild and plant life, restricted population size, and closely sanctioned activities.

Exploring the Galapagos represented a unique opportunity to celebrate Charles Darwin and his work, which continues to guide modern evolutionary science today. It was also a chance to recognize age-old evolutionary knowledge, long predating Darwin’s work. In Hawaiian epistemology, exemplars like the Kumulipo recount wisdom about the origins of the universe and evolution (Beamer 2014). That the Kumulipo was well-established as a generations-old oral history and even put into print before Darwin published *On the Origin of Species* is a little known fact important to understanding the power of ancestral scientific connections.

Passed orally through many successive generations, the Kumulipo was eventually translated into English by the last reigning sovereign of Hawai‘i, Queen Lili‘uokalani, while she was imprisoned during a coup staged by American businessmen and missionaries. The Kumulipo is creation chant, genealogy, and evolutionary science recognizing that all life shares common ancestry. Life begins with darkness, pō, the spirit world. It emerges in the depths of the sea with invertebrate organisms such as coral, before proceeding to develop greater complexity across ocean, land, and sky, with life evolving from like, eventually human in form (Lili‘uokalani 1897; Beckwith 1951).

A genealogical chant of “remembrance from the lipo of our deep past to the lipo of our unknown future,” the Kumulipo conveys the carefully cultivated Hawaiian scientific mindset and keen observation skills developed through the lens of interdependence and kinship between people and the earth, land, and sea (see Forward by Kanahale in Beckwith (1951), 2016 reprint). Native Hawaiian zoologist, Ane (2016), argues, “the chant teaches us that life in the sea and life on land are inexorably connected, and what we do on land has a direct connection and impact on all organisms in the sea. Hawaiians recognize that these organisms are the building blocks for all life on this shared planet we call Honua.” This approach stands in stark contrast to more individualistic, technical teaching conventions of Western science. Should today’s global learners experience this knowledge in addition to Western approaches?

From the perspective of cultural advantage, the answer is yes. In fact, all life forms today would benefit from embracing diverse knowledge systems to care for the earth. As conservation biologist, Samuel Gon observed, a noteworthy distinction from Darwin’s framing is that the Polynesian worldview holds nonhuman life, including plants and animals, as ancestral, therefore familial, and sacred. The Western view of man separate from the rest of nature, perhaps even as having dominion over it, has allowed massive abuse and exploitation of natural resources that would be morally indefensible in a Polynesian view. This lesson of the familial connection of people to the living elements of each place, and the responsibilities placed on people as caretakers of those ancestors is the lesson that can ultimately save the world from our current path of destruction.

Continuing the Voyage (Conclusion and Future Direction): A Call to Action for Learning and Self-Determination

E mau ke ea o ka ‘āina i ka pon,
THE life of the land is perpetuated in righteousness

This chapter is a call to action to transform educational systems as sites of power negotiation and liberation of individuals, communities, and nations. It is a call to recognize the gift of knowledge tied to cultural tradition and language with accountability to student outcomes that are useful and meaningful to local and Indigenous communities. It is but one milestone in a journey that many others will continue to build and refine.

The intensifying movement toward Indigenous culture-based education (CBE) in Hawai‘i owes much countless individuals who have devoted lifetimes to reimagining educational systems where all children blossom. Like life-giving elements of rain, soil, and sunlight, educators can move forward to create more just and equitable learning environments built on cultural assets to foster improved outcomes for Indigenous learners and communities in ways that benefit all.

Adopting the theoretical lens of cultural advantage raises critical questions about who benefits from particular pedagogical approaches. For instance, how do students,

Indigenous or otherwise, experience “culturally appropriate” school events? How might these experiences reinforce or challenge students’ belonging, self-efficacy, and community connections? These questions can position students with greater power and agency in relation to the context and purpose of their learning. When taught to examine daily life events consciously and critically, drawing from the cultural values and experiences of their communities, students are empowered to self-determine their participation and utilization of events/tools, even those originally conceived to mask inequity.

Overall, research provides a strong case that CBE is well-suited for further development and implementation, based on its efficacy for children, its alignment with other research-based best practices, and its appeal among a growing number of teachers pursuing greater relevance for learners. CBE builds foundations for positive relationships capable of igniting powerful learning for students and communities, heightening students’ socioemotional development, self-efficacy, and community engagement. These connections are especially valuable in Indigenous contexts where families have experienced multiple generations of marginalization within public schools. The research findings have broader policy and program implications for national efforts that often fail to recognize the importance of language and culture for Indigenous and other minoritized children and families. The consequences of this failure are replete in the well-worn trail of low achievement, low socioeconomic status, and poor health of this nation’s Indigenous and minoritized populations.

Countering these challenges, there is a shift happening in Indigenous education and research not to focus on the devastating after-effects of colonization but to recognize and value the strengths and resilience of Indigenous communities. Mālama Honua Worldwide Voyage is only one example added to the work of many educators, and researchers across the nation demonstrating what is possible when communities are able to guide the education of their children, unleashing greater relevance, and meaning in both outcome and substance.

Today, Hawai‘i’s children learn about Darwin’s evolutionary science in school, how can learning Hawai‘i’s own place-based ancestral science create even strong pathways for learners to care for the earth, to Mālama Honua? In addition, why should they and others not be exposed to the diverse insights captured through indigenous perspective like the Kumulipo as they learn science and other subjects? More broadly, how might we as educators build pathways for Native children to learn about their own knowledge systems in addition to learning about evolution from a Western view?

Clearly, fresh research and development is needed to cultivate culturally rich, deeper learning experiences for students where experiencing their kinship with the earth is an everyday occurrence. For this to happen, educators need better tools to engage students more effectively in learning the language of nature and families supported to come together as communities that care for the earth and each other. The earth is in crisis. To match and counteract the exponential pace of destruction, the pace of positive change must also be exponential. Further work is needed to discover and develop proof points, models of success, to share and disseminate and scale and institutionalize transformational innovations through systems change.

Embracing the potential of Indigenous knowledge and culture-based education is a “win” for everyone in our increasingly plurilingual, pluricultural world. All of society will benefit from the assets found in cultural knowledge, values, and stories as models of vitality and empowerment through which we can all progress.

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Ako ki he nofo ‘a Kāinga: A Case Study of Pastoral Care Between Wakatū/Kono and Recognised Seasonal Employment Workers

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Sandra L. Morrison

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Abstract

For those who enter a new country as labor migrants, the appropriate support to adapt to the work place and the country is essential. An appreciation of cultures against the background of a strongly capitalistic model where human labor can be treated as a commodity must be negotiated. Some employers provide just minimal care while others adopt a “family” model. Through a case study between a Māori employer and Tongan RSE workers, a successful pastoral care model based on ako (to learn and to teach) and kāinga (kin, village, place) has been a strong contributing factor to a successful business relationship. Implicit in the relationship is a shared value base which derives from both groups sharing common, albeit ancient ancestry genealogy/whakapapa. Key outcomes include a sense of obligation, accountability, and reciprocity and a sense of belonging through the

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deliberate and authentic application of Māori values and world views. The Tongan workers added their cultural capital to the interaction legitimizing an ongoing obligation to kinship across space, time and generations.

Keywords

Recognised Seasonal employment and pastoral care · Ako and kāinga · culture and seasonal employment · pastoral care model

Introduction

The Recognised Seasonal Employment (RSE) scheme is a seasonal labor strategy introduced to New Zealand in 2007. It allows for the temporary entry of migrant workers in the horticultural and viticultural industries, with a preference for workers from the Pacific nations.

There is only one Māori RSE employer, Kono, whose workers are sourced from Tonga. Kono is a subsidiary company of Wakatū Inc. which is an internationally recognized Māori business of the land and sea with an asset base valued at over \$260 million (Wakatū [n.d.](#), para. 4). Kono is based in the rural community of Motueka, near Nelson at the top of the South Island. It is the food and beverage arm of Wakatū Inc.

A central part of the RSE scheme is to ensure that there is a pastoral care system in place which also includes the upskilling of Pacific workers. The upskilling and learning is expected to contribute to Pacific development and New Zealand's objectives for economic success and stability in the region in addition to the social benefits that will emerge. Workers will return to their home countries with new experiences and capabilities which may lead to the creation of new business enterprises (Bailey 2014).

This chapter outlines a case study of the business relationship between Wakatū/Kono, a Māori business and Tongan RSE workers. It examines the pastoral care system and the adult learning process which is integral to upholding the pastoral care. The pastoral care extends from Tonga to Motueka, New Zealand, and is based on two Polynesian concepts namely ako (to learn and to teach) and also kāinga (village, people, land, place). The concepts of ako and kāinga have been vital ingredients to a successful pastoral care program which has supported the RSE team to be a cohesive and productive unit while upholding their cultural integrity. With both Māori and Tonga being from Polynesia Pacific, there is also a uniquely common knowledge base which derives from both groups sharing common, albeit ancient ancestry genealogy/whakapapa.

Enriching this chapter are the voices of the RSE workers with whom a number of talanoa were held. Talanoa is a self-reflection, conversation, or exchanges between two or several people. It is a culturally constructed pedagogy and discussion which has been developed into a methodological tool for interview and research (Vaioleti 2006, 2011). This chapter forms part of a larger PhD study which reflects on the

development of a pastoral care model which is founded on the concept of “kainga,” a relationship enhancement model in which culture is practiced and validated and accountability and support structures are important. The cultural term of kainga is adopted as the key reference, and it is an appropriate concept of reference when a Māori business is in a relationship with a Tongan business entity. Kainga is a proto Polynesian word meaning people who are kin-related. It can also mean place and village. My hypothesis in the PhD study is that both culture and the importance of relationships built through the pastoral care arrangements and through the concept of kainga contribute significantly to the success of this RSE partnership.

The Recognised Seasonal Employment (RSE) Scheme

This RSE program aligns with the New Zealand’s government’s strategy in strengthening Pacific partnerships with a focus on economic development, regional integration, and good governance (Nunns et al. 2013). It takes into account the long-term relationships that New Zealand has enjoyed in the Pacific. David Cunliffe who was the then Minister of New Zealand Immigration stated in a media release to promote RSE that “We are prioritising Pacific people as temporary migrants for these industries because of our special relationship and commitment to the Pacific region. This policy will lead to the upskilling of Pacific workers, who will return to their home countries with new experiences and capabilities” (New Zealand Visa Bureau 2006, para. 9). Australia has a similar scheme called Seasonal Work Program (SWP) which was announced in 2011 following 3 years of trialling a Pacific Seasonal Worker Pilot Scheme (PSWPS).

The preference for workers from the Pacific nations focuses particularly on those from the rural areas with a selection criteria that prioritize the pro-poor. This is because there is an excess workforce in the Pacific and opportunities for work are very limited. In the rural areas, there are even more constraints for work and a large pool of unskilled and low-skilled workers exists (Roorda 2011). The RSE scheme represents a means for Pacific workers to – temporarily – access the New Zealand labor market, currently restricted to horticultural and viticulture industries only. The number of RSE visas now available to temporary workers has steadily increased since the program began. Immigration New Zealand reports there are now 10,500 RSE visas available annually for qualifying workers, a substantial increase from 5,000 at the introduction of the RSE program in 2007 (New Zealand Government 2016, para. 2). Although a number of Pacific nations participate in the scheme, numbers are weighted towards ni-Vanuatu and Tongan workers.

Bedford (2013) reported that eight Pacific countries participate across New Zealand and Australia’s temporary employment schemes. In 2013, 7,456 workers were employed in New Zealand under the RSE visa category. Significant representation of key groups of Pacific populations are involved in this temporary work scheme, with 1,573 Pacific RSE workers being sourced from Tonga (Bedford 2013). For Pacific nations with relatively small populations and even smaller working populations, these numbers can represent a significant proportion of

demographic groups. For example, of the approximate 10,000 rural males in Tonga between the ages of 20–44, 28% will take part in managed migration. The overall gender imbalance is also significant, with 89% of Tongan RSE workers being male. Bedford (2013) stated this imbalance is the result of both employer and sending country preferences. Sending country preferences for the dominant representation of males in worker groups include ongoing socio-cultural beliefs that “outside work,” i.e., horticultural work, continues to be the domain of males.

In New Zealand, recruitment for the RSE is “industry-led” and is dominated by employers not labor hire companies (Bedford and Bedford 2014). The process for recruitment can be broken down into four stages. The first stage is for employers to become recognized as a Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE), with Immigration New Zealand. Factors taken into consideration on assessment of employers requesting RSE status includes being able to demonstrate human resource policies and practices of a high standard, as well as providing evidence of promoting the welfare of workers.

The second stage is for an Agreement to Recruit to be awarded allowing for the sourcing of prospective workers from overseas. In the third stage, the employer makes a job offer to the workers, proof of which the worker will need in order to make a visa application from offshore. Fourthly, and as is becoming commonplace, employers can invite workers to return in subsequent seasons so long as the conditions of the visa have been met in previous seasons. As noted from the recent RSE employer survey, it is of high interest for employers to seek the return of workers in subsequent years to leverage workers cumulative skills and lessen annual integration costs and risks. There is no limit to the number of times workers can return under the RSE scheme, provided all visa conditions were met in previous seasons.

Part of the agreement of New Zealand RSE employers includes covering half of the worker’s return airfare, the provision of at least 240 h of work at market pay rates for the season and accommodation, or at least access to accommodation paid for by the worker, and pastoral care. An RSE employer is also liable to pay the costs associated with worker removal from New Zealand if a worker breaches their visa conditions (New Zealand Immigration 2014).

The RSE delivers triple wins. The recipients are the workers, the sending countries, and the destination countries. It is regarded as a model of best practice by the United Nations for low-skilled managed circular migration (Bedford 2013). Employers benefit from the scheme with efficiencies by having access to a temporary workforce who are highly motivated and reliable. Workers’ families benefit with positive impacts for the household which raises the standards of living. Bedford and Bedford (2014) report that workers’ remittances have enabled investment in new housing, children’s education, the purchasing of land and equipment, improving sanitary and waste disposal, supporting relatives and the church, and a range of community development initiatives.

With significant numbers of working Tongans generating income internationally, males, particularly those from rural villages in Tonga, are remitting tens of millions of dollars per year with detected remittances measured at 28% of annual GDP in

2009 (World Bank Group 2016). RSE is now the largest source of temporary work for wages outside of Tonga with 85% of RSE and Australia's Seasonal Worker Program (SWP) workers coming from the Pacific.

Tongans are eager for employment opportunity, illustrated by the fact that over 5,000 Tongans registered for the work-ready pool within the first 3 months of applications opening for the first intake of the RSE program in New Zealand (Gibson and McKenzie 2011). For a small island nation like Tonga, international labor inclusion like RSE can also provide a catalyst for the establishment of entrepreneurial cluster businesses and shows promise for addressing unemployment, underemployment, and even work experience challenges for Tongans. Measuring unemployment in Tonga is problematic as there is a lack of precise and recent data and many subsistence workers would not generally see themselves nor register themselves as unemployed. Opportunities for employment in Tonga remain an ongoing challenge especially for youth in Tonga. The challenge is surely greater as a lethargic private sector and outwardly focused government offer little hope for realizing the potential of a youthful population reputed to be the most highly educated of the Pacific small island states (World Bank Group 2016). The World Economic Forum (WEF) Global Risks 2014 report has highlighted unemployment and underemployment as the second highest overall *Global Risk of Highest Concern* in 2014. The report speaks particularly to the challenge of youth unemployment stating that in the developing world, an estimated two-thirds of youth are not fulfilling their potential. Many of the workers who are selected under the RSE have not advanced beyond the senior secondary school level, have limited English, and find themselves caught in a poverty of opportunity.

Pastoral Care Within the RSE Scheme

The recruitment for RSE is industry-led and the provision of pastoral care is also employer-led. Although policy dictates an obligation for the provision of pastoral care, RSE employers have broad interpretive scope as to the depth and breadth of pastoral care provision. The pastoral care requirements under a RSE scheme are quite minimal. An employer has to demonstrate human resource policies and practices of a high standard, as well as providing evidence of promoting the welfare of workers. Legally, this means that as far as the minimum standards dictate that an employer must provide documentation regarding:

- Pick up and drop off of workers from the airport
- A work induction program to help workers settle in
- Arrange somewhere for workers to live at a fair price
- Provide transport for workers to get to and from work
- Explain how and where workers can get medical insurance
- Explain how and where workers can access banking services
- Explain how workers can send money home safely
- Provide any safety equipment they need to do their job, e.g., protective clothing

- Provide toilets, somewhere to wash hands, first aid, shelter, and fresh drinking water
- Provide translations of health and safety instructions for workers
- Give workers opportunities for recreation and religious observance (Immigration New Zealand 2010)

There are various ways that employers meet these pastoral care obligations. Some employers contract the work out, some do it themselves by appointing a designated staff member, and some employers rely on the leadership within the workers as a self-monitoring tool. The monitoring of the pastoral care obligations is difficult with resourcing, time, shortage of inspectors, and geographical logistics being obstacles (Bailey 2015/55). Bailey has also noted that pastoral care in RSE would benefit greatly from improvements in cross-cultural communication. According to studies by Charlotte Bedford (2013), pastoral care issues improved over successive seasons. She attributes this to increased understanding and cooperation between workers and employers over time.

For a pastoral care model based on a cultural perspective, the Wakatū/Kono relationship with its seasonal workers is unique because Kono is the only Māori employer who is accredited with RSE status. While other RSE schemes may choose workers from the same village/district to draw on the social cohesion factor, the pastoral care models operates differently because the employer is not a Māori organization. This is not to say that the attention to pastoral care is less; Kono is based on Māori values in practice and philosophy at all levels.

In this case study between Wakatū/Kono and the RSE workers, the recruitment, selection, and the pastoral care element which includes education is conducted through a small NGO called IMPAECT*, Indigenous Māori and Pacific Adult Education Charitable Trust*. IMPAECT* has been a registered trust for more than 10 years. As one of its objectives, it proposes to advance educational aspirations for both Māori and Pacific communities using the principles of adult education to achieve outcomes that are valid, authentic, and meaningful for Māori and Pacific and to support family and community development for Māori, Pacific and indigenous groups (IMPAECT* Constitution 2003). It operates in Tonga and in New Zealand. IMPAECT* brings in 38 workers in all, predominantly male (24 for a 7-month period from November to May and another 14 workers from February to July). The author of this chapter is a member of IMPAECT* and also has whakapapa/genealogy to the people of Wakatū/Kono. Through family relationships including with families in Tonga, IMPAECT* was established and the RSE partnership formed.

The Importance of Values in Pastoral Care

Wakatū/Kono is a Māori business which upholds Māori cultural values with a focus on manaakitanga (care and respect for people and relationships), kaitiakitanga (stewardship), and whanaungatanga (extended family obligations).

Wakatū/Kono have created a positive and inclusive work culture which has affirmed culture, encouraged participation, and embraced stakeholders including the IMPAECT* workers as part of the extended whānau/family. This has allowed the workers to feel valued as people not just as a labor commodity. Wakatū Inc. has developed a range of commercial and cultural expertise in terms of how it manages traditional Māori land and resources for the intergenerational benefit of its owners. The knowledge of its owners and governors is extensive, and it bridges traditional western business approaches with tikanga Māori. Ropata Taylor, General Manager of Manaakitanga for Wakatū Inc., says that Māori business is “not about commercialising our culture, it’s about culturalising our commerce” (Talanoa, Ropata Taylor, July 2014). Wakatū have continued to maintain this dictum.

Spiller et al. (2010) state:

Many Māori values place particular emphasis on respect and care to engender belonging. These values include: manaaki, meaning to show respect or kindness; aroha, which is to show care, empathy, charity, and respect; hau which means to respect, promote, and maintain vitality; kaitiakitanga, which includes stewardship, guardianship, and wise use of resources; and hāpai meaning to uplift others. Care is at the heart of the Māori values system. (p. 4)

The Tongan workers individually and collectively under IMPAECT* are not passive recipients in a work scheme but are active participants who are astute to business opportunities and who have expectations of respectful and meaningful relationships with their employer. They too have deeply embedded value systems based on anga faka tonga/Tongan philosophy (Vaiotei 2011) which incorporate values similar to other Pacific communities including Māori. These are the holistic nature of life and the centrality of good relationships: the connectivity of the past, present, and future; of people, land, sea, and sky and the spirituality that binds them together (Taufe’ulungaki 2003).

More specific Tongan values include:

- ‘ofa, love and its subgroups “mafana/warmth” which drives ‘ofa to action
- faka’apa’apa, respect
- feveitokai’aki, reciprocity
- lototō, humility
- feongoongoi, transparency and accountability
- fatongia, one’s role, duty, or obligation to family and community

Tauhi vā (the nurturing of respectful space) must be present to maintain a symbolic space between individuals, groups, and with the Gods. This is vital for harmony and good relationships and to corresponding social, economic, environmental, and educational systems which encompass spiritual dimensions (Ka’ili 2005; Vaiotei 2011).

These values locate themselves in a broader worldview where Pacific peoples (among other indigenous peoples) have over generations built up layers and layers of

complex history and knowledge which connects them with their environment, their spiritual world, their ancestors and has allowed them to live sustainably and wisely for the well-being of their collectives. It is therefore important that both Wakatū/Kono and the workers synergize for holistic, sustainable economic partnership through embedding relational considerations across all employer/worker partnerships. The pastoral care does not act in isolation rather it is embedded within the values of both the Māori business of Wakatū/Kono and the culture of the Tongan workers. These values support the creation of multidimensional outcomes for economic, social, cultural, and developmental outcomes and benefits for all.

The pastoral care model for the IMPAECT* workers is founded on the concepts of whānau/family and kāinga/village. This is a relationship enhancement model in which culture is practiced and validated and accountability and support structures are important (Morrison 2014). In fact, the pastoral care model of kāinga in New Zealand replicates and is embedded in the contextual and complex social norms from Tonga which incorporate the learning concepts of ako (learn and teach), ilo (knowledge), and poto (wisdom). Further explanation of kāinga will follow.

Ako is a Polynesian concept and means both to teach and to learn in a symbiotic relationship. Ako is to learn behaviors, life skills, or knowledge in a society where people are expected to behave in accordance with their various roles and status. This is important to maintain social cohesion and also intergenerational transfer of knowledge. It involves many pedagogies such as training, learning by osmosis and observation, reflecting, and practicing (Thaman 1988; Vaioleti 2011). These present as informal and nonformal learning opportunities which are often tested against natural and human phenomena (Thaman 1988). The purpose of ako was decided by the needs of the group and there was always almost shared understanding and vision (Thaman 1988; Vaioleti 2011).

Tongans make a clear distinction between knowledge (‘ilo) which is acquired through learning (ako) and wisdom (poto), which is the “beneficial use of ‘ilo or knowledge” (Thaman 1988). Clearly, knowledge is not expected to be achieved for its own sake unless it is worthwhile and benefits others. Knowledge is said to make people poto and to help them fulfill their fatongia (service, role, obligation) to their respective groups – whether these be family, community, school, church, or country (Vaioleti 2006, 2011).

Ako is therefore about action to transform the situation and improve well-being. Its transformative agency is important in bringing increased well-being to families, community, and kāinga. Certainly, as mentioned earlier, this is one of the objectives of RSE to improve livelihoods for Pacific peoples in their home nations through remittances and the building of their social and economic base.

Kāinga is the extended family which need not be geographically bound. It is a concept familiar to many Polynesians. Tongan academics (Kalavite 2012; Mahina 1993) record kāinga as the basic social unit of Tongan society and that it refers to blood or kin ties or living in an extended close-knit family and can extend to ancestral domains. Kāinga is also where learning occurs to solidify a community base, a spiritual base, and to build an economic base. The development of kāinga

required visionary and successive leadership, smart economic sense, physical effort, and sharing of skills, and through these efforts, kāinga gathered regularly in the same place to enjoy the benefits of their labor (Talanoa, Vaoleti, July 2014).

Kalavite (2012) and Tu'itahi (2005) individually produced a set of values as core underpinning principles for kāinga. Kalavite's reference to kāinga was based on the academic success by Tongan students in tertiary education while Tu'itahi interrogated how a kāinga became economically and socially successful in New Zealand. The values articulated by both authors within a kāinga include mo'ui fakatokolahi (living together in a cooperative lifestyle), fetokoni'aki (helping each other), tauhi vā (maintenance of good relationships), and faifatongia (cultural obligations). Helping sustain relationships within the kāinga was attributed to maintaining the vā.

Thaman (1988) says that Pacific people have a "consocial" sense of personhood which emphasizes their community or kāinga/kinship connections, the environment, behavior, and contextual flexibility. The "human" aspect to labor is broadly evident in RSE, a humanness and collectivism perhaps not so evident in other industries which relies more heavily on individualism. This reflects the operational ambitions of Māori-centered business such as Wakatū/Kono Inc. by acting "intimately, flexibly, and with critical consideration to local conditions, particular contexts, and the needs and concerns of others" (Spiller et al. 2010, p. 6). As a Māori business and RSE employer, Wakatū/Kono have broad capacity to work flexibly and seek creative opportunities to deepen efforts to serve all its whānau and stakeholders, including but not limited to Pacific RSE workers.

For the workers, the value generated through effective, stable, and trusting relationships brings benefits beyond what can be measured in "profit" terms alone" (Spiller et al. 2010). Cases of high-performing Pacific RSE workers turning down offers to work for other employers have been reported (Bailey 2015) indicating a functional level of trust and loyalty between RSE workers and employers, as well as the value RSE workers place on the stability, and a sense of closeness to one particular employer.

The IMPAECT * team has been intentional and deliberate in adhering to a leadership and management style which is traditional in nature, based on kinship, reciprocity and underpinned by collectivistic notions. In some ways, this has deviated from the protocols demanded by the policy guidelines of the RSE scheme; however, this chapter posits that it is these traditions and operations which have actually been responsible for the ongoing success of this particular partnership and work model.

Consequently, worker selection is well considered and the IMPAECT* selection team prioritize that workers:

- Have a kinship connection to a member of IMPAECT*
- Have a commitment to ongoing education and learning at all levels
- Have a commitment to supporting the well-being of their family, village, and nation Māori and Pacific peoples generally
- Be actively engaged culturally in their communities and understanding cultural tenets

The Pou Awhina (Pastoral Care Leader)

In the IMPAECT* team, the pastoral care is led by the Pou Awhina. This name comes from the local marae in Motueka called Te Awhina Marae, which is where the workers are welcomed upon arrival. Pou means the pillar of strength. The relationship between all the workers and in particular with the Pou Awhina is based on the concept of *vā*, described previously as the space that relates, a description that references the social roots of a concept for a group of principally relational beings. It is the space in between, it is a space that connects (Ka’ili 2005; Lilomaiva-Doktor 2009; Mahina 1993).

In this RSE scheme, the maintenance and nurturing of the *vā* guides all within the scheme; however, the Pou Awhina becomes the principal guardian of this important concept which is a major contributor to the group’s pastoral care. The Pou Awhina is also a senior Tongan woman capitalizing on the matriarchal leadership model which according to Taunaholo (Talanoa, Maleponi Taunaholo, May 2014) draws its potent power from two pillars of Tongan thought, *nofo* ‘a *kāinga* (codes of living as *kāinga*) and *laumālie* / ‘*Otua* (higher spirit) which are discussed later. This is a carryover of the social and cultural hierarchy from Tonga to Aotearoa. This symbolic leadership of Pou Awhina is important as it represents an important cornerstone role in a Tongan relationship, be it employment or social.

The Pou Awhina takes overall responsibility for worker well-being including spiritual care; however, a strong ethic of support and accountability exists within the workers themselves, towards the Pou Awhina and intrinsic support and accountability also to Wakatū/Kono Inc. as well as to IMPAECT* leaders. It is in this interloyalty or reciprocity that it is possible to maintain the *vā* in these relational roles and the attainment of harmony. Tongans will say that ‘*oku tau nofo moe* ‘*Otua* (that God or the spirit is with us) and that the state of *nofo* ‘a *kāinga* is achieved (Talanoa, Maleponi Taunaholo, May 2014).

Equally important is that *ako* (learning and teaching) has the ultimate aim of contributing to harmony with the spirit and good *nofo* ‘a *kāinga*. There are four distinct phases in the *ako* journey for the workers which are led primarily by the Pou Awhina with other IMPAECT* members:

- *Ako* ‘i Tonga – Worker selection and readiness for New Zealand
- *Ako moana ki te whenua* – Worker transition
- *Ako whenua ki te kāinga* – Worker enhancement through daily routines and community interactions
- *Ako* – ki he *vā kāinga* – Worker return to family/community in Tonga

Ako ‘i Tonga: Worker Selection and Readiness for New Zealand

Ako ‘i Tonga focuses primarily on two relationships. Firstly with the selected worker and their family and secondly with the government officials which require legal compliance matters to be completed.

New Zealand legislation requests candidates pass police checks and health checks and will abide by the rules of the receiving country (New Zealand Immigration 2014).

Orientation programs assist the workers to be informed on legal requirements of entry into New Zealand and ease their transition into a new country. For someone who has come from a poor community, generally their access to formal education has been limited. Their cultural competency skills, however, should not be underestimated. With the support of the Pou Awhina, the informal learning processes allows for the translation of the concepts and information and for the forms to be correctly completed.

Once workers indicate their wish to be selected, then the IMPAECT* selection team sit down with the wider family to Talanoa. The whānau/family is just as important as the worker. The family must place their wholehearted support behind the absence of their loved one. They have to be able to sustain themselves, be emotionally strong to keep the family relationships intact, and be aware of the challenges which can be expected. Financial goals are then set with the agreement of the family, so every family member knows methods of remittances, savings which are possible and can begin planning.

There are discussions regarding the welfare of the family during the absence of the family member and the resources that will be available to meet the family's needs. Is there sufficient food in the plantations and gardens? Are other family supports close by? What will happen should a family member fall sick? These are examples of testing the resilience of the family as in the course of a 7-month absence, many significant events and family milestones may occur. For many families, this may be the first time that the worker may have had a steady regular job and been in the position to set a financial goal. Basic financial calculations are worked through even at this early stage of the recruitment process so that each worker and their family together can set short- and long-term goals which then further entrenches the workers' commitment to the scheme to promote a successful period of work.

As a follow on, the worker's ability in the English language is also assessed, and while it is desirable that they have a good knowledge of English, it is not mandatory as others in the team will be able to convey messages and English language programs can be available. IMPAECT* conducts its own orientation program teaching about New Zealand culture, the context of working in the small rural town of Motueka, working and living conditions, team cohesiveness, and ability to listen to instruction and to abide by the guidance of the Pou Awhina. Visual pictures are often shown to help give meaning and some equipment has been sent to Tonga by Wakatū/Kono so that workers can test their physical strength, as well as cognition and team skills. Many of the selected workers come with a high degree of apprehension as recorded: "I felt very nervous going to New Zealand to pick fruit for the first time cos I know I will miss my family" (Talanoa, Participant B 2015). "I want to go and earn money for my family and I hope I can work well" (Talanoa, Participant C 2015).

Ako 'i Tonga acknowledges that every worker belongs to a family and a community or kāinga. Relationships therefore must be preserved through good communication from the kāinga in Tonga to the kāinga which will be recreated in Motueka

for the workers. It is important for the IMPAECT* team to extend pastoral care or nofo 'a kāinga to the families in Tonga so that the members working in New Zealand have strong families in Tonga to which to return. It makes no sense to achieve the aim of robust nofo 'a kāinga in New Zealand but the nofo 'a kāinga in Tonga is weak. If the purpose of kāinga is, as Vaoleti (2011) says, to be decided by the needs of the group with shared understanding and vision then Ako 'i Tonga is where the source of the vā must emanate from, for the well-being of the workers.

Ako moana ki te whenua: Worker Transitions

Ako moana ki te whenua allows for the transition or migration of the workers from Tonga to New Zealand and, in particular, to come under the manaakitanga of the people of the land.

The workers are made aware of the history, the structure, and the values of the local tribe which contributes to the philosophy of Wakatū/Kono to enhance their awareness of the environment and sense of belonging. All this is conducted through Talanoa and hands-on practical learning and prepares the workers to be ready to live and work in a place and on the land of the indigenous people which has its own spirituality and meaning. The social structures for both Māori and Tongans are similar being both descendants of Polynesian ancestry; yet the colonization of Māori has ruptured an ancient shared past and while there are shared cultural synergies, there are also differences too.

Critical to being employed under the auspices of Wakatū/Kono is the importance of rituals being conducted. Firstly, the workers are greeted with a powhiri or a ritual of an encounter which allows for the people of the land to connect spiritually to include the workers into their fold.

During the exchanges which sets the parameters of the relationship, there is much speech making, and the RSE workers are thanked and honored for leaving their families and coming to New Zealand to pick fruit and to work. Traditional narratives are then shared on the history and colonization of the land and how the local tribe are now engaged in development initiatives to grow the tribe economically, socially, and culturally. Sometimes, there may be exchanges of song and dance during the shared feasting which concludes the ceremony.

The workers are accepted as part of the extended family of the tribe (whanaungatanga), to engage in a reciprocal relationship of respect (manaakitanga), to value what the land produces as gifts (kaitiakitanga), to share in the many activities of the marae, and to uphold the reputation of the tribe (rangatiratanga). The terms of the relationship are set by creating understanding, providing information, and inviting an engagement based on honesty and accountability to each other (pono). The powhiri is held every year despite many workers being repeat workers.

This experience through this ritual can be overwhelming; however, many workers become aware of its spiritual meaning and feel privileged to have been given such a welcome as can be seen in these talanoa with the workers: "the powhiri is a very powerful experience" (Talanoa, Participant A 2015); "the marae and the powhiri is

important and helps us as Tongans feel welcome. It is a good learning to know about the Māori culture and to feel it in our heart” (Talanoa, Participant B 2015).

It is important to note that while it is the Governance Board who has articulated Wakatū/Kono’s stance on Tikanga Māori, it is the Management and Supervisor’s team with whom the RSE team have the most contact. Their operations must uphold the mana/prestige of Wakatū/Kono and they have a mandate to adopt management styles consistent with those principles.

Wakatū/Kono and a team of RSE workers from Tonga have both consciously and unconsciously engaged in an interaction which draws on their cultural capital, reaffirms a shared ancestry, a shared value system, and ancient connections which have been refreshed through this RSE scheme. Māori and indeed Wakatū/Kono Inc. reference the system of kāinga, of relationships, of duty, of service, of the need for group cohesion, of sacred narratives, of land and of spiritual connectedness, and of the integral role that ako, ilo, and potopoto play. This sets the stage well for both parties to benefit economically from their partnership.

Ako whenua ki te kāinga: Workers Routines

Ako whenua ki te kāinga allows for the workers to settle into routines in the workplace and their recreated kāinga. This is a vital stage and the point of intersection of different kāinga from Tonga to merge to create a common kāinga in New Zealand for the duration of the RSE term. The worker composition may have heads of families or be from different distinctive groups of the Tongan hierarchical structures and must adjust to routines expected by IMPAECT* and the business character of Wakatū/Kono. The values that will enhance a nofo 'a kāinga vital for the success of the recreated kāinga include mo'ui are fakatokolahi (living together in a cooperative lifestyle), fetokoni'aki (helping each other), tauhi vā (maintenance of good relationships), and faifatongia (cultural obligations).

Ako also allows for osmosis, for learning an observation, and for problem-based learning. The work tasks for horticultural workers are:

- Harvesting of fruit
- Pack and sort fruit
- Prune fruit trees
- Maintain crops
- Summer pruning and thinning
- Tree training
- Tractor driving
- Quality assurance of fruit

Within all of these tasks is a level of expertise and skill required. This is in addition to a high level of fitness and care that workers must possess. Returning workers become the mentors to newer workers using the concept of ako and everyone knowing their role so that the collective can benefit.

Sometimes, the workers' willingness to please their employer can mean that they say they understand an instruction when the truth is the opposite. Being a cohesive group with kinship ties and cultural understandings based on *ako* and cooperation and support of each other helps to complete tasks. No one worker is left to fail.

Through briefings, practice, and on the job experience and practice in the orchards, and the daily discussions and reflections on how the day went, successful engagement is built. This is a significant part of *ako* and here lies the opportunity for the team leaders and more experienced members of the *whānau* to offer the skills and advice to those that need support.

Similarly routines are set up in their accommodation which now operates like a little village (*kāinga*). An emphasis on cooperation and collaboration is again paramount but then fundamental to Tongan society is the obligation to their collective kin (*kāinga*) and so in many ways this *fatongia* (obligation) is intrinsic to the workers' character anyway. Consequently, the *vā* continues to be nurtured.

Every evening following the work day, the Pou Awhina calls the workers together to share in the evening meal together and to be followed by reflection, prayers, and singing, a time known as *famili* (family). The reflection is a guided sharing which encourages the workers to reflect on their day, their insights, new learnings, and challenges. Through ongoing sharing then the group is able to strengthen, share concerns, and find resolutions to potential problems. It also helps workers find and learn new coping strategies should the need arise. This is 'Otua and *nofo* 'a *kāinga* pillars at work. The pillar of 'Otua occurs in the everyday family/family or *kāinga* time.

The sending of money is an important activity in helping maintain the *vā* and the relationship with families in Tonga. Culturally, it is not just about transfer of capital but can be viewed as an exchange of tributes where the family in turn reciprocate by sending back prayers, blessings, and goodwill to their family member. This act supports the well-being (physical and spiritual) of the *kāinga* and gives all members a sense of empowerment. Financial remittances are sent back weekly to families in Tonga, building their critical literacy skills as well as financial literacy skills.

The time for harvest is very important. There is an early morning gathering in the orchards where prayers of thanksgiving are made before the carved figure of the Māori God of Harvest, Rongo for the abundance of fruit grown and produced from the land. The workers are invited to be active participants by leading prayers in partnership with the Māori owners. They say "it was a very deep experience being able to conduct prayers of thanksgiving together" (Talanoa, Participant C 2015); "it was important to thank the gods who have produced fruit of the land which allows us to work and provide money for our families" (Talanoa, Participant A, June 2013). The harvest prayers now attract all RSE workers throughout Motueka and it has grown into a community gathering thus allowing the participation of many members of the community to understand Māori rituals and the importance of relationships extending to giving thanks to the land.

Beyond the relationship with Māori are other relationships that the workers have with the community. Significant is the Church in which the team has decided

to have fellowship. Sundays are sacred and is a day of rest. Regular attendance at church provides the opportunity for workers to socialize with other parts of the community and for an extension of their social skills. Churches also make a big effort to integrate the workers into their communities and as Bedford reports (2013), the workers bring a vitality to what has been dwindling congregations. Churches have also been helpful for fundraising activities especially assisting in the financial cost of paying for a container to ship goods back to Tonga. Wakatū/Kono make a regular contribution to a container realizing that workers are actively developing opportunities to set up business activities upon their return home and require goods purchased in New Zealand to be sent to Tonga. These are the pillars of nofo 'a kāinga which extend to the group's commitment to the community. Wakatū/Kono continue to display manaaki, and at times, the workers are invited to share in many activities important to the tribe and whānau (family) days. Significant days of celebration such as Waitangi Day and Matariki (Māori New Year) are explained as is their historic significance. The workers participate at the activities of the marae and contribute through their singing and/or expertise in cooking certain Polynesian foods.

It is good to support Māori activities. (Talanoa, Participant E 2015)

We like to go to the marae and learn new things. (Talanoa, Participant D 2015)

One of the most traumatic events for the worker is when a loved one passes away while they are in New Zealand working, and over the years, the teams that have come to New Zealand under Wakatū/Kono have been witness to the tragedy that an event like this brings. Workers are faced with the decision of returning home or to continue to work in New Zealand where the money they earn can support high costs of hosting funerals where the exchange of gifts is essential to maintaining the prestige of the family. The loss of loved ones in any culture is devastating. In Tongan culture the vā which binds the kāinga are incredibly strong and intense and being absent from loved ones at this time can be a painful time. Should the worker remain in New Zealand, then special prayers, services, and acknowledgments are made. The elders from the Wakatū/Kono also attend and offer comfort and solace as they would in accordance with their own funeral practices. Should the worker decide to return to Tonga, then voluntary financial contributions (koha) assist with costs of flights and funeral costs. Wakatū/Kono have established a garden of remembrance with plants representing those that have passed on. The nofo 'a kāinga responds with 'ofa/love, ceremony, and in the embrace of the laumālie/'Otua (higher spirit) to help ease the grief process.

The Government have supported education for the workers through providing them with access to English literacy, numeracy, and financial literacy training with a provider called Vakameasina. Many programs are available such as Financial and Personal Goal Setting; Budgeting in New Zealand; Payslips and Deductions; Employee Rights and Responsibilities; Remittances; and Health and Safety, small business development. Teaching occurs outside of work hours; once a week for 2 h and is free. As opposed to other RSE workforces, the workers

recruited for Wakatū/Kono were not all from poor rural areas and many had good levels of English language ability and formal education at secondary school. They therefore chose courses on small business, computer training, and financial literacy. These training programs would stand them in good stead no matter what situation they would find themselves in as their commentary indicates “it was good to think through a business I can start up when I return home” (Talanoa, Participant E 2015); “my business plan was how to start a restaurant because I live near the airport and people have to drive past” (Talanoa, Participant D 2015). “I am glad that I know how to email now as I can stay in touch with family cheaply” (Talanoa, Participant A 2015).

While these are all commendable and the group as a whole has participated in these classes, at times the workers do struggle to attend and stay enthusiastic especially following a full day of hard work in the field. The merits of such training are however well appreciated.

In a 2011 Evaluative Report by Roorda undertaken on the training of RSE workers, some interesting issues emerged:

1. Workers come from cultures where the teacher knows everything, so don't question the teacher much.
2. (They) also don't want to lose face (by speaking out and getting something wrong).
3. X wanted to get to know them. X pushed the books aside and got them talking about their lives. An employer said they had received “overwhelmingly positive feedback” from workers about the tutor.
4. X made a connection with the learners. Comments from a range of respondents suggest the tutors were highly regarded by the participants. Workers in one interview commented (about one tutor).
5. One tutor commented, for example, that a group leader with “huge charisma” would have been insulted to have been placed in a beginner's group.

Within the Wakatū/Kono group, commentary on learning experiences have been similar:

We learn better when tutors value who we are and where we come from. (Talanoa, Participant E 2015)

Some stuff was boring but once I saw how I can create business opportunity in Tonga then I enjoyed the learning. (Talanoa, Participant A 2015)

It was good to practise English with supervisors. (Talanoa, Participant F 2015)

I liked the cooking class because we could eat what we made. (Talanoa, Participant B 2015)

What I learnt, then I could use it the next day. (Talanoa, Participant C 2015)

I like x. He treats us like adults who can think. And he expresses himself well. We know what to do. (Talanoa, Participant D, March 2015).

These comments indicate the need for the tutors to become familiar with the contexts of the learners, that relationships matter, that the workers come with their own worldviews and cultural capital. Again, these represent components of ako.

Ako – ki he vā kāinga: Workers Return to Family/Community in Tonga

Ako ki he vā kāinga concerns the preparation to return home after 7 months of working in Motueka. This requires planning which adds to the excitement and anticipation that such an event can bring. For many workers, their new financial literacy skills and education and training and work has prompted the thinking of creating opportunities for their return home. The daily reflection and planning that occurs without fail in the 7 months that the workers are in New Zealand include discussions of whether they reached their goals set at the selection meetings and possible business opportunities when they return to Tonga. This leads to planning and purchasing materials, tools, and other resources which will be shipped back by container. As well, there is the end of season reflection which they conduct with the Pou Awhina to assess how well they did in the workplace, in the home space as a team member in terms of enhancing the vā, and as a kāinga/community member.

It is also important for the worker to reflect and acknowledge the new learning that has been acquired informally and formally and how they will use and implement that once they return home. These reflections all contribute as to whether the worker will be invited to return for another season. These are conducted through Talanoa. In Tonga meanwhile, families also have been preparing themselves. Most transitions back to the families occur without incident because the vā has been in a state of continual nurturing.

Before departure Wakatū/Kono host the workers for a meal and ritual of thanks to show their appreciation to them for coming to New Zealand to work for them. Often a small gift is given. As the land welcomed them when they arrived, thus the land bids them farewell. They are invited to engage in a ritual which takes place before the God of Harvest, Rongo so that a blessing of the land can be given to them and their families as they make the return home. Their work for this season is now complete.

On arrival in Tonga, the nofo 'a kāinga ritual continues as the group and the family members that were nofo 'a kāinga in Tonga meet outside the airport to be welcomed home by the leader of the IMPAECT* in Tonga, to perform a prayer to mark the transition of the separate nofo 'a kāinga into one body in Tonga before a meeting at the lead person's home for a final thanksgiving and the sharing of food. This is the continuance of maintaining the vā with the land of Tonga and the higher spirits that maintain the cohesiveness of the kāinga.

For Wakatū/Kono, the IMPAECT* managed group of Tongan workers have proven to be loyal and productive workers. The relative productivity of these workers in comparison to published averages of earnings suggests a significantly higher performance of this group, with an annual average earning per worker of up to New Zealand \$20,000 versus published averages for other workers of between AUD

\$5800–AUD\$8400 (Bailey 2015). In terms of loyalty and obligations, IMPAECT* workers have had no breaches of RSE limited visa conditions in their nearly 10-year history of work. Given the industry average for breaches of a little less than 1% for this category of visa, this could well represent further evidence for the multidimensional benefits of establishing a sense of belonging and subscription to shared goals.

The Māori–Pacific Interface

The relationship between Māori and Pacific in New Zealand has largely been directed by the colonial project within which Māori and a number of Pasifika communities are rather tightly bound (McIntosh 2001; Somerville 2012). While there has also been a long history of cooperation and equally a long history of competition, Teaiwa and Mallon (2005) have described the recent history of Māori–Pacific relationships as ambivalent and fraught with political tension. Yet Māori are Pacific peoples too, indigenous to Aotearoa and indigenous to the Pacific Ocean. As Addis said the migration brought Pacific people to Aotearoa to be Māori (cited in Somerville 2012).

Rangiatea or Ra’iatea, an island of Tahiti, is the home of the ancient shrine which honored Io, the supreme god of Hawaiki Nui, the land from which Polynesian ancestors came from. Māori came from Hawaiki and it is the place to which they return. It is their physical and spiritual homeland. Arriving and settling in Aotearoa, they made sense of our world through implementing a set of practices whose blueprint was rooted in Polynesia. Members of groups from Hawaiki or old Polynesia sourced knowledge from that blueprint to adapt to new environments as the navigational feats resulted in epic journeys across the Pacific to new lands. Consequently, Māori and peoples of Polynesia share common ancestors, common gods, and common narratives. Māui and Tangaroa are good examples. Relationships to lands, seas, taniwha, tīpua, and Gods are similar as is respectful relationships between all living creatures and people.

In Māori rituals, Hawaiki is referred to as the wā kāinga, the distant homeland, the place in our distant time where Māori lived as Polynesian as one distinct people, where people gathered as kin to share food, its production, and its harvest. In whaikōrero (oratory) particularly at times of death, it is said “Hoki atu ki Hawaiki nui, Hawaiki pamamao” (return to the great Hawaiki, to the distant Hawaiki). Hoki atu ki te wā kāinga (return to the distant homeland). These acknowledgments of Māori as being from Hawaiki or the wā kāinga continues to be memorialized in Māori rituals and practices.

In the 1850s, Te Rangikaheke from Ngāti Rangiwewehi, a rangatira and a prolific writer wrote a letter to his people in Hawaiki after meeting a man named Maui Tione who introduced himself to Te Rangikaheke as being from Hawaiki. Although the letter was unfinished, we see some interesting markers of a relationship that Te Rangikaheke thought he had with his kin from Hawaiki. Te Rangikaheke was of the opinion that Māori had strayed from their roots, that the people from Hawaiki would be mutually interested in Māori and would reciprocate with generosity because of a

long-standing relationship. He desired to engage with the people and place from which his ancestors came from (Somerville 2012). Upon hearing that those in Hawaiiki had a ship, he requested that a ship load of food be sent to him so that he may eat the food of the place from which his ancestors came:

A, mea atu ahau ki taua tangata nei. “Ki te tae koe ki tōu kāinga, ki Hawaiiki, ina hoki I rongo atu nei au I tau korero he kaupuke ano to koutou: a, ki te tae koe ki reira, mea atu ki ou whanaunga kia homai to koutou kaupuke hei uta kai maku, kia kai atu au I nga kai o te kainga I heke mai nei o tatou tupuna o mua”. (Cited in Somerville 2012, p. 196)

Somerville (2012) explains this quote as connecting food with history and the nourishment as being both intellectually nourishing as well as physical and spiritual because of the relationship with ancestors. It is a powerful reminder to remember that as Somerville says, that Māori were once Pacific peoples.

Conclusion

In the context of today, the RSE scheme has as its central focus the production of food. For the Tongan workers, they come to this land to work on the lands for the prime reason to earn a livelihood that cares for the well-being of their kāinga in Tonga; to do so effectively, they organize themselves in New Zealand in a way that draws on their traditional kāinga model and implements ako; for Māori owners the land (made up of many kāinga) is their wealth and they have horticultural lands of which they are the kaitiaki and which provide an economic and spiritual base for their whānau. Both have a shared responsibility to invest in their relationship with each other and in so doing to have the well-being of their kāinga and whānau at heart.

In detailing Māori and Tongan world views, strong evidence exists of both parallels and complementarity. Furthermore, such parallels and complementarity allow for the generation of outcomes by those familiar to and receptive of the enactment of such values. Key outcomes can include a sense of obligation, accountability, and reciprocity. Related to these outcomes is the establishment of a sense of belonging through the deliberate and authentic application of Māori values and world views in stakeholder interaction. It is an ever-cycling process of reciprocal give and take and communal sharing and support. The exploration of tauhi vā concludes that this functional phenomena is consistently brought into being through action including initiating the concept of ako – all in a dynamic web that requires participants to continually reestablish lines of obligation and learning in its many manifestations. It is authentic, and ongoing acts of care and generosity continues to legitimize ongoing obligation to others across space, time, and generations.

In what may be regarded as a capitalist model, culture has helped negotiate successful outcomes. Two indigenous communities have worked in particular ways building on their known strengths and have been able to learn from each other. In so doing, they have taken a journey of revitalizing, reaffirming, reimagining, and deepening ancient cultural traditions.

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Ngarrindjeri *Yannarumi*: Educating for Transformation and Indigenous Nation (Re)building

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Abstract

Yannarumi is a Ngarrindjeri concept that can be translated as “speaking lawfully as country.” It is fundamentally connected to understandings of peaceful relations and wellbeing. This chapter is a case study of Indigenous Nationhood. It explains how Ngarrindjeri use the *Yannarumi* concept to understand and assess the changing conditions through which they strive to educate the postcolonial public, and thereby negotiate a healthy life-giving relationship with Australian governments and other non-Indigenous agencies. The discussion is focused on contemporary forms of Ngarrindjeri public pedagogy and engagements with the settler State’s education systems. In order to speak lawfully and authoritatively for the wellbeing of their citizens and Country, and to exercise the responsibilities that come with the culturally fundamental interconnection between people, lands, waters, and all living things, Ngarrindjeri leaders have developed forms of political literacy, education, and life-long learning that strengthen Ngarrindjeri

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capacity to create a healthy future as an Indigenous nation. This aspirational strategy is influenced and supported by experiences and knowledge from other Indigenous Nations in Australia, New Zealand, and North America. This chapter considers the potential of the Ngarrindjeri Yannarumi methodology to transform colonizing curriculum and assessment frameworks of school-based education that restrict Indigenous success by devaluing and negating Indigenous knowledges. It explains how Yannarumi principles can create new curriculum and assessment guidelines that align with Ngarrindjeri values and goals aimed at securing wellbeing for people, Country, and all living things.

Keywords

Australian colonization · Aboriginal sovereignty · Education · Governance · Indigenous Nation re-building · Postcolonial reconciliation · Public pedagogy · Self-determination · Social transformation

Introduction

NOW TAKE NOTICE THAT
NGARRINDJERI HAVE ALWAYS OCCUPIED THIS PLACE
NGARRINDJERI HAVE NEVER CEDED NOR SOLD THIS LAND. (Excerpt from
Ngarrindjeri Declaration of Dominionium [1999](#), read publicly at Goolwa by Matthew Rigney)

Ngarrindjeri leaders have consistently asserted a responsibility to “speak as Country” as fundamental to a peaceful, healthy, and just life. This chapter explains how Indigenous “speaking as Country” potentially recalibrates colonial systems of knowledge formation and education, so that Indigenous perspectives are better represented through Indigenous agencies in shared processes of social construction. The chapter begins by situating Ngarrindjeri people philosophically in relation to the concept of *Ruwe-Ruwar*, the interconnectivity through which Ngarrindjeri life is part of the living body of lands and waters and through which the agency of *Yannarumi* emerges in speaking as Country. This philosophical understanding subtends Ngarrindjeri resistance to colonization, as was especially evident during their campaign of opposition to the building of a bridge over the spiritual waters surrounding Kumarangk (Hindmarsh Island) at the mouth of the River Murray in South Australia. The proposed development threatened the health of the River, the Lakes, and the Coorong and all connected living things (see Stevens [1995](#); Bell [1998](#), [2014](#), [2008](#); Saunders [2003](#); Hemming and Trevorrow [2005](#); Hemming et al. [2010](#)). This experience led to new Ngarrindjeri strategies for engaging with the settler State and new translation “tools” to support the Ngarrindjeri political project of nation (re)building. This political foundation has enabled Ngarrindjeri to better articulate and assert an Indigenous educative authority and a transformational public pedagogy based upon principles of *Yannarumi* or “speaking as Country.” The ultimate aim of this chapter is to explain how Ngarrindjeri *Yannarumi* provides a basis from which to transform learning frameworks into richer, healthier forms of education based on respect for

Indigenous knowledges. The multisited, multidimensional approach taken by Ngarrindjeri to Indigenous Nation re-building offers a “decolonial option” (Mignolo 2009) for transforming education. By applying a Ngarrindjeri *Yannarumi* assessment to current educational programs framed by a national curriculum and an associated assessment framework, Ngarrindjeri leaders can make informed decisions about their value to the Ngarrindjeri Nation. While the discussion focusses on the case of Ngarrindjeri, it also makes reference to the ideas and experiences of other Indigenous Nations and/or populations and their potential role in transforming colonial systems of education.

Ngarrindjeri Ruwe-Ruwar: An Indigenous Philosophy of Interconnectivity

Ngarrindjeri are part of the water. It is life, gives life, and is living. The cultural and spiritual relevance for Ngarrindjeri of water as a source of life and as part of the living body is that it flows, within, around and, through Ngarrindjeri country. The exercise of Ngarrindjeri cultural rights and the fulfilment of Ngarrindjeri responsibilities include being interconnected with and being part of the living water. The flow of water forms part of the interconnectedness of Ngarrindjeri to our country and the failure of water to flow into our country impacts upon our exercise of rights and our fulfilment of responsibilities as custodians of the land, water, and sky. (Ngarrindjeri Regional Authority, Murray-Darling Basin Plan Submission 242, 25th September 2015)

Ngarrindjeri are “water” people of the Coorong, Lower Lakes, and Murray Mouth region of South Australia. Ngarrindjeri knowledge has developed over thousands of generations, situated in/on/with Country, and growing from the lands and waters and all living things. Ngarrindjeri continue to pass on life-sustaining knowledge and cultural wisdom despite the oppressive constraints of a settler colonial system of education. Ngarrindjeri *Ruwe-Ruwar* is an Indigenous philosophy that encapsulates an interconnected system of being and knowing, while Ngarrindjeri *Yannarumi* expresses the cultural responsibility and political authority of Ngarrindjeri as agents of ethical interconnection (see Bignall et al. 2016).

A Ngarrindjeri philosophy of education can be situated in relation to these cultural concepts of life-water, flows, and connectivity. There are many layers and dimensions to this relation. At its most profound level of achievement, Ngarrindjeri education in postcolonial contexts involves fostering a place of teaching and learning where diverse epistemologies can come into contact enabling a creative mixing, as happens when “fresh and saltwaters meet” (Wilson 2010, p. 327). Indeed, Ngarrindjeri understandings of educational potential and responsibility in light of complex cultural concepts of connectivity, flow, and “Being as Country” share aspects in common with the knowledges of other Indigenous peoples. Thus, Kaurna Elder Uncle Lewis O’Brien “using the same metaphor as former Council of Reconciliation Chairperson, Patrick Dodson, and paralleling the Yolngu concept of *ganma* – talks of the meeting of salt and fresh water when he explains the complexity

and richness of Indigenous cultural knowledges and their relationship to dominant non-Indigenous epistemologies” (Worby et al. 2006, p. 423). The pedagogical dimensions made possible by the metaphorical meeting of the waters must necessarily be a “respectful coming together of Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples and their cultures in full awareness of and resistance to the lasting impacts of colonisation” (Worby et al. 2006, p. 423). A respectful coming together “includes elucidating the habits of mind that foster reconciliation, a vocabulary for reconciliation, and an understanding of the habits of reconciliation practices” (Hattam and Matthews 2012, p. 11). This meeting of “waters” – or knowledge systems – refuses purity, binary oppositions, and totalizations, instead bringing various streams together. As the Sami philosopher Rauna Kuokkanen explains: “With this approach, we aren’t required to keep one discourse and throw out the others. It is at the confluence of these various shifting streams – discourses and intellectual conventions” that we seek to work (Kuokkanen 2008, p. xiv). This “place” is not situated in a geographical sense: rather, it is a metaphorical space imaging a relational way of being that is enacted in each moment of living. Similarly, in her critique of the Australian curriculum, Gamilaraay/Yuwaalaraay citizen Sarah Loynes draws on her ancestral knowledge to image the fluid process of knowledge formation and the ways in which knowledge is influenced and constrained by the context in which it operates:

with the waterways representing my current journey ... The waterways represent students (and their pathways); the terrain/landscape represents curriculum knowledge and practice; the mountains are the curriculum policies and policy makers; the sea is the economy/workforce that students are being prepared for (but so much more than this also); and the layers in the landscape represent the potential knowledge that could enrich the curriculum through deeper and more honest engagement with places and Peoples. (Loynes speaking in Lowe et al. 2014, p. 59)

The river is imaged in these various Indigenous narratives as a source of physical, spiritual, and mental sustenance and wellbeing, which nourishes its people physically, spiritually, intellectually, and emotionally. The river is “simultaneously an exterior landscape and an interior one. It shapes both our activities and our thoughts. It affects our daily lives as well as the stories that tell us who we are” (Kuokkanen 2008, p. xiii). The river “is a concept-metaphor” that suggests fluidity and “assists thinking and analysis,” allowing “movement” in and out of multiple discourses and intellectual traditions. It resists confinement and control: we can be “carried away by various streams and currents” (Kuokkanen 2008, pp. xx–xxi). The river erases the borders of binary dualisms, allowing the fusion of “various theories and critical approaches without getting stuck in rigid categorizations or dichotomies” (Kuokkanen 2008).

From a Ngarrindjeri perspective, the place of the “meeting of the waters” is:

fundamental to the Ngarrindjeri world where all things are connected, whether they are living, from the past and/or for future generations. The Meeting of the Waters makes manifest core concepts of Ngarrindjeri culture that bind land, body, spirit, and story in an integrated, inter-functional world. (Ramsar Convention Secretariat 2011)

The river reflects a worldview that the Ngarrindjeri share with many other Indigenous nations, in which nature and culture, human and nonhuman, are indivisible and not part of a western binary ways of knowing and being (see Bignall, Hemming, and Rigney 2016). It is a place of flow and interconnectivity that bears both the continuing care of Ngarrindjeri and the scars of continuing colonization.

Colonization of Ngarrindjeri Ruwe/Ruwar: Breaking the Flow

The State of South Australia, and the education systems that work through it, fundamentally interrupt Ngarrindjeri lifeways by imposing western philosophies of being that separate humanity from nonhuman life and reduce lands, waters, and all living things to resources in an unsustainable capitalist economy. The colony of South Australia was established by the sovereign authority of imperial Letters Patent, signed by the British King William IV in 1836 (Berg 2010; Rigney et al. 2015; Bignall et al. 2015). Although the Letters Patent formally recognize Indigenous occupation and original land rights, this original recognition was subsequently forsaken as the nascent colony developed, and consequently South Australia has no treaties or regional land rights legislation (Hemming and Rigney 2010, pp. 91–92). Although it has recently announced its renewed commitment to honoring the promise contained within the founding authority of the Letters Patent by recognizing Indigenous rights through a process of Treaty with the Indigenous Nations in its jurisdiction, the State of South Australia is yet to negotiate a just settlement with Indigenous nations. Likewise, the Federal Government has not entered into Treaty with Indigenous Australians. This unresolved issue of governance remains critical in any discussion of education, collaboration, and engagement with the nation State. In the context of teaching and learning, the unresolved issue of Indigenous rights manifests in an education institution that is yet to acknowledge the sovereignty of Ngarrindjeri or other Indigenous peoples. Consequently, the public education system negates, distorts, and underrepresents the values and principles of Ngarrindjeri education and knowledges (Education Department of South Australia 1989, 1990, 1992).

It is therefore unsurprising that until comparatively recently, non-Indigenous authorities have ignored, discredited, or failed to understand Ngarrindjeri voices speaking about the ecological and cultural significance of their Country where the “Meeting of the Waters” takes place (see Stevens 1995; Bell 1998, 2014; Simons 2003; Rigney et al. 2015; Hemming et al. 2016). Colonial processes of denial and erasure not only occur across the physical spaces of environmental management impacting on places such as the “Meeting of the Waters,” but also extend across multiple discursive fields and sites of engagement in the contemporary contact zone (Hemming 2007; Hemming and Rigney 2008). In the field of education, efforts to assert educational values from Ngarrindjeri perspectives – to speak as Country in educational contexts – have often also been met with incomprehension and refusal. Education work – both continuing the education of Ngarrindjeri peoples as

a community, and educating the settler State – is fundamental to Ngarrindjeri efforts to “assert, negotiate, or protect interests” in Country.

The colonial education system has too often positioned Indigenous learners as lacking knowledge and capability (Vass and Chalmers 2015). These assumptions about the education deficit and incapacity of Indigenous people, and actions to contain the education of Indigenous people within Euro-western frames, are still evident in, for example, existing policies such as “Close the Gap” (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet 2016). Here, Indigenous learners are assumed to lag behind a non-Indigenous standard and need to catch up by assimilating to “white” ways of being, knowing and doing, and education assessment practices such as NAPLAN (which measure Indigenous children according to Euro-western standards that negate Indigenous ways of being knowing and doing). Such policies and assessment practices continue to position the postcolonial state as paternalistic “protector” of Indigenous peoples while denying Indigenous rights to determine the educational wellbeing of people, lands, and waters. These colonizing practices are accompanied by the settler colonial occupation and control of Indigenous lands and waters and attempts to sever the integral link that Indigenous peoples maintain with Country.

Even while their Indigenous systems of knowledge formation and teaching persist – albeit informally – alongside the colonial systems of education, Ngarrindjeri remain caught in a colonial situation where children are required to participate in a formal state education system “structured by colonial institutions and their associated forms of knowledge” (Moore 1993). These have “funnelled social understanding through narrow pathways towards a predetermined outcome of cultural extinction” (Hemming et al. 2016, p. 6). The formal education system is yet to provide any opportunity for Ngarrindjeri to be Ngarrindjeri in a Ngarrindjeri way. For Ngarrindjeri, enabling Indigenous authority in the field of education requires the development of new kinds of relationships with the nation state and its colonial governments, which in turn requires Ngarrindjeri and colonial powers to work together across multiple dimensions and on multiple fronts. Postcolonial reconciliation calls Australians collectively to change the shape of institutions and technologies, philosophies, and literacies.

Scope for a more just form of postcolonial acknowledgment of Ngarrindjeri knowledges, authority, and values stirred in 2001: the Federal Court at this time reconsidered Ngarrindjeri traditions associated with the “Meeting of the Waters” at Kumarangk. It concluded, contrary to its earlier findings in the Hindmarsh Island Bridge Case, that Ngarrindjeri knowledges were not fabricated and that the meeting of the waters are part of “genuine Aboriginal tradition” (Hemming et al. 2016, p. 7). The Court thereby formally acknowledged that this “genuine Aboriginal tradition” has been passed on through Ngarrindjeri processes of education over thousands of generations. More recently, and building upon this early gesture towards legal recognition, the Ngarrindjeri Nation has engaged in a political strategy which uses contract law agreements to negotiate non-Indigenous responsibility to engage respectfully with Ngarrindjeri beliefs and traditions. These formal and binding accords are known as Kungun Ngarrindjeri Yunnan Agreements (KNYA – Listen

to Ngarrindjeri Speaking), and this innovative development in jurisprudence has shifted the South Australian Government's monolithic grasp on authority by enabling Ngarrindjeri to resume a leading role in Caring for/as Country (Hemming and Rigney 2011; Hemming et al. 2010, 2011; Trevorrow and Hemming 2006). This is important for postcolonial reconciliation, social advancement, and sustainability:

greater appreciation by non-Indigenous society of Indigenous knowledge as a valuable contribution to world knowledge can lead to productive cross-cultural philosophical alliances that bring together sympathetic understandings of the conditions of sustainability, inspiring new approaches to environmental stewardship and enabling more participatory alternatives to top-down, centralised environmental management. (Bignall, Hemming, and Rigney 2016, p. 274)

This shift in cultures of governance and authority is of crucial importance to the continuation of Ngarrindjeri education in the face of continuing colonial policy. Through their work on Country and with leaders from government and key organizations who make decisions about Ngarrindjeri Country and act upon these decisions, the Ngarrindjeri Nation is shifting the way Ngarrindjeri Country and people are understood. This work requires both the continuation of Ngarrindjeri traditions of teaching and learning and the generation of new forms of education and negotiation in response to changing demands created by legacies of colonization and its related impacts upon land, waters, people, and all forms of life (see Ngarrindjeri Nation 2016; NRA 2012, 2014; NRA et al. 2016). Education, like Caring for/as Country, is a social obligation for which Ngarrindjeri, as a Nation, are responsible.

The following section discusses a recent shift in the Ngarrindjeri approach to teaching and learning: from one detached from, and at odds with, the institutions of the colonial nation state that has employed a racialized binary logic stripped of *Ruwe-Ruwar*, to one that claims Aboriginal sovereignty and attempts to collaborate and educate from a standpoint of Indigenous cultural authority. Ngarrindjeri knowledge, philosophy, science, and experience are increasingly articulated through a practice of *Yannarumi*, "Speaking as Country." This provides a transformative methodology for rethinking education from a Ngarrindjeri perspective.

***Yannarumi* as Public Pedagogy: Speaking and Acting Lawfully as Country**

Public and political recognition of the value of Ngarrindjeri knowledge has not come easily, but rather is the result of an intensive campaign of research, publication, political negotiation, and public education intended to drive a process of postcolonial transformation. The notion of "*Yannarumi*" sits as the cornerstone of this campaign. *Yannarumi* is a Ngarrindjeri concept which can be translated as "acting or speaking lawfully as Country." It is fundamentally connected to understandings of peaceful relations and wellbeing. By Speaking as Country – when land is conceived as an entity that is never separate from the autochthonous peoples with which it is

connected – Ngarrindjeri act lawfully and authoritatively according to the principles of ecological interconnectivity that define their sovereign responsibility to live carefully in relation to their lands and waters. *Yannarumi* exercises the collective right and obligation of Ngarrindjeri to protect, preserve, and foster all of the life-forms that are sustained by their Country, including the cultural life of the community itself. Simultaneously, the relational perspective articulated in *Yannarumi* assists Ngarrindjeri to work through potential conflicts, misunderstandings, and problematic engagements. *Yannarumi* therefore asserts the rightfulness of Ngarrindjeri ways of being and knowing, based on *Ruwe-Ruwar* as an Indigenous philosophy of relationality or interconnection.

Yannarumi is a practice of balance and connection: things and situations should be understood and expressed in terms of their potential for forming reciprocal relations that reproduce wellbeing for individuals, as well as sustaining the environments and ecologies in which individuals participate. Ngarrindjeri people are an integral and inseparable part of Ngarrindjeri lands and waters. They have an abiding responsibility to sustain the ecological health of Country that defines their existence as such: “For Ngarrindjeri ‘wise-use’ requires practicing a lawful, respectful, and reproductive life that respects the Creation Stories handed down from the Kaldowinyeri (Creation)” (Hemming and Rigney 2016, p. 5). *Yannarumi* articulates the Ngarrindjeri responsibility to act and relate in a way that cares mindfully for the interconnected being of *Ruwe-Ruwar*, as was conferred at the beginning of time by creation ancestors such as Ngurunderi (Hemming and Rigney 2012, p. 186):

Ngarrindjeri must follow the Traditional Laws; we must respect and honour the lands, waters and all living things. Ngurunderi taught us our Miwi, which is our inner spiritual connection to our lands, waters, each other and all living things, and which is passed down through our mothers since Creation. (Ngarrindjeri Nation 2007, p. 8)

A twofold implication of *Yannarumi* for education becomes apparent at this point. Firstly, *Yannarumi* requires the education of Ngarrindjeri citizens in their own culture, history, and the ways of their Nation. Ngarrindjeri students need familiarity with their Creation stories and the obligations and rights established by the ancestors, if they are to act effectively as citizens of the Ngarrindjeri Nation and thereby to speak with authority and confidence as Ngarrindjeri in relation to non-Indigenous society. Secondly, *Yannarumi* subtends an important “reconciliation pedagogy” (Hattam and Matthews 2012) in South Australia. This involves Ngarrindjeri engaging with the non-Indigenous publics and agencies now cohabiting on Ngarrindjeri Country, in order to teach the principles and perspectives of right conduct and environmental science that Ngarrindjeri have developed over eons of occupation and have long used successfully in sustainable natural resource management. Integral to this process of public education is the assertion of *Yannarumi* as an authoritative Indigenous agency of social expression and construction, coupled with the re-centering of *Ruwe-Ruwar* and the dismantling of colonial logics that are based on a false divide between people and Country. The results of this work have produced significant changes in relations between Ngarrindjeri and the settler-State.

Ngarrindjeri *Yannarumi* or Speaking as Country therefore has an historical meaning, but is being reconceptualized in a contemporary form by Ngarrindjeri leaders to take into account the impacts and changes that have occurred to Ngarrindjeri *Yarluwar-Ruwe* (Sea Country) as a result of colonization. The continuity of Indigenous laws, values, and traditions is reinforced in the following excerpt from the *Ngarrindjeri Nation Yarluwar-Ruwe Plan* (2006, p. 11):

Our knowledge of Sea Country will continue to underpin our survival and our economy. Tendi, our formal governing council, ensured and will continue to ensure our stable and sustainable society, which maintains our obligations to Sea Country.

When Ngarrindjeri meet to “Speak as Country” about things that impact on the wellbeing of Ngarrindjeri *Ruwe-Ruwar* (lands, waters, body, spirit, and all living things), judgements are made based on the cultural principles passed down by the ancestors. This group of leaders and elders is traditionally called the *Tendi*, and when it meets, speaks, and makes decisions this is known as *Yannarumi* or Speaking as Country. It is the responsibility of Ngarrindjeri leaders to make decisions that ensure the wellbeing of Ngarrindjeri *Yarluwar-Ruwe*. The *Tendi* (the traditional governance board of the Ngarrindjeri Nation) has a formal position as part of the board of the contemporary national peak body, the Ngarrindjeri Regional Authority (NRA). The NRA Board is made up of representatives of Ngarrindjeri member organizations, key representative committees, and elected representatives from the wider Ngarrindjeri nation. Today the NRA takes responsibility for assessing whether something is healthy, lawful, and creates wellbeing for the Ngarrindjeri nation. This assessment of projects, practices, partnerships, plans, and other activities is conducted with the wellbeing of Ngarrindjeri *Ruwe-Ruwar* (body, spirit, lands, and waters and all living things) as its objective. As stated in the *Ngarrindjeri Nation Yarluwar-Ruwe Plan* (2007), Ngarrindjeri leaders have always worked this way, following the laws of the Creation Ancestors and guided by Elders.

Ngarrindjeri livelihoods, culture, and wellbeing depend on exercising their cultural agency. With this in mind, the NRA has identified key goals that uphold *Yannarumi* as the expression of this cultural responsibility, and which aim to safeguard healthy *Ruwe-Ruwar* in: Strong Culture, Sovereign First Nationhood, a Secure Future, Healthy Country, Confident People, Creative Economy, a Respected History and Regional Leadership. These principles reflect and respond to Ngarrindjeri understandings about the interconnectivity between people and Country (Hemming and Rigney 2016, p. 34). With these overarching goals in mind, the NRA has developed a “*Yannarumi* assessment framework,” which it uses to evaluate the beneficial capacity – or the detrimental effects – of programs, policies, and relations with non-Indigenous institutions including law, research, and education.

Taking into account the continuing impacts of colonization on Ngarrindjeri *Yarluwar-Ruwe*, Ngarrindjeri believe healing programs and healthy flows are encouraged by a set of criteria that support respectful intercultural engagement. They foreground: *Kaldowinyeri*, in projects and engagements that respect Ngarrindjeri knowledge, law, tradition, and expertise; *Ruwe-Ruwar*, in projects and programs that

increase the health of *Yarluwar-Ruwe* by understanding and respecting the principle of interconnection; *Miwi*, in projects and relationships that bring energy, health and wellbeing into Ngarrindjeri lives; *Yannarumi*, in projects and engagements that build Ngarrindjeri capacity to Care for/Speak as Country to benefit lands, waters, and all living things; and *Ngiangiampe*, in projects and processes that build respectful relationships between Ngarrindjeri and other parties such as the State Government (Hemming et al. 2015). These elements are “assessed” in terms of their contribution to – or realization of – *Kaldowinyeri*, the life giving flow of Creation; and *Parpun miwi* which relates to a yearning for wellbeing in the face of destructive forces of colonization of country and peoples. When *Kaldowinyeri* is respected, the interconnection of lands, waters, body, spirit, and all living things expressed through *Ruwe-Ruwar* is *pritji* (strong) and *katjeri* (beautiful and healthy). The *miwi* spiritual connection is *pritji* (strong). *Rupelli* (Elders) *Yannarumi* (speak as Country) and *Ngiangiampe* relationships and governance are strong through *Tendi Nguldun*, the Ngarrindjeri Nation’s own healthy governance and agreement making structures. When creation is strong, Ngarrindjeri *Yarluwar-Ruwe* is *katjeri* (beautiful and healthy).

When, however, the “smog of colonization” (Wilson 2010) is the overwhelming force and the reproductive flows of creation are inhibited, then *parpun miwi*, the people and land are hurt and depleted and long for wellbeing. *Ruwe-Ruwar* is depleted and the *Wurreng-wulun* spirit connection is sorrowful. Colonization inhibits speaking and acting as Country. Colonial forces impede the healthy and culturally responsible management of Ngarrindjeri *Ruwe-Ruwar*, and colonization leads to *blewiliun* (unhealthy) and *Wurangi* (disrespectful) *Ngiangiampe* partnerships and relationships. For a particular context of action or experience, *Yannarumi* asks: what must be maintained so that Ngarrindjeri can always be a living part of Country? In each engagement, Ngarrindjeri seek to remain agents, and the engagement is therefore assessed primarily in terms of its respect for Ngarrindjeri agency, which is reflected chiefly in the capacity for Ngarrindjeri people to “speak as Country.”

A Ngarrindjeri-centered evaluation framework for the purpose of transformative education thus brings into contemporary being a set of ideas and evaluative criteria that have been around for tens of thousands of years. By employing this evaluative framework to discern current projects, processes, institutions, and relationships that work to benefit Ngarrindjeri, the NRA is influencing a change in its relationship with colonial authorities. In many instances, settler agents of government are legally bound by contract law agreements to “kungun Ngarrindjeri yunnan”: to listen to Ngarrindjeri “speaking as Country” and telling of their experiences of unsuccessful colonial policies in the past, and their expectations for self-governance and a role in the management of Country in the future. The evaluative framework further helps partners in a relationship to identify points of resonance and agreement as well as trenchant sites of disagreement that are culturally significant and must not be ignored or erased. This provides a foundation for finding future accord, enabling a movement of general action to shift the Indigenous-colonial conflict in the direction of de-colonial partnership.

When pedagogy remains centered on colonial interests and concepts, when Ngarrindjeri education is inserted into a colonial frame, then Ngarrindjeri knowledge is not shared. Rather it is simultaneously negated and possessed by colonial authority. A *Yannarumi* approach orients knowledge and understandings of “truth” away from colonial violence, conflict and competition, and toward a respect for *Kaldowinyeri*, the creation. *Yannarumi* centralizes Ngarrindjeri agency where colonization has marginalized it, and it enables partners in a relationship to share knowledge, philosophy, and experience to the potential wellbeing of everyone. The enactment of *Yannarumi* engages the nation state and other collaborators in a practical exercise of Ngarrindjeri sovereignty, manifesting in a transformation of (post)colonial relationships. Thinking through *Yannarumi*, an education process becomes visible as both a strategy of resistance against the components of a system that does not value Ngarrindjeri knowledge, at the same time as it is a strategy of teaching principles of partnership (Education for Social Justice Research Group 1994). The process of education is underpinned by a political and legal strategy made necessary in the colonial context: this asserts a rightful Indigenous presence and the just responsibilities that accompany that presence. Ngarrindjeri Nationhood and self-governance begins from the claim that Ngarrindjeri people have never ceded sovereignty of Ngarrindjeri lands and waters and thus remain sovereign. The Ngarrindjeri Regional Authority’s partnership with non-Indigenous government at all levels is based on an assertion of First Nationhood (see Ngarrindjeri Nation 2007). “Identifying, organising and acting as a Nation” (Cornell 2015) enables Ngarrindjeri “to express in an amplified voice their expectations for the protection of their Country and its well-being” (Bignall et al. 2016, p. 468). This has involved productive negotiations with the Department of Environment, Water and Natural Resources to better protect Ngarrindjeri *Ruwe-Ruwar*. Through *Yannarumi*, Ngarrindjeri attempt to speak sovereignly, as Country. This sovereignty is extended in multiple spaces: physical, theoretical, social, environmental, educational, and economic. Given the interrelatedness between people and Country, it is hardly surprising that Ngarrindjeri education work draws on and grows from work in caring for/as Ngarrindjeri Country. Teaching and learning as/on Country challenges the actions behind the language and concepts used to plan and conduct education, regenerating a sense of being, knowing, and doing in ways that do not discount the histories, economies, skills, and visions of Indigenous nations. By centering on the philosophy of *Ruwe-Ruwar* and the ethical agency carried by that philosophy, human actions flow and weave in relations of reciprocal benefit with the actions of lands, waters, and all forms of life. Education is both a connector and a translator of the *Yannarumi* process, and a mode through which other connectors are translated and imparted. Key aspects of this shift are outlined below, with particular consideration given to how *Yannarumi* provides a foundation for rethinking a postcolonial system of education through an intercultural curriculum and an expanded framework of assessment for educational achievement. However, to appreciate the radical nature of this shift in settler-colonial Australia, it is first necessary to understand how the contemporary curriculum continues to support a set of colonial attitudes and practices.

Neo-colonialism and the Contemporary Curriculum: “Closing the Gap”

The Australian curriculum has long functioned as a “vehicle for inculcating acceptance” of the social and economic interests of the (neo)colonial nation state. Typical to this formula is the positioning of Indigenous people as temporally, intellectually, and morally backward in relation to the standards and achievements of the colonizing society (Yunkaporta speaking in Lowe et al. 2014). According to the current Australian Curriculum (Australian Curriculum and Reporting Assessment Authority (ACARA) 2016):

The Australian Curriculum sets consistent national standards to improve learning outcomes for all young Australians. The Australian Curriculum and Reporting Assessment Authority (ACARA) acknowledges the gap in learning outcomes between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students and their non-Indigenous peers. It recognises the need for the Australian Curriculum to provide every opportunity possible to ‘close the gap’.

Lowe and colleagues point to the way “the gap” operates in educational and broader political discourse by a comparative assessment of Indigenous and non-Indigenous performance that serves a neoliberal and neo-colonial agenda:

There will always need to be an achievement gap to maintain the system, just as in economics there must always be more demand than supply to create growth; there is both a figurative and literal link between the gap and the economic problem to be found here. Additionally, as the continued existence of colonies (particularly illegitimate ones without treaties) depends to a large extent on preventing unassimilated Indigenous people from gaining access to the social goods and codes of the powerful, it is unlikely that the deficit logic focus on closing the gap for Indigenous students will produce any significant change in the near future. (Lowe et al. 2014, p. 63)

The implicit logic of the “closing the gap” discourse reinforces perceptions of Western (colonial) superiority against Indigenous deficit. There is an assumption that Indigenous peoples *require* state assistance. Indigenous incapacity is naturalized and pathologized, thereby eliding a colonial history of Indigenous dispossession, attempted cultural annihilation, and systemic impoverishment as the actual source of contemporary Indigenous disadvantage.

Yunkaporta (speaking in Lowe et al. 2014, pp. 67–68) notes how “deficit thinking” is “internalized deep within us and it is an addiction that is hard to break. It is even harder to break for colonists, who need us to be primitive in order for them to seem developed and therefore morally legitimate in their occupation of the continent. This deep need and the globalising agenda that feeds it is intimately tied up with curriculum and education in an historical sense.” Yunkaporta calls for “a narrative reframing of the history of education and nation-building, suggesting that the two are intimately bound together, so much so that any change in curriculum along the lines we are suggesting here would have ramifications for Australia far beyond the realm of schools and schooling” (Yunkaporta speaking in Lowe et al. 2014, p. 68). Likewise, an approach based on Indigenous self-determination and cultural

authority, expressed in concepts such as *Yannarumi*, opens possibilities for transforming deficit thinking into education for wellbeing.

Australia has a national curriculum that is intended to guide subject content and skills through a three pronged approach comprising “key learning areas,” “general capabilities,” and “cross-curriculum priorities” (ACARA 2016). There are three cross-curriculum priorities, namely, “Sustainability”; “Asia and Australia’s engagement with Asia”; and “Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander histories and cultures.” However, the naming of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Histories and Cultures as a “priority” appears as a twist of jargon, given that these are an optional, unassessed “priority” that “occupy a perennially precarious space in the emerging Australian Curriculum (Salter and Maxwell 2016, p. 297).” The cross curriculum priorities are “simultaneously constructed as both important ‘priorities . . . embedded in all learning areas’ by the curriculum development body, the Australian Curriculum and Assessment Reporting Authority [. . .] and optional electives with ‘no requirement in the Australian Curriculum that subjects be taught through the cross-curriculum priorities’ by the chair of this same authority” (Salter and Maxwell 2016, pp. 296–297).

The Australian Human Rights Commission (2011) expressed its views in an earlier submission to the ACARA regarding consultation on the cross curriculum priorities:

it is critical to explicitly acknowledge in the priority, the historic and contemporary impact of colonisation and discrimination against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples and communities. While positive representations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander histories and cultures are vital, the continuing impact of the process of colonisation on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples must also be acknowledged and understood. This is a critical step towards dispelling racist attitudes and fostering cross-cultural understanding.

The Australian curriculum, however, has not facilitated learning about the colonization, dispossession, or sovereignty of Indigenous peoples in any substantial or contextualized way:

In place of the truth about our legitimate and autonomous peoples, school students are provided with a truncated portrayal of Aboriginal people, stripped of specific social, spiritual and epistemic connection, and with a skewed and aggregated understanding of the Aboriginal experience of culture and identity. (Lowe et al. 2014, p. 64)

As Lowe and Yunkaporta (2013) observe, references to Indigenous peoples and cultures are, by and large, tokenistic and insubstantial. They echo Ngarrindjeri scholar Christopher Wilson’s observations on how the Nation State’s educational institutions continue to gloss over Indigenous knowledges:

There were days when the school would celebrate “cultural difference” and engage in “Aboriginal activities” such as dot painting and listening to Indigenous music, but in hindsight these activities did not truly capture the significance of Indigenous cultural practices within Australia. (Wilson 2010, p. 328)

Such an approach fails to convey the sense or embodied density of “speaking as Country” as a socially constructive activity in which Indigenous perspectives are not optional exotic alternatives to a naturally dominant framework of understanding, but are instead equally centered and authoritative cultural points of view in a non-hierarchically valued and genuinely shared curriculum.

Indigenous high school student Sarah Loynes has expressed how “Reclaiming Indigenous knowledge in the curriculum . . . is about being critically aware of all the layers of the curriculum landscape. Enforcing a narrow state of awareness through curriculum limits critical thinking and independent learning, which are optimal learning orientations no matter what culture you come from” (Loynes speaking in Lowe et al. 2014, p. 78). And yet, as Foley and Muldoon (2014) have discussed, even when the curriculum does point to Indigenous justice and rights, as it does, for example, in the current Year 10 History unit on “Rights and Freedoms,” Indigenous political achievements typically are not sufficiently represented. The authors note how “In addition to demands for civil rights (such as freedom of movement and equal treatment before the law), Indigenous political struggles have for centuries been fought over rights to land and self-governance. In contrast to civil rights, these rights are premised on the unique status of Indigenous peoples in relation to the colonial state. They are collective Indigenous rights, not individual rights premised on citizenship” (Foley and Muldoon 2014). This element within the current curriculum includes reference to “the struggle of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples for rights and freedoms before 1965, including the 1938 Day of Mourning and the Stolen Generations” (ACARA 2016); yet as Foley and Muldoon also point out, for students to understand this topic from Indigenous perspectives, they require further knowledge of colonial history including, for example, an understanding of how Aboriginal people suffered a deep loss of sense of self when they were moved onto state-run reserves and missions to open up their Country for colonial confiscation, re-possession, and development. This kind of understanding can only be developed by listening to Indigenous people “speaking as Country.”

Another disturbing absence from the curriculum is the continuing “silence on land rights.” While Mabo is mentioned, “the historic Mabo decision cannot be understood without the history of the land rights movement, from early frontier warfare, to the 1966 Wave Hill walk-off, to the 1972 Aboriginal Tent Embassy” (Foley and Muldoon 2014; see also Anderson 2007). This “silence on land rights” also hollows out the curriculum’s capacity to adequately recognize Indigenous connection to Country (ACARA 2016). Thus, while the settler-colonial curriculum claims to affirm the importance of Indigenous histories and cultures, a closer study of curriculum content suggests such claims lack context and substance because the curriculum does not foreground Indigenous *political* authority and activity.

According to Lowe (2016), if we aggregate the national curriculum content from kindergarten to year 10 and analyze the colonial narrative and how conflict is represented, it becomes apparent that this narrative has nothing much to tell of the history of colonial management of Indigenous people, of how Aboriginal people were pushed off their land and onto missions where they lived off rations and their social, economic, and family lives were under state control, or of how Aboriginal

people resisted these colonial techniques. Mention of the “Stolen Generations” is sparse and unsubstantiated, leaving students uneducated as to the lived effects of this policy, how it came to be, and how its impact is ongoing. There is no mention of labor exploitation. There is little mention of the impact of institutional control on the social and cultural life of Indigenous peoples, nor of Indigenous community agency to resist that colonial control. In problematizing how Indigenous content is addressed in the National Curriculum, Lowe (2016) identifies “a language of subterfuge and avoidance.” This comprises a reluctance to affirm the continuing existence of Aboriginal peoples as contemporary and future-oriented, and a denial of what actually happened in colonial history, particularly in its institutional form. The curriculum decontextualizes content so that the sense of the locality of what has occurred is lost. Through the language of omission, the racial dimension of social interactions is ignored. This legitimates and privileges the settler colonial presence such that white perspectives and knowledges engulf Aboriginal perspectives, knowledges, and peoples. In this way, the national curriculum constructs a Eurowestern version of legal and moral legitimacy over Indigenous sovereignty (Lowe 2016). The current Australian curriculum (ACARA 2016), as an integral component of the colonial matrix of power (Mignolo 2009), continues to exert control over Indigenous peoples and to reshape Indigenous identities and knowledges according to colonial interests (Lowe et al. 2014; Moreton-Robinson 2004). There is little sense of the richness, diversity, and expertise of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples “speaking as Country.” There is a distinct lack of appreciation of how ancestral knowledge and connection to Country has survived and how such knowledge remains critical for sustaining ecologies and to the wellbeing of all of us today. Ball (1983), Battiste (2000, 2012), Grande (2004), and Nakata (2011) each note how the nation state’s tight control of the curriculum in its own colonial interests has led to a denial of the legitimacy of the knowledge of Indigenous peoples. This continues to have a destructive impact on Indigenous students’ engagement and achievement at school. The national and international literature suggests “an unequivocal link between culturally unresponsive curriculum and the largely uninterrupted trajectory of Indigenous student underachievement” (Lowe et al. 2014, p. 65).

The National Assessment Program – Literacy and Numeracy (NAPLAN) was introduced in Australia in 2008 and remains the overarching national Australian system of school assessment. NAPLAN assesses students across four domains: reading, writing, language conventions (spelling, grammar, and punctuation), and numeracy. Like large scale testing systems elsewhere in the world, the educational assessment focus of NAPLAN is largely reduced to numeracy and literacy. It is conducted through yearly census testing of Years 3, 5, 7, and 9 students in all Australian states (Lingard et al. 2016). This system of assessment has particularly marked effects on Indigenous students. Lingard et al. (2012, p. 327) refer to the “apparent continuance of deficit thinking, resulting in a “student-as-problem” framing of education policy focused on “Indigenous education”” in which “. . . placing emphasis on measurable and incremental improvements in attendance and retention displaces discussion of the circumstances underpinning why education itself is viewed as a context to be avoided in the first place by many Indigenous students”

(Lingard et al. 2012, p. 327). By maintaining a narrow literacy and numeracy focus, the knowledge and aspirations of Indigenous students that flow outside of this focus are negated and neglected by educators and authorities. A particularly worrying concern about NAPLAN data is that “the heaviest weighted ‘disadvantaging’ variable is ‘the number of Indigenous people living in the community where the school is located’” (Lingard et al. 2012, pp. 327–328). Consequently, schools with higher numbers of Indigenous students are identified as lower status schools: “policy-makers maintain and propagate a belief that Indigenous students (and communities) are a ‘problem’ that negatively impacts on educational outcomes” (Lingard et al. 2012, p. 328). Through this matching of Indigenous student numbers with low school status, the presumed success of non-Indigenous students is set against an assumed failure of Indigenous students to reach white standards, with the “blame” for low performance being placed on Indigenous peoples as the bearers of (natural) disadvantage. Accordingly, it is “hard to view NAPLAN in its current form as anything other than a force that protects and operates as a (re)colonising presence in Australian education” (Vass and Chalmers 2015, p. 150).

Lingard et al. (2016) have observed how testing programs such as NAPLAN need to be considered as neo-colonial and neoliberal elements of “a broader assemblage of national and international policy agendas that are being enacted in education systems around the world and in relation to the emergence of global fields of educational assessment and policy making.” When Indigenous education is reduced to policy measures such as NAPLAN and “closing the gap” and their narrow focus on literacy and numeracy, possibilities for shaping a shared educational space collapse and “the logic of colonial categorisation, control and domination remains” (Vass and Chalmers 2015, p. 148). Even when attempts to introduce Indigenous perspectives are made, when the framing of assessment and testing remains firmly entrenched in (neo)colonial interests the “changes do not engage with or interrupt the more traditional pedagogies, curriculum and assessment practices of schooling.” (Vass and Chalmers 2015, p. 149). Because it asserts an Indigenous authority to exercise a socially constructive agency of relationship with all neighboring powers in the natural and social ecology that constitutes Ngarrindjeri Ruwe-Ruwar – and which now includes colonial powers – a *Yannarumi* approach potentially decenters colonial interests to reposition the interests and knowledges of Indigenous peoples and the nation state in a shared space of interaction.

Decolonizing the Education System by Speaking as Country

The depth and texture of Indigenous knowledges, the intergenerational transmission of teaching and learning that has survived colonization, carries a creative potential missing in current education curriculum and overlooked in the overarching national school assessment and testing framework. Ngarrindjeri have a multigenerational history of being categorized and controlled, and their knowledge system has been devalued and erased by Australian systems of education. By contrast, a *Yannarumi* approach to curriculum development and assessment of education expects

pedagogical approaches that support and reproduce the wellbeing of Ngarrindjeri students and of Ngarrindjeri as a Nation. The sovereign act of *Yannarumi* supports a learning environment that respects Ngarrindjeri expertise and experience, and recognizes the impediments that the State has constructed in its problematic colonizing relationship with Ngarrindjeri since 1836. Since the early 1970s, Ngarrindjeri have engaged in a resistive and transformational educational program designed to produce the conditions for Ngarrindjeri self-determination and wellbeing based on Ngarrindjeri knowledges, experience, and philosophy (Hemming 1993; MacGill et al. 2012). Ngarrindjeri leaders have consistently asserted the right to speak and act as Country as fundamental to a peaceful, healthy, and just life in social relations that emphasize connection rather than division. Ngarrindjeri practices of engagement, rather than ruling out Indigenous-government partnerships, look for ways in which Indigenous and settler Australian ways of knowing can work together.

Attempts to transform the way Australian curriculum and assessment systems operate mandate that “consideration must be given to the complexity and disjuncture inherent . . . within formal learning engagements as a site where Indigenous and Western knowledge, forms of knowledge and ways of knowing are continually posited in opposition to one another” (Brown speaking in Lowe et al. 2014, p. 80). According to Vass and Chalmers (2015, p. 142), “One of the key challenges for education . . . is the creation of a *third cultural space*” which “recognises that Indigenous communities have distinct and deep cultural and world views – views that differ from those found in most Western education systems.” In part, this builds on Homi Bhabha’s (2004, p. 55) notion of the *third space* as a location where postcolonial cultures are acknowledged to interact and imbricate, and the colonial assignation of value or status can be questioned and challenged, reinterpreted, and transformed. Points of commonality and productive possibilities for collaboration can also arise in the space between cultures. While the notion of a “third space” can describe the coming together of disparate cultures to produce a new hybrid entity, it is crucial to understand how *Yannarumi* resists the tendency of the dominant culture to impose its values and normative character over the new cultural forms that emerge when societies come into creative contact. As an Indigenous praxis of cultural authority, *Yannarumi* articulates Indigenous values associated with an epistemology and ontology of interconnectivity that recognizes and respects the vital persistence of differences. *Yannarumi* asserts a continuing Indigenous agency of cultural being and of social construction, which cannot be subsumed within the dominant colonial culture that is predicated on the disarticulation of Indigenous voice and the denial of Indigenous presence. And in turn, while settler Australian discourses are questioned and challenged by Ngarrindjeri *Yannarumi*, their existence and continuation as such is not denied or negated. When Eurowestern and Indigenous systems are both valued and recognized to coexist and potentially bring mutual benefit through shared enrichment, the communication of their productively interconnecting differences opens potential for transforming teaching and learning away from hierarchies of control and toward education for wellbeing.

This reading of Bhabha’s concept of a “third space” supports an understanding of the decolonial space *Yannarumi* works towards, in which there is a coming

together and communicating among diverse knowledge traditions. A Ngarrindjeri nation building approach brings processes and practices of education to work towards the shaping of a *third space* by engaging the key elements of creation, Country, spirit, *Yannarumi*, relationships, and the interconnected wellbeing of life in natural and social ecosystems. Through the *Yannarumi* process of “enunciation” (Maldonado-Torres 2007) or “expression” (Bignall et al. 2016), *Ruwe-Ruwar* enters into the realm of intellectual production when Ngarrindjeri “speak as Country” and produce *thinking* that shifts colonial perspectives by demonstrating how Indigenous people occupy a *thinking space* connected to Country, which is itself an agent in knowledge formation. This “third space” enables a move away from colonial constructs of race that have been used to control, denigrate, and fail Indigenous peoples. *Yannarumi* enables the return of appropriated knowledges to their custodians, also fostering a general appreciation of Indigenous survival and transforming contemporary Australian colonialism. Through Ngarrindjeri *Yannarumi*, local Indigenous Country, knowledges, spirit, agency, and relationships engage partners in taking a “decolonial turn” (Maldonado-Torres 2007, p. 262) which departs from colonial categories of Indigenous containment and control and moves to create conditions for the emergence of a different type of relationship between Indigenous peoples and the settler State (Mignolo 2009, p. 15, see also Vass and Chalmers 2015).

Lowe (2014) proposes that the national Australian curriculum in its current form, with its (neo)colonial framing, is unable to work respectfully with Indigenous content. By contrast, Ngarrindjeri transformations in the political sphere demonstrate that a *Yannarumi* approach offers possibilities for transforming the curriculum into a “decolonial” (Mignolo 2009) or “excolonial” (Bignall 2014) form. A *Yannarumi* approach involves Ngarrindjeri “speaking as Country” to collaborate productively with the colonial nation state and so to realize the mutual benefits and bonds of trust that accrue from a just acknowledgment of responsibility for shared histories, together with a comprehensive recognition of the capacity for complex alliance between Indigenous and non-Indigenous knowledges and traditions. In the context of South Australian curriculum development, this requires not only the incorporation of Indigenous voices into the standing curriculum, but especially also the development of a new curriculum from the founding basis of *Yannarumi*, or Indigenous cultural agency in speaking as Country. In turn, this involves a shift away from the notion that Indigenous educators can be considered by Government simply as service providers who furnish cultural content that may be selectively adopted or ignored in the curriculum depending on the whims and preferences of the educational authority, to enabling Indigenous peoples as co-creators and authoritative agents who will help to decide the content that is needed to foster an appropriately nonimperial and culturally diverse curriculum.

Yannarumi and related Indigenous Nation-building practices open and expand possibilities to resist the “gap” focus, transforming the curriculum and the system of education as a whole, away from a determining logic of comparative hierarchy and uneven expertise, toward a transformative decoloniality. Discourses of “progress” towards an assumed universal cultural goal that defines and delimits the aspirations

of civil education do not remain unchallenged, but rather attempts are made to work in partnership toward defining new goals that reflect culturally diverse but allied experiences of social wellbeing. *Yannarumi* does not measure Indigenous peoples against non-Indigenous peoples. Indigenous success is not dependent on non-Indigenous failure. Rather, *Yannarumi* works toward an education for wellbeing whereby all living things are perceived as connected and relations can be managed for maximum mutual benefit. In recognizing that all things are connected, *Yannarumi* attempts to engage productively with the dominant settler-colonial reality in order to encourage its transformation, rather than simply opposing it. Ngarrindjeri people accordingly collaborate productively with the settler nation state to generate the education, training, and employment of Ngarrindjeri people, but this also enables Ngarrindjeri to develop resources to advance Ngarrindjeri interests and cultural ways of knowing and being in relation to Ngarrindjeri Country. A Ngarrindjeri assessment of relationality and interconnected benefit ensures that Indigenous education, training, and employment occurs in ways which are healthy for people, country, and all living things and support Ngarrindjeri self-determination in relation to neighboring powers and agencies.

A *Yannarumi* approach may also be brought to bear upon a critical analysis of the Australian national system of educational assessment and testing. *Yannarumi* emphasizes relational connectivity and the role of diversity in enriching environments and enhancing their potential for supporting complex associations that bring creative benefits through partnerships. Rather than perpetuating the deficit logic of current assessment and testing methods, a *Yannarumi* approach to assessment can generate alternative styles of education to supplement and expand current frameworks. Learning achievement and the successful acquisition of concepts need not only measure a student's performance in relation to a finite standard, but could also be evaluated on the basis of the student's capacity for understanding the complexity of how things relate in an ecology. This ecological understanding requires a critical aspect when students develop knowledge of the systemic constraints to interconnectivity (e.g., by understanding the rules of grammatical sentence construction and word linkage in a system of language) and a creative aspect based on experimentation coupled with reason, when students are called to conceive how interrelations between things (including people) can be directed to enable the wellbeing of individual entities and of the environment that sustains them.

Ngarrindjeri want knowledge to take form and expression through a deep acknowledgment of *Ruwe-Ruwar*: the aim of teaching and learning is then not to "target" and "train" students, but to respectfully and creatively weave connections. Viewed from an Indigenous Australian perspective, the art of weaving is a complex and sophisticated educational act. For Ngarrindjeri, weaving represents the concept of *Ruwe-Ruwar* (interconnectivity) and the spiritual connection through *Miwi*:

Ngurunderi taught us our *Miwi*, which is our inner spiritual connection to our lands, waters, each other and all living things, and which is passed down through our mothers since Creation. (Ngarrindjeri Nation 2007, p. 8)

Ngarrindjeri learning is developed culturally through doing, experiencing, and knowing through the *Miwi* (see Bell 1998, 2014). Truth is known through doing, feeling, and believing – when something makes sense it is felt as right, and this feeling produces insight, learning, and wisdom evidenced to others through later actions. This embodied concept of truth translates as *wurruwarrin*, and it expresses a notion of ecological balance or harmony.

Balance and harmony is also important in weaving. Cultural weaver Ngarrindjeri Elder Ellen Trevorrow explains: “Stitch by stitch, circle by circle, weaving is like the creation of life, all things are connected” (Ngarrindjeri Nation 2007, p. 51). Similarly, Trawlwoolway citizen and scholar Julie Gough (2006, pp. 12–13) describes how:

In the warp and weft of a basket I sense the durability and resilience of my people. What may be aged and dusty and empty to most, is for me a story of time well spent. When I see one of our ancestors’ baskets in a museum, I recognise people who had the skills and motivation to create what they needed and an understanding of how to live with economy and grace. A basket doesn’t just represent skill in an aesthetic sense, but the ability to construct an object to carry and hold a wide variety of goods. To take time to select a plant and prepare its fibre and weave its form requires a sense of belonging, a passion and provision for living. In weaving a basket women were making a future.

A *Yannarumi* approach to curriculum and the assessment of education opens possibilities for understanding the interconnected agencies of the “teachers” and the “learners,” to experience the weaving together of the various elements of knowledge that lead to better understanding of humanity in relationship with Country, or of the self in relation to the world. For all students who cohabit in the learning environment that is subtended by Ngarrindjeri Country, teaching and learning should connect and interweave with Ngarrindjeri knowledges, valuing the ecologies and economies, arts and sciences, histories and futures of Ngarrindjeri Country and Nation in balance with those of the settler society (see Bell 2008).

Conclusion

Ngarrindjeri *Yannarumi* is a declaration of Indigenous authority and constructive agency. While Ngarrindjeri *Yannarumi* relates to Ngarrindjeri *Ruwe-Ruwar* and is therefore particular to Ngarrindjeri Country, the spirit of *Yannarumi* is shared by many Indigenous nations in Australia and internationally (e.g., Cajete 2000; Watts 2013; Moreton-Robinson 2007, 2015; McCoy et al. 2016; O’Brien 2016). *Yannarumi* is an “intellectual, theoretical and imaginative space” like Kaupapa Maori:

Whereas we can conceive of space geographically and politically, it is important to claim those spaces that are still taken for granted as being possessed by the West. Such spaces are concerned with intellectual, theoretical, and imaginative spaces. One of these is a space called Kaupapa Maori. This concept has emerged from lessons learned through Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori and has been developed as a theory in action by Maori people. (Smith 2016, p. 156)

Paraphrasing Māori scholar Graham Smith, Linda Smith (2004, p. 154) has argued that the Maori framework of Kaupapa Māori “has provided important insights about transformation, about how transformation works and can be made to work for Indigenous communities.” Further, she quotes Pahima (2005), who explains, “Kaupapa Māori is a transformative power. To think and act in terms of Kaupapa Māori while experiencing colonisation is to resist dominance.” Kaupapa Māori is a response to a colonial system in which Indigenous “survival, our humanity, our world-view and language, our imagination and spirit, our very place in the world depends on our capacity to act for ourselves, to speak for ourselves, to engage in the world and the actions of our colonisers, to face them head on” (Smith 2016, p. 151).

Kaupapa Māori principles correspond closely with *Yannarumi* values, laws, and science/knowledge. Of particular value in Kaupapa Maori is its all-encompassing quality, its many layered aspects and multifaceted programs of which education is integral and which connect education with myriad other sectors and spheres. As Pihama et al. (2004, p. 10) explain “*Kaupapa Māori* cannot be seen to be bound to any one sector (for example education or justice) as *Kaupapa Māori* does not know the parameters that are a part of defining those sectors.” Those parameters are defined within western philosophies not *Kaupapa*. This principle corresponds exactly with the Ngarrindjeri notion of Ruwe-Ruwar as interconnection among people, land, waters, and all living things. Like Kaupapa Māori, Ngarrindjeri *Yannarumi* attempts to talk and act as Country across multiple sites of transformation. Sites which may be physical or conceptual, or both (as is the case in the “meeting of the waters”) are strategically chosen based on the potential to have an impact on the ideas produced. As Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2016, p. 154) has explained, “the Māori struggle for decolonisation is multilayered and multi-dimensional and has occurred across multiple sites simultaneously (see also Smith 2006, 2012).” The Ngarrindjeri struggle for decolonization shares this multilayered, multisited quality. Central among these is the site of education. Noting the central role of education in decolonization, Graham Smith insists “there is limited scope for the socio-economic re-development of Indigenous populations without a prior or simultaneous educational revolution” (Smith 2011, p. xiii; see also Smith 1990).

Drawing on Chandra Mohanty’s (1991) statement that “the world (is) transversed with intersecting lines,” Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2016, p. 155) notes that “Intersections can be conceptualized as lines that intersect or meet other lines and also as spaces that are created at the points where intersecting lines meet.” As with Māori struggles, making space within such sites is becoming a feature of Indigenous Australian work in education for transformation. Rather than occupying a marginal position, work at intersections takes Indigenous agents “into the spaces once regarded as the domain of the ‘settler’” (Smith 2016, pp. 155–156). Ngarrindjeri work at those “sites of intersection” where Indigenous and colonial histories and presence meet, calling for a respectful sharing of space where Indigenous peoples can be acknowledged to speak and act as Country. The Ngarrindjeri Regional Authority works to create:

complex alliances of ideas woven together from a Ngarrindjeri centre of consciousness. This weaving together of partnerships and knowledges represents Ngarrindjeri agency . . . and highlights the importance of Indigenous standpoint theory in securing and communicating Indigenous conceptualisations of country. (Hemming and Rigney 2016, p. 15; see Nakata 2007; Moreton-Robinson 2013)

The Ngarrindjeri vision takes shape through *Ruwe-Ruwar* which carries with it responsibility for the body of land waters people and all living things. *Yannarumi* acts to assert the ongoing presence and regenerate the shape of Ngarrindjeri *Ruwe-Ruwar*. The default shape of the settler-colonial nation state, however, is one in which Ngarrindjeri geographies are silenced. From the perspective of capitalist colonialism, lands and waters are mapped, assessed, and categorized; not in relation to life, spirit, and wellbeing, but in relation to “service benefit to human users” (Bignall et al. 2016, p. 460). In this framework of understanding and action, settler colonial peoples are overrepresented and First Peoples never fully present. Consequently, this chapter contends that if the nation state is truly committed to socially just education that values Indigenous peoples and knowledges, then a general transformation of teaching and learning is required. Ngarrindjeri *Yannarumi*, in association with the broader nation building and governance strategies currently practiced by the Ngarrindjeri nation, has been presented as a case study in educating for resistance and transformation. *Yannarumi* is a strategy that enables “the just mediation of diverse worlds” through “collaboration across and between cultural differences” (Bignall 2014, pp. 340–341). It is a key concept in a Ngarrindjeri philosophy of ecosystemic interconnectivity that emphasizes “positive forces of interaction in constructing and transforming communities” (Bignall 2014, p. 340). In resisting efforts to alienate, eliminate, and assimilate Indigenous peoples and knowledges, Ngarrindjeri *Yannarumi* provides an exemplary foundation from which to transform colonizing forces of teaching and learning into decolonizing approaches that are life sustaining for Indigenous peoples and Country.

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Indigenous Knowledge(s) and the Sciences in Global Contexts: Bringing Worlds Together

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O. Ripeka Mercier and Beth Ginondidoy Leonard

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Abstract

Indigenous education initiatives within the academy have always performed revolutionary work in clearing spaces for thinking at cross sections between disciplines. Perhaps none of these is more challenging than the conversation

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between Indigenous ways of knowing and Western science. For 10 years now, a Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand, and University of Alaska, USA, university course on Indigenous knowledge(s) and science has given us and our students a shared space within which to consider, discuss, and analyze some of the most difficult and pressing issues at this interface. The course is co-taught by a Māori and a Dene'/Athabaskan scholar and draws Māori, Alaska Native and non-Indigenous students and their interests into conversation, using online forum discussion, videoconferencing, and skype. This chapter surveys Indigenous knowledges and science in the context of this course. We describe the course, its background, review the issues discussed, and describe the learning outcomes for students. Finally, we discuss the future direction of the conversation and its potential impact on global issues, such as climate change and biotechnology.

Keywords

Indigenous knowledge · Western science · Native science · International student exchange · Indigenous collaborations · Alaska Native · Aotearoa New Zealand · Māori · Alaska

Introduction

Ko Hikurangi te maunga

Ko Waiapu te awa

Ko Ngāiti Porou te iwi

Ko Ocean Ripeka Mercier te tangata

Ade' yixudz, Ginondidoy si'ezre'

Łeggjitno' xit'an itlanh. Sidithniqay

James Dementi Jean yił xivi'ezre'

Tikatnu dhisdo q`uisineyh yił

Anchorage, Alaska, and Wellington, Aotearoa, are separated by 7000 miles as the godwit flies, as well as distinct political, cultural, and educational orientations and practices. But for global scholars – academics and students alike – who focus on knowledges embedded in place, the usual comparisons with Western “facts-only” science can be confrontational. Looking to other local knowledges in other places becomes an affirmative way to put knowledges into context. While book knowledge about other locals can go some way to answering our questions, for Indigenous peoples, a *kanoki kitea* (face to face) approach is more authentic and more closely represents the relational aspects of knowledge, especially for peoples whose oral traditions are relatively recent. Fortunately, in a technology-connected and ever-shrinking twenty-first-century world, the question that a distance of 7000 miles poses is not whether it *can* be bridged, but *how* to bridge it and for *what* outcomes.

The virtual student exchange that we discuss here, going for 11 years and counting, has provided an authentic, safe, shared space for Indigenous and non-Indigenous students to explore, learn about, critique, and share their local knowledges. Indigenous knowledge has continued relevance in a changing world, particularly one that is underpinned by an ethos of Western science, and students explore for themselves how to recognize and articulate its importance.

In this chapter, we lead in to the debates around the conflicts and convergences between Indigenous knowledge (IK) and science, with a brief history of science in the Aotearoa New Zealand school education system. We then introduce ourselves and discuss, in “engagement” terms, how Beth and I work together on these issues. We describe how we have designed and shaped a shared virtual classroom space to bring students into the conversation. Then we move to discuss how we foster student relationships, through carefully chosen readings and different learning activities. Student feedback reveals what learners take into and from this shared space. Our final section then describes and discusses contemporary issues at the IK-science interface. Student contributions to these debates can perform emancipatory work for themselves, their families, and their communities. That these emerge from an Alaska-Aotearoa interface gives strength and validity to a multi-traditions approach.

Science in the School Curriculum – The Case of New Zealand

In the New Zealand education context (as with many other places with colonized Indigenous populations), the mission of government-funded Native schools – instituted in 1867 after the Mission schools system folded – was to “Europeanize” and “civilize” Natives (see Simon and Smith 2001; Barrington 2008; Penetito 2010); arguably to overwrite the identity of the Māori pupil with a colonial ontology and epistemology. Barrington records that in 1883, Te Aute, a boarding school for Māori boys, was teaching mathematics, higher algebra, elementary science, elementary physics, and geography and that students were achieving to a standard equivalent to a European school. By 1890, several pupils per year were matriculating to the University of New Zealand. This achievement would gradually be supplanted by a prevailing view that Māori boys and girls should be trained in manual and practical skills, including housework (Barrington 2008, p. 145).

While education of Māori in New Zealand has historically been patterned by a civilizing agenda, Māori language, history, and knowledges has survived through various means, and these sites of resistance continue today, most notably in the *kōhanga reo* (early childhood “language nests”) and *kura kaupapa* (primary schools) which teach curriculum in *te reo Māori*. Barrington’s discussion on the history of Native Schools education points out that as early as 1923, Māori activity such as *kapa haka* and *poi* (action dance traditionally used in relation to battle) was included in Native schools by local initiation. In 1909, the syllabus for the mainstream schools of the time was transferred to Native schools, and this included arithmetic and nature study. An emphasis on learning agricultural and horticultural skills reflected national priorities but upset some Māori parents – their children already knew and were practicing these skills in their home lives (Barrington 2008, p. 107). Government-mandated curriculum from the 1930s instructed Native Schools to include Māori subject matter – myths, history, *kapa haka*, weaving, and other practices. Although teachers’ application of this policy was uneven, an array of oral narratives reveal instances of Māori science being included in these lessons, such as making kits and mats from lacebark and *harakeke* (flax), and the treatment of *karaka* berries

(Simon and Smith 2001, pp. 174–176). More recent examples of Indigenous knowledge in the science curriculum include *hangi* (earth oven) and *kowhaiwhai* (geometric patterns). However, several reasons have been noted as problematizing these approaches, such as taking of IK out of its cultural context, limited teacher knowledge, and *whakamā* (embarrassment) that can be invoked in the Māori student who is expected to be an expert in forms of knowledge they may no longer have links to (McKinley and Stewart 2012).

Putaiiao (science), the science curriculum document in te reo Māori was published in 1993, with a *karakia* (prayer, incantation) at the front, acknowledgement of a Māori worldview, and graphic design elements that evoke mātauranga Māori. However, this has not been unproblematically received (see McKinley and Keegan 2008; Stewart 2017) due to concerns about where to apply limited human and financial resources, and English being seen as the international language of science. Quoting Noam Chomsky, Penetito points out how difficult non-assimilation into a majority culture can be (Penetito 2010, pp. 65–66). But Simon and Smith argue that this “structured interface” (Simon and Smith 2001, p. 3) in fact contributed significantly to the shape of Pakeha-Māori relations, and New Zealand educational practices (if not the shape of science education). The fallout of these “organised collisions” (Simon and Smith 2001, p. 3) in science requires an independent and safe cultural space within which students can discuss these issues.

Indigenous Knowledge(s) and Science

In a discussion that explores the Indigenous knowledge (IK) and Western science (WS) interface within education (see Stewart 2010), it is important to start with some definitions. However, while there is some general agreement around what is “Indigenous knowledge” (IK) most prefer to describe rather than prescribe. The more wordy but nuanced descriptors, such as Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS), Indigenous Ways of Knowing (IWK), and Indigenous Ways of Living with Nature (IWLN) (Aikenhead and Ogawa 2007), convey that IK is not a “thing” in the sense of a body of knowledge but active, complex, living and dynamic, and embedded in people and place. Specific IKSs, described in their local language, such as mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge / mātau: to know and ranga: the product of that knowing), convey this dynamism more naturally, as the very grammatical structure of many Indigenous languages emphasize the verb, or active and sometimes connective element, rather than the object or subject (Peat 2002).

There is probably not the same level of general agreement as to what constitutes “science.” It could be a body of knowledge (Oxford English Dictionary) or a way of thinking (Sagan 1997). For some, it is a philosophy underpinned by such things as inductive and deductive reasoning. To others, it is a method that includes an hypothesis, an experiment, generation of data, and the production of a theory. And so far, Indigenous science would fulfill all of these criteria (see Hikuroa 2016). However, WS would also see science as always subject to challenge and falsification. It will always be limited to what can be empirically

observed, that is, it can only deal with what can we “measure, quantify and otherwise weigh in the balances” (Huxley 1958). Furthermore, modern science claims itself to be universally applicable, and thus it objects to being labelled “Western science.” This of course denies the unique cultural and political contributions to the development of modern science. A universal idea of science also denies the potential of pluralistic pathways to knowing, or as Angayuqaq Kawagley puts it, science’s “plurality of origins” (Kawagley 2006). Who gets to decide what is or isn’t science? Why does it seem to matter how other knowledge systems measure up against WS?

These questions reveal a set of implicit assumptions in the Western academy. These can provoke unidentifiable anxieties in those (especially) with other ways of seeing the world. However, the academy rarely presents opportunity to address these underlying assumptions and confront the disquiet. Therefore, what university undergraduates and postgraduates grapple with during our course “Indigenous Knowledge(s) and Science in Global Contexts” can seem paradigm shifting and profoundly unseating. The curriculum content has had to be considered, condensed, and presented carefully. We are not simply teaching students and engaging them in debates at a neutral interface between Indigenous and Western knowledge systems. We are sometimes dealing with casualties of science, for whom science – whether the discipline itself or the institution – is emotionally charged. We are also doing decolonizing work, challenging and deconstructing students’ beliefs in the intellectual superiority of science, and reconstructing according to more democratic and emancipatory aims. Additionally we are providing space for learning, relearning, and in some cases revitalization of Indigenous knowledges. This affirms our students’ epistemological identities as well as our own.

Comparisons between WS and IK usually do disservice to IK, often because WS is taken as the benchmark against which (a) the ontology (b) the epistemology, and (c) the utility of IK are all called into question. For instance, the question, *Is IK a science?* might invite three types of response: a view that Indigenous peoples had no science; a view that there is no such thing as Indigenous science (i.e., science is Western); and a view that “Indigenous Knowledge is not and never has been Science, because it’s superior to what is essentially an enterprise of political domination” (The Tapestry Institute 2017).

The similarly WS-centric question *Is IK useful to science?* represents the viewpoint that Indigenous knowledge is useful and may in fact be critical to advancing our knowledge as a society, particularly in an era of resource vulnerability and planetary instability. In this space, IK is vulnerable to being exoticized and/or mined. Removal of the knowledge from its broader context can lead to the knowledge losing its meaning, becoming “universalized,” and indeed, colonized. Much of the literature classified as “Traditional Ecological Knowledge” falls into this category (McGregor 2000), as TEK studies poorly handled nonmeasurable aspects. IK is holistic and science can only accept knowledge of a natural, empirical, and physical nature, so WS processes can strip IK of what makes it uniquely Indigenous. “Mauri [life-force, energy] is also understood as the binding force between the physical and spiritual aspects of entities within the ecosystem” (Morgan 2009). In a Māori way of

thinking, something presumably detrimental happens to the *mauri*, or essence, if the spiritual and physical elements of IK are separated.

The question *Does IK contain science?* asks what elements of IK are similar to WS. This question can be reframed by thinking about an interface between ways of knowing (Durie 2005b). What are the similarities and differences between Western and Indigenous ways of knowing? These have been discussed and presented using different models such as Venn diagram intersections (Roberts 1996; Barnhardt 2007), in which an area of overlap between WS and IK denotes “common ground” and converging streams (Barnhardt and Kawagley 2005). Another suggestion (Mercier 2007) pays attention to science as a knowledge producing practice. The 2D model disentangles “science” from “Western” and “knowledge” from “Indigenous” in the debate. Georgina Stewart’s (2007) superset model is a variation of the Venn diagram, with two circles, but the one represented by WS is completely enclosed by that represented by IK. It suggests that WS as a philosophy does nothing that the broad system that is *mātauranga Māori* does not or cannot, resonating with points made above. Western Science is a subset of IK, but IK also includes methodological relativism and holistic analysis (Hikuroa 2009). Others suggest that the two systems are not compatible at all due to political processes of colonialism and imperialism. “Like colonization, the Indigenous Knowledge enterprise seems to have everything and nothing to do with us” (Nakata 2002, p. 282).

Once we have made students aware of contrasting definitions of IK and Western sciences, we try to move the discourse to one that encourages a transformative approach, illustrating “older” versus “newer” definitions of sciences. Older definitions for example include: value free, objective, neutral, abstract; independent of spaces, places, gender, social, and economic constraints. “Newer” characterizations, where IK and science may converge or negotiate parallel paths include: active, sentient, sacred, spiritual, powerful, culturally bound, socially and linguistically inflected, place-based, entwined with politics and policy, shaped by gender, social, and economic contexts (Hikuroa 2009; Medin and Bang 2014; Peat 2002).

Since 2007, we have used our Faculty positions in our respective universities to explore just this: how science can be understood as a large organic entity with disparate converging parts in a state of transformation. We have involved students by collaborating on a low-Carbon emission exchange, using videoconferencing and online forum discussion that engage Indigenous and non-Indigenous students. We affirm and use Indigenous pedagogies within our academic institutions and combine these with exploration and use of enabling technologies for educating people in place.

Our aims are not solely the advancement of knowledge: we are also interested in transformative pedagogies and outcomes for what continue to be marginalized groups. We describe how we have brought Māori, Alaskan, Alaska Native, and non-Indigenous students together from across a number of differences: undergraduate and graduate students, different universities from different nations, hemispheres, and continents. We discuss to what extent Indigenous aspirations and contributions to a global conversation are advanced by such an initiative.

Engaging as Indigenous People with Questions About the Other

On another level, it felt great to be able to drop the ‘academic western hat’ and to just engage outside of ‘research’ and to engage as indigenous people with questions about the other. (Jamie-Lyn Winiata, 2009, personal communication)

The term “Other” is loaded with imperial connotations. In our context, however, as reflected in the above quote, the “Others” are our Indigenous classmates from across the Pacific. This flips the usual discourse on its head: with two “Others” central to the discourse, critiquing the place of Western ontologies in our disciplines, the colonial gaze is turned back upon itself. By using “other” for our friends across the water, we prioritize that relationship. While we cannot fully ignore the colonial “Other,” we can localize it and reclaim some space for ourselves.

In what follows, we first describe the “Science and Indigenous knowledge course” developed at Victoria University of Wellington (VUW). Literature that explains the course’s positioning is reviewed. Descriptions of class activities further expand how this literature provides tools for students in the ongoing struggle for the legitimacy of Indigenous knowledges in the academy. We then discuss the “glocalizing” pedagogy developed to frame a discussion around literature written by Indigenous peoples. We then explore how we “prepare” and then engage with the “Indigenous other” with a brief description of how the exchange came to be. We then describe how we have revised and reorganized the exchange structure and content over the last decade, in response to working together, our observations of student engagement, and solicited and unsolicited student feedback. We share student responses to the exchange. Finally, we share some of the thinking and work that students do that demonstrate how their learning contributes to current research and engages pressing global issues.

Preparing Ourselves for Engagement

What we decide to include and exclude from the course is determined by who we are and how the two of us engage with each other. Ocean grew up in an English-speaking home. She went to Victoria University of Wellington (VUW) straight after school, to major in physics and maths, completing a PhD in physics in 2002. She then learnt te reo Māori through Te Kawa a Māui (TKAM) at VUW while concurrently teaching physics and a course at TKAM called “Māori science.” Her teaching and research interest in knowledge systems comes from her ongoing attempts to reconcile her training in Western science with her mātauranga. Beth is Dene’/Athabascan (and also grew up in an English-speaking home) in Shageluk, Alaska with minimal exposure to her Native language Deg Xinag. She began studying Deg Xinag as an adult, working with family members while earning a BA in linguistics, then enrolled in an MEd program in language and literacy to further her knowledge of Indigenous language revitalization. She is the fourth Alaska Native to earn a PhD from the University of Alaska Fairbanks (UAF).

Her research and teaching is in Indigenous education and language revitalization/repatriation. A continually expanding conversation between the two Indigenous authors is at the heart of this review.

MAOR317: Special Topic (Science and Indigenous Knowledge) was a Victoria University of Wellington Māori Studies course, devised and introduced to Te Kawa a Māui/School of Māori Studies in 2007. It introduced students to narratives and literatures on or related to Indigenous Knowledge (IK). Definitions have been suggested for IK (see for example Semali and Kincheloe 1999) generally proffered with caveats regarding whether IK can (or should) be defined (Battiste and Henderson 2000). The UNESCO description has wide general influence, and suggests that

Indigenous knowledge is the local knowledge that is unique to a culture or society. Other names for it include: 'local knowledge', 'folk knowledge', 'people's knowledge', 'traditional wisdom' or 'traditional science'. This knowledge is passed from generation to generation, usually by word of mouth and cultural rituals, and has been the basis for agriculture, food preparation, health care, education, conservation and the wide range of other activities that sustain societies in many parts of the world. (UNESCO 2003)

They add that IKs share certain characteristics. IKs are specific to an area, and have a local boundedness. IKs are culture- and context-specific. IKs are largely nonformal knowledge, are orally transmitted, and generally not documented. IKs are not static, but dynamic and adaptive. IKs are holistic in nature and are closely related to survival and so-called subsistence for many people worldwide (UNESCO 2003).

The UNESCO Local and Indigenous Knowledge Systems (LIKS) program have produced a set of colored posters (UNESCO 2008) that highlight some of the key features of Indigenous knowledges, using case studies and photographs. These are good group discussion prompts at the beginning of the course, giving students an appreciation of how Indigenous knowledges are holistic, tied to local places, oral and thus relational, gendered, adaptive, cumulative, etc. Students also discuss how their own (Māori) knowledges fit these descriptions.

Some IKs are thousands of years older than Greek philosophy, where the roots of Western scientific thinking lie. Some argue IK is a more mature and embedded science than that which emerged from the Enlightenment (Cajete 2000). IK and/or TEK is still used in many parts of the world to maintain human survival and living in relation to the environment. Other scholars explore the epistemology of the Pre-Socratic and Pythagorean Archaic and Classical Greek eras, underscoring a past Western orientation that paralleled Indigenous worldviews. Western epistemology (and resulting science methodology) then diverged towards its current "fragmented, materialistic, and dualistic worldview" (Rahm 2014). Battiste and Henderson (2000) describe IK as an "expression of vibrant relationships between the people, their ecosystems, and the other living beings and spirits that share their land" (Battiste and Henderson 2000, p. 41). Battiste further highlights the place-based orientation, that is, "Indigenous knowledge is also inherently tied to land, not to land in general but to particular landscapes, landforms, and biomes where ceremonies are properly held, stories properly recited, medicines properly gathered, and transfers of knowledge properly authenticated" (Battiste 2002, p. 13).

Helpful for the course is Turnbull's description of science as a local set of practices that produce tried, tested, and reliable knowledge. All sciences, "Western science" included, are local knowledge systems (Turnbull 1997). In this course, students can learn and unlearn the "geographical" boundaries that separate local knowledge systems. Recognizing that some cultural borders are easier to negotiate than others, can help students make sense of any historic difficulties they've had with entering the "alien culture" of the science classroom (Aikenhead and Jegede 1999). Western science in particular has been heavily critiqued for claiming itself to be bias-free when its practices and institutions are saturated with gendered values (Harding 1998; Gaston 2015) and cultural values (Medin and Bang 2014).

As mentioned MAOR317 has also presented students with the challenge of exploring the interface between "Indigenous" and "Western" knowledge and science. Discussions at intersections are relational. Durie points out that certain values must be adhered to if interactions at the interface are to be beneficial to both parties. The interaction may arise because a common goal is identified, with neither knowledge system alone able to contribute all the skills required to accomplish the aim. Interaction must be done with a shared understanding of each knowledge system's heritage, working commonalities in knowledge systems, and common values or rules of engagement (see Durie 2005a). The rules of engagement can be achieved through a "negotiated space" (Hudson et al. 2010; Smith et al. 2008).

One of the sobering realities of designing and teaching a University, lecture-based course labelled "Indigenous Knowledge" is that we are often learning about IK from sources that have taken it out of context. While many of the students in the class are Māori, and thus have their own knowledges to refer to, how do we learn more about "our" own Indigenous knowledges, and furthermore others', when the knowledge is filtered through text written in English? Furthermore, how do we avoid appropriating IKs in ways Anthropology might be accused of (Nakata 2007)? Can we go a step further and compare our knowledges to "theirs"? We come with a spirit of humility and desire to learn – in light of the academy's vampiric predilection for knowledge, is that enough? In planning an approach to learning about, but also analyzing ours and other Indigenous knowledges, it helped to use a "glo-c-alizing" approach.

The early part of [MAOR302] is concerned with generalizing or 'globalising' some of the common features of Indigenous oral histories and Traditional Ecological Knowledge. Near the end of the course, students embark on their own 'local knowledge project', and in doing so 'localize' (or re-'localize') those 'global' frameworks to their own contexts. This 'glo-c-alizing' approach can then be understood as one that seeks commonalities from a global community it assumes membership of, and guidance from that global network of wisdom, in order to effect positive local change. The 'glocalising' approach aims to synthesize the global (in all of its diversity of contexts) from a specific local perspective, primarily for the purpose of local, not global understanding. As the word 'glocal' retains the 'local', a 'glocal understanding' overtly retains the local perspective from whence the 'globalizing' (or generalizing) has come. Glocalisation then, may be an approach that, knows its limits and lays no claims to universalities or 'globalisms', respects local variations and counter-narratives, and allows for unique interpretations for each student and classroom. For instance, a glocal framework for IK in one context's classroom will be different to that devised for another. (Mercier 2011, pp. 300–301)

A glocalizing approach is not a universalizing approach that claims to know all Indigenous contexts because it knows one. Nonetheless, it is an enriched understanding for having looked globally, beyond one's own context. A "glocal" look is more than local, but it does not lay claim to tyrannous universalisms; within the term itself the "local" observer is named and acknowledged.

In a previous publication (Mercier 2011), Ocean described an exercise in which we examine seven different published creation narratives as told by Indigenous nations of different parts of the world. The students read and analyze these, looking for similar markers of Indigenous values and philosophies, approached with a "glocal" lens. That is to say, they are not attempting to take the impossible "objective" standpoint, but recognize their own, or neighboring beliefs in the story of Paoa, a Ngāti Porou folk hero. What students get from this comparison of different local IK systems is a sense of the ways in which Indigenous knowledges relate to creation and as a way to then reapply those glocalizations to better understand local cases. This reading provides a sense of commonality, connection and solidarity with other Indigenous peoples, through their stories. An obvious shortcoming of the exercise is that it does not connect with people, and when local knowledge is oftentimes embedded in people, then it may be the relational, person to person, aspect of knowledge transmission that is most valuable from a Native perspective (Simpson 2004).

But however it is obtained, any sense of kinship and solidarity is fortifying when IK holders and keepers suffer attacks on the integrity and validity of their knowledge systems. At VUW, oral histories relating mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) understandings of tectonic activity and their historic impact on the landscape were dismissed by Faculty as "just myths and legends." Earth systems science Hikuroa can relate to this, briefly referencing his student experiences (Hikuroa 2009), including a prevailing ideology that "Māori had no science" (see Dickison 1994). As a response to this kind of casual epistemicide (see Grosfoguel 2012), Ocean unpacks the term "myth" with students – encouraging them to use instead "oral history." She points out one of the more pervasive "myths" of Western science: that time flows at a constant rate. Newton's assertion may describe our everyday experience of the world, but it is inadequate in describing higher order functioning of the super-ubiquitous quantum particles that is the stuff from which we are made.

Overall, this teaching exercise is designed to point out the irony of a system that labels IK and other knowledge systems myth and yet is silent on the perpetuation of 17th century Newtonian half-truths in the public mind. We must all acknowledge that we believe in myths, skeptic or not, and resist the indulgence of our mean-spirited urges to debunk other ways of knowing. (Mercier 2011, p. 302)

The MAOR317 course was designed in response to Ocean's visits to North America in 2005 and 2006. She was privileged there to partake of the discourse occurring at the University of Alaska Fairbanks, and the University of Saskatchewan (Mitchell et al. 2008), regarding how Indigenous knowledges could be integrated into science teaching contexts. Ocean continued the conversation through her courses at VUW.

But it was important to retain a connection with people Ocean had met in North America and to extend these relationships to students. This motivated Ocean to approach Beth at University of Alaska Fairbanks to see whether some form of exchange might be possible.

Preparing the Space for Exchange and Engagement

VUW's videoconferencing facility is housed in a windowless underground room, a limitation in the Indigenous exchange architecture that was vividly illustrated for us in 2010, when at the end of our discussions Leonard turned the camera to the windows of their room at University Park. The snow was gently falling outside in Alaska, a sight that caused Aotearoa students to gasp with wonder: a highly uncommon sight in Wellington and a real contrast to the lengthening days and warm sunshine of our spring time! (Leonard and Mercier 2014, p. 228)

The simple, yet profound, sight of snow falling outside of our virtually extended classroom condenses what for us is at the heart of the exchange – we come together with a variety of different experiences and knowledge, past and present, yet share a common goal, and actively and continuously negotiate the limitations of our space in order to share. Over the last 10 years, we have progressively opened up more space and time from our academies for our students to discuss Indigenous issues. The expansion has enabled a less constrained conversation, that both satisfies our institutions' goals of producing graduates who are global citizens but simultaneously challenges current media and information technology systems and support.

Our first exchanges brought students of "Science and IK" together with different courses at UAF (Leonard and Mercier 2014). These included "Documenting Indigenous knowledge" and "Communication in Cross-Cultural Classrooms." Our courses had overlapping themes, but up until 2014, their overall aims were different.

Since 2014, our exchanges have been collaborations between UAF and VUW courses both under the title "Science and Indigenous Knowledge(s) in Global Contexts" (Leonard and Mercier 2016). These courses contained similar but not identical reading lists and had similar course learning objectives. Crucially, our students shared as much classroom time as our only partially overlapping semester times would allow. At between 6 and 8 "joint" videoconference sessions, this meant shared classroom time for around half of the semester teaching time. Figure 1 illustrates the overlap in the courses in 2017.

Beth's addition in 2014 of a special topic graduate course CCS693 "Indigenous Knowledge[s] and Science in Global Contexts" to the University of Alaska Fairbanks schedule was developed with Ocean as part of her Fulbright research and teaching scholarship, spent in Wellington, Aotearoa New Zealand. Graduate students in this course came from cross-cultural studies, education, restorative justice, and natural resources management backgrounds. The course description is below:

University of Alaska Anchorage (UAA) Schedule			
Week	Date	AKNS490 Theme	
1	Jan 23	Review of Indigenous Knowledges	
2	Jan 30	Review of Indigenous Knowledges	
3	Feb 6	Values and the Sciences	
4	Feb 13	Values and the Sciences	
5	Feb 20	Ways of Knowing, Being, Doing & Becoming	
6	Feb 27	Ways of Knowing, Being, Doing & Becoming	
7	Mar 6	Ways of Knowing, Being, Doing & Becoming	
		VUW-UAA Joint Session 3:30-5pm (NZDT)	
		Spring Break University of Alaska Anchorage	
8	Mar 20	Implications for Education	Victoria University of Wellington (VUW) Schedule
		VUW-UAA Joint Session 2:30-5pm (NZDT)	MAOR302 Theme
9	Mar 27	Implications for Education	Indigenous knowledges
		VUW-UAA Joint Session 2:30-5pm (NZDT)	
10	Apr 3	Implications for Education	Biotechnology: a case of wasps
		VUW-UAA Joint Session 1:30-4:15pm (NZST)	
11	Apr 10	Contemporary Research Issues	Indigenous Philosophy
		VUW-UAA Joint Session 1:30-4:15pm (NZST)	
12	Apr 17	Contemporary Research Issues	WS and IK Interface
13	Apr 24	Contemporary Research Issues	'Schooling' (and) the 'brown body'
14	May 1	Contemporary Research Issues	Indigenous People and Biotechnology
		VUW-UAA Joint Session 1:30-4:15pm (NZST)	
		Mid-trimester break Victoria University of Wellington	
		Traditional Ecological Knowledge	Traditional Ecological Knowledge
		Traditional Ecological Knowledge	Traditional Ecological Knowledge
		Native Science	Native Science
		Indigenous science education	Indigenous science education
		Space, time, language	Space, time, language
		Indigenous Science Film Festival	Indigenous Science Film Festival

Fig. 1 In 2017, MAOR302 met 1:10–5 pm every Tuesday, beginning March 7, and AKNS490 met 5:30–8:15 pm each Monday, beginning January 23. The schedule above, given to students, shows the “joint session” times our class times coincide, and during which we videoconference and have small group breakout discussions using Skype or Canvas



Fig. 2 UAA recognizes the diversity of our unique location in Southcentral Alaska, the ancestral homelands of the Dena'ina Athabaskan, Ahtna Athabaskan, Alutiiq/Sugpiaq and Eyak peoples (<https://catalog.uaa.alaska.edu/aboutuniversity/>)

This course will provide students a critical framework for examining Science (as a Western or Indigenous construct) and Indigenous Knowledge[s] (IK or IKS) paradigms. As a holistic paradigm, it is difficult to compartmentalize and separate aspects of IK into Western academic categories. Students will explore the ideologies underlying Science and Indigenous Knowledge[s] including how aspects of each paradigm converge, diverge, or negotiate parallel paths. In addition, students will survey the methodologies of each, including how paradigms are constructed, deconstructed and reconstructed through the influence and engagement of Indigenous peoples.

The new title and description reframed the MAOR302 course slightly, to reflect the “global context” of our courses. Beth also introduced a wealth of new critical literature, including what has become a key text in our courses (Medin and Bang 2014).

In Beth's new position since 2016 as faculty in the Department of Alaska Native Studies (AKNS), University of Alaska Anchorage (UAA) (Fig. 2), she has further revised the course for on-site senior-level undergraduates. Most students are enrolled in the AKNS or Alaska Native Business Management minor programs, with majors ranging from anthropology, philosophy, education, social work, the natural sciences, and business. The UAA course – “IK and the Sciences in Global Contexts” – has been recently approved as a permanent course in the Alaska Native Studies minor program.

As described in our previous publications, Alaska's Indigenous context is richly diverse, with over six major cultural groups and 20 Native languages recently

recognized as official languages by the State of Alaska, as illustrated in Fig. 3. Like UAF, UAA is situated on Indigenous lands of the Dena'ina peoples, with *Tikatnu* ("Cook Inlet" – a shared legacy between Aotearoa and Alaska) being recognized as one of the Dena'ina names for the Anchorage area (see Fig. 4).

By contrast with Alaska, Aotearoa New Zealand's native language, te reo Māori, is spoken across all iwi, but with relatively subtle dialectal differences. Aotearoa New Zealand also retains strong vestiges of Captain James Cook in place names around the country, including its tallest mountain, Aoraki/Mt. Cook, which in 1998 had its Kai Tahu (the main *iwi* in the South Island – see Fig. 5) name restored as an official name.

However, Wellington Harbour was not so welcoming to Cook, who in 1773 was unable to make headway into the harbor against a prevailing wind. The oldest surviving name for the capital city's harbor is te Whanganui a Tara, recognizing Tara, a voyager and explorer whose descendants Ngai Tara were the first people to settle the harbor, about 800 years ago. The area also carries the name Te Ūpoko o te Ika a Māui, meaning the head of the fish of Māui, Māui being the folk hero and demigod who fished the North Island out of the ocean. Victoria University of Wellington's Māori name, adopted in 1994, is te Whare Wānanga o te Ūpoko o te Ika a Māui. The main campus, which has grown around the Hunter Building of the original Victoria College, is situated in a place that used to be known as Pukehinau, or the hill where Hinau trees grow (see Fig. 6). Hinau is a berry-bearing tree that grows to about 60 ft. and was used a food source for Māori. There is just one Hinau on campus and it is vanishingly present in the suburb. By contrast with University of Alaska Fairbanks (Leonard and Mercier 2016), no mention of the name Pukehinau is found on the VUW website.

Overall this initiative connects to efforts to indigenize the academy (Miheua and Wilson 2004) and decolonize the disciplines (Nakata 2007), but it is uniquely led by two Indigenous scholars in different hemispheres, connected by a long-lasting relationship, drawing mutual strength into their local contexts.

Turning Space into Place

Beth's courses run on Instructure Canvas (previously Moodle) and she provides VUW students with a login so that Canvas becomes their digital home for the VUW-UA exchange. In 2010, Ocean hosted using Blackboard. The Moodle and Canvas platforms were preferred as Blackboard required a lengthy permissions process to enroll participants from outside VUW. In a dedicated Introductions area, each student shares a photo, something about their upbringing, where they are from, their study and research interests, and hopes for the exchange. Students often choose and share a greeting from their local area.

For the online forum discussions, we mix students into groups and assign each a digital room on the Forum. Groups are asked to discuss and respond to between two and four questions. Students can read other groups' posts but cannot contribute; however, this can vary from year to year. Students contribute a set number (at least 2)

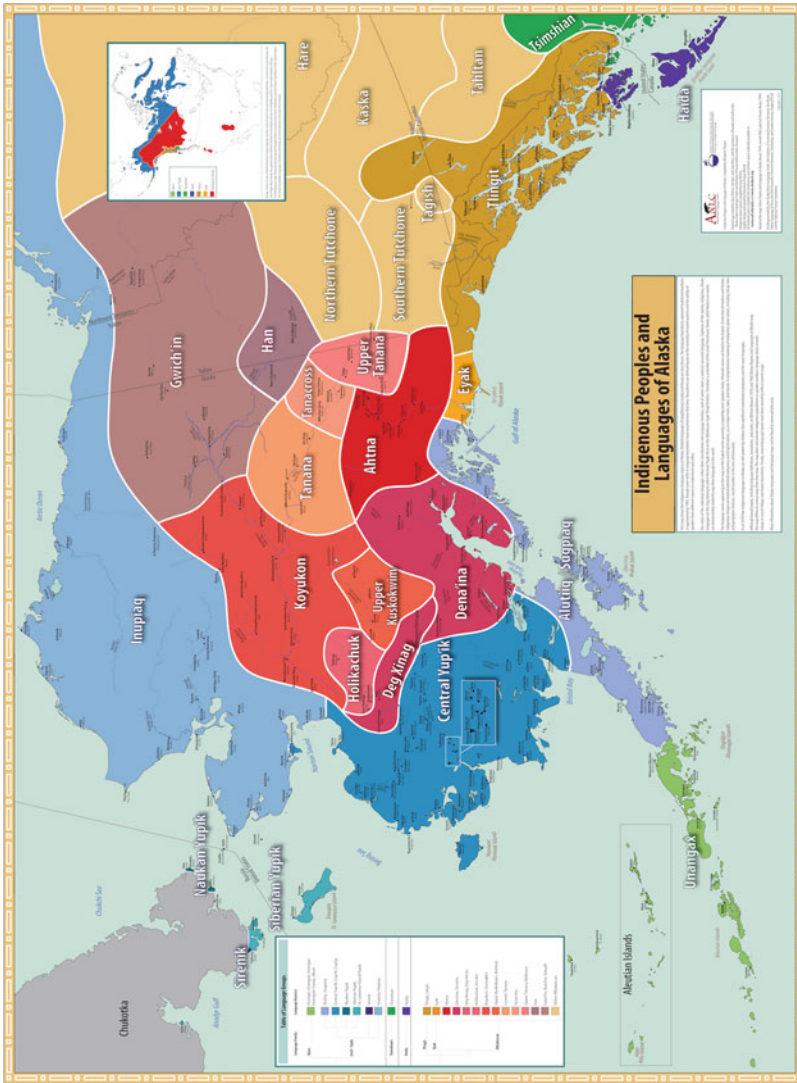


Fig. 3 Alaska languages map (Krauss et al. 2011)



Fig. 4 Focus on the Dena'ina area of the Alaska indigenous languages map (Krauss et al. 2011)

of posts. To encourage discussion, a due date is given for a first post, and a second due date for subsequent posts.

The second forum has a new set of questions, and sometimes a regrouping of students. In their posts, students draw from readings and lecture material, their own experience, and ask their own questions. From student feedback, we have found that the videoconferencing and Skype function in “breaking the ice” and make the online text-based Moodle forum “less foreign and unknown” (Leonard and Mercier 2014). Ocean’s videoconference with Alaska is in the second half of the VUW students’ first lecture. For the first lecture, this (see Fig. 1) provides just enough time to inform and prime students about the forthcoming encounter, have them prepare and practice a quick verbal introduction, and to brainstorm their impressions of Alaska for the icebreaker.

Exchanging and Engaging

In addition to the literature already mentioned, course activities include engagement with Indigenous science in the form of video presentations and readings, and guest presentations by Indigenous scholars whose work crosses traditional disciplinary boundaries. For the University of Alaska students, discussion of Dan Hikuroa’s (2009) presentation “Integrating Indigenous Knowledge with Science” takes place early in the semester to familiarize students with discourses surrounding IK and science. Students are aware of issues surrounding status and power differentials between IKs and WS; however, Hikuroa’s approach assists students in working through this often “contentious, adversarial” relationship in understanding the

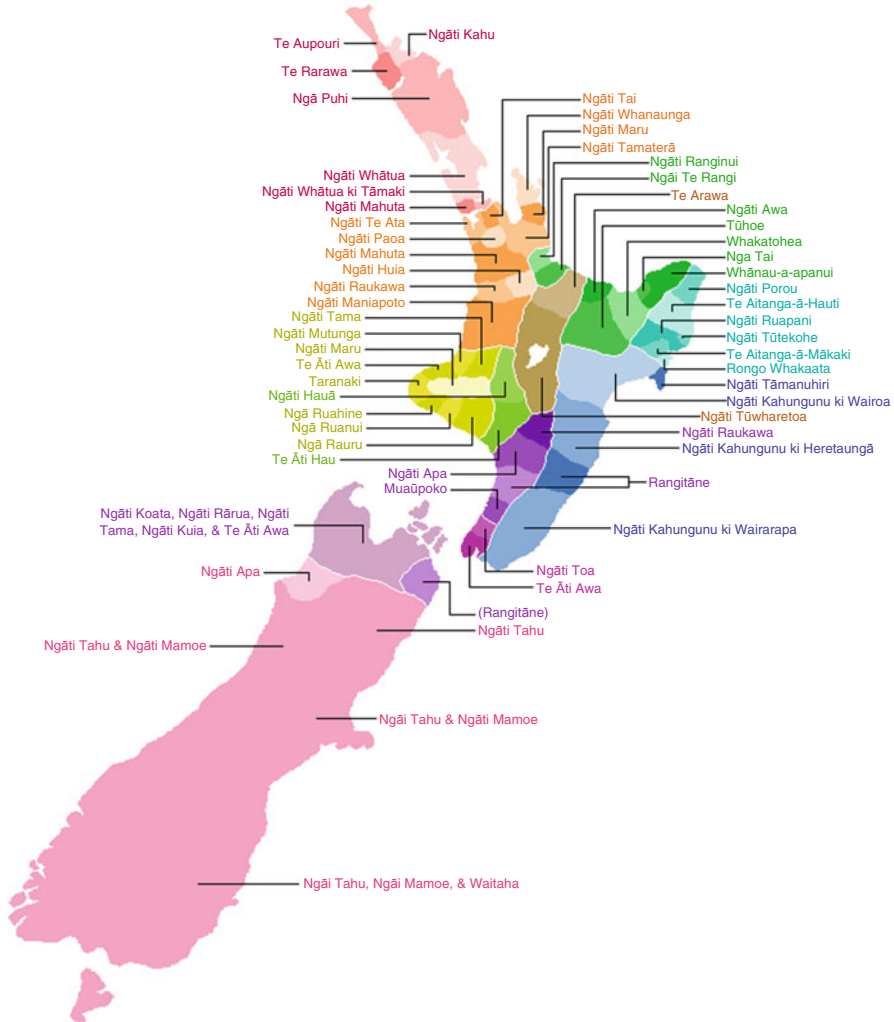


Fig. 5 Iwi (Tribal) Map of Aotearoa (Wikimedia Commons 2014)

potential for bringing these diverse paradigms together. His presentation of Kepa Morgan’s (Morgan 2004) applied model with attention to how health of the land is assessed by measuring *mauri* gives students a concrete example of how IK functions in contemporary contexts. At the end of his presentation, Hikuroa reiterates Stewart’s (2007) notion that Western science is actually a subset of Indigenous science, adding that Western methods often constrain complete understandings of complex relationships.

In 2017, University of Alaska students began engaging with IK through learning about the Aotearoa context, after viewing an episode of TV series Project Mātauranga, “Tātai Arorongi: Revitalising Māori astronomy” (Douglas 2013). Scholars featured in



Fig. 6 Excerpt of 1915 map, “Wellington and Environs,” which has been annotated with Māori place names by anthropologist Elsdon Best. “Victoria College” (at the intersection of Salamanca Road and Kelburn Parade) occupies an area Best has identified in capital letters as “Pukehinau”

this video, such as Rangī Matamua, Hoturoa Kerr, and Pauline Harris, link similar elements in Māori and Western astronomy through a trans-disciplinary examination of cosmology, genealogy, spirituality, and navigation. Māori astronomy resonates with Alaska Native sciences on a number of levels, including association of ancestors and creators with spirits of celestial bodies; for example, the Milky Way galaxy is described in the Dene’ Koyukon language as *Yuhtseeyh Yo Tel Oyh Hu*, “where your grandfather (Raven) snowshoed over the sky” (Jetté and Jones 2000, p. 637).

Through discussions and in-class exercises, students are encouraged to explore how IK and WS paradigms converge, diverge, or negotiate parallel paths. “Western Science, Native Science and Science Education” (Medin and Bang 2014) has proven to be a key source for organizing discussions around worldviews, diversity, and the “framing of research questions” in the sciences (2014, p. 60). During joint course activities, a chat forum allows students to share concepts and discourses within their own research or study areas, using examples provided by Medin & Bang around guiding metaphors, power relations, privilege, constraints, and psychological distance (2014, pp. 60–65).

Beth and Ocean also assign readings from physicist David Peat’s (2002) “Black-foot Physics.” Keeping with the course description, Peat discusses ways in which IK and Western Science might converge, or negotiate parallel paths including Dubois’ [sic] concept of “The God Within” – a powerful spirit of place that “molds, shapes, influences and transforms” beings who occupy these spaces (2002, p. 107). Peat also presents David Bohm’s notion of the “larger enfolded order” (2002, p. 77) in which the whole is enfolded within each part (2002, p. 6) saying that “Bohm rejected the idea of a reality composed of objects in interaction in favor of processes and activities in a continuous movement of unfolding and enfolding...this reality is not confined to matter but extends to thoughts, feelings, and emotions unfolding within the brain and body” (Peat 2002, p. 237).

These ontologies align on many levels with Native American and Alaska Native Ways of Knowing including the power of thought, air, and breath. Beth shares portions of her research on Deg Xit'an narratives and linguistics with students, highlighting epistemologies and ontologies that allow "other" processes of creation, sentience beyond the human realm, and validation of oral traditions as authentic systems of knowledge. For example, anthropologist Witherspoon proposes that the Navajo have established cultural categories or hierarchies that classify the world based on "potential for motion" (Witherspoon 1977, p. 140) and acknowledge "air as the source of all knowledge and animation" (1977, p. 53). In a similar vein, the late Dene'/Athabaskan Chief Peter John states that "in Athabaskan culture you have to be very careful because words have *power*. The white people do not understand the Athabaskan way with words" (Krupa 1996, p. 60). Tohono O'odham scholar Ofelia Zepeda illustrates the processes of oral traditions as:

"Throwing words into the air" – this is what the O'odham say about talking, storytelling, praying, singing – all of which make up the genre of oral tradition. The words are thrown into the air in the form of spoken word, song, oration or invocation. . . But everyday words, like the words that are meant to have power, also are embedded with their own strength. This is the reason why so many believe in the power of words and why the speakers must be careful and responsible for what they speak. (Zepeda 1995, p. 5)

Beth challenges students to think broadly about the sciences, beyond strictly STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) approaches. With the goal of including the concepts and processes of "social" in the science realms, she assigns Choctaw scholar Karina Walter's video "Why do the research on unspoken issues." (Walter 2009) Walter connects Indigenous knowledges and science on a number of levels, engaging "stories of origin" and "original instructions" in addressing community challenges. In a similar approach to Medin & Bang, and Peat, Walters seeks to reorient scientific questions and methods, with a goal of "returning research to the sacred."

Publications by the late Yup'ik scholar Kawagley also provide key sources for discussion and analysis around ecology and relationships. In "Education Indigenous to place: Western science meets Native reality," Kawagley and Barnhardt (1998) provide an example relevant to the Alaskan context, highlighting the knowledge of the late Dene' Chief Peter John. Western scientists, each with his or her own specialty, were present in Chief John's village to discuss the decline of the pike; however, Chief John was able to more accurately analyze causal factors and outcomes using a holistic knowledge of place combined with Indigenous science methodologies developed over thousands of years.

Instructor lectures and guest presentations have extended our exploration of the sciences – modeling collaborative, praxis-based approaches to research in Indigenous contexts. Ongoing research by the UAF Master's students and PhD candidates enriched the discussions on a number of intersecting levels, with students utilizing counter-narrative, Indigenist, decolonizing, and/or unsettling methodologies to refute and re-orient science myths through re-writing and re-righting scientific truths from Indigenous perspectives (Peat 2002; Smith 2012).

In 2016, we were honored to host Ojibwe scholar and course text author Megan Bang for a guest lecture – “Community based design research: Indigenous peoples and science education” – during which she discussed her work with communities in Chicago, Seattle, and Wisconsin with a focus on effective teaching of “both Western and Indigenous science.”

In 2016, we were also very pleased to have Māori neuroscientist Melanie Cheung for a lecture on “Maori Science, the brain and neuroplasticity,” wherein she examined the challenges of scientific methods that incorporate “sacredness, livingness and soul.” Cheung discussed community defined protocols and ethics and defines Māori Science as “empirical, methodical, abstract, and extends to include ethics, community and spirituality.”

Synchronous connections with Indigenous scholars via videoconference effectively *glocalise* (Mercier 2011) required readings for both the instructors and students, providing unique opportunities to engage with scholars around questions and issues not directly referenced in the texts.

Reflecting on the Exchange

Students are excited about sharing a virtual classroom with students overseas. In the years where Beth’s students have been graduates, the Aotearoa undergraduate students have expressed nervousness about engaging, on account of feeling less knowledgeable. The graduate students and their proposed research set scholarly examples for the 300-level students.

In addition to honoring ancestors, ancestral knowledge, and place, our key rule of engagement is “respect.” In fact we expected nothing less than an attitude of respect as seen in our instruction handout: “In your postings to the forums, we *know* [emphasis added] that you will all observe the number one guideline: respect” (Leonard and Mercier 2014, p. 231).

Students on the whole relate respectfully to each other. One or two exceptions were identified and dealt with quickly, and further emphasized the need for safe spaces in Indigenous studies. In these classes, challenges of creating and shaping safe spaces often comes in the form of “defending Western science against reverse discrimination” (see Leonard and Mercier 2014, p. 232). In some cases, students are struggling with their own identities (as Indigenous, non-Native, or Pākeha), histories, processes of power, privilege, and disruption of the dominant narrative around science. These challenges may manifest in attempts to minimize the knowledge of other students for example. We have quickly responded to these disruptions of safe space using direct or indirect methods, depending on the nature of the offense. In one case, a formal apology was required and forwarded to the student and instructor. In other cases, we respond privately to students. Maintenance of safe spaces within the course is not an attempt to limit “free speech,” rather provide an opportunity to engage forum questions, readings, video presentations, and class discussions utilizing Indigenous concepts of respect.

When students explain their local situation to students in a different country, this both informs the “other” and turns students into expert commentators on their local contexts. This affirms students’ own funds of knowledge, encouraging them to speak out and boosting their confidence, which enhances further exchanges.

As an icebreaker, for the last 2 years we have asked students to brainstorm and share their perceptions of the other country. These have often lead to quite amusing stereotypes of the other, and the opportunity to work through national cultural differences. A string of reality TV shows – Ice Road Truckers, Yukon Men, The Alaskans – serve up powerful and lingering impressions of Alaska to the Aotearoa students. On the other side, the haka and the “man-bun” were noted by Alaskan students as Māori things they associated with New Zealand. Aotearoa students were less aware of the term “caribou,” than they were of reindeer. The direct exchange between Alaskan and New Zealand peoples gave checks and balances against stereotypes and misunderstandings. Our shared classroom became a space in which translation, explanation, and demystifications were expected, anticipated, and dealt with using humor. A light touch was needed initially for the shared virtual space to become a safe place within which to reflect upon and continue “indigenous struggles within the colonial project.” And to do so with support from another place besides our own colonial infrastructures and institutions.

Kinship and solidarity between Indigenous peoples became an emerging theme of feedback gathered from students about the course:

I believed that we were the only people who were having concerns about our people, our traditions & our environment. The similarities are so close that the indigenous ties were almost instantaneous. Instead of the isolation that we experience in Aotearoa it is exciting to know our indigenous brothers & sisters are available for us & we are available for them (MAOR317 Student personal communication, 2014)

The class really helped me to understand more fully how my experience as an Indigenous person is similar to my brothers and sisters in Aotearoa (CCS 693 Student personal communication, 2014)

This solidarity had positive impacts on student learning. “I was given the opportunity to discuss & establish connections with a great group of people. The presentations were great. The forums were insightful the discussions humbled me. I am grateful to everyone for what I have learnt.” MAOR317 Student personal communication, 2014. This particular student attributes their learning to “everyone” – suggesting that it was through forum discussions and reading presentations that literature became embodied, alive, and relevant to them.

As mentioned, the literature speaks to key questions relating to the validity of knowledge, ideologies underlying Indigenous knowledge and science. In effect, the journey of this course, through literature and through joint discussion, was nicely brought together by this student: “we need to get to a point where we can view all science as a discourse, not as objective truth” (personal communication, 2014). Other students found that course content exposed a gap in the foundations of their learning, and that their epistemological understanding of the world was shaken. This

had a profoundly unseating effect on one particular student: which connects with other research on the gaps in our secondary school education, particularly related to history, see Manning (2011) and te Huia (2016).

Affinity with the multi-modal learning environment was another theme of the feedback, with one student declaring MAOR317: “Seriously, BEST Paper at Uni!” (MAOR317 student personal communication, 2014). The 4-h class was noted as a possible deterrent for some, although one student fed back that they “Loved the 4 h format, it worked really well” (MAOR317 Student personal communication, 2014).

University of Alaska classes are set up as a 2.5–3 h seminar block beginning in late afternoon to accommodate those with 8–5 pm work schedules. Due to the distance nature of the Fairbanks courses, evaluations have been harder to elicit from students; however, the few that have been returned, along with verbal commentary, indicate students’ satisfaction and engagement: “The three hour joint videoconference did encourage me to engage and to lead. The forum was set up to encourage us to participate. . .this was an excellent class and one that should be continued” (P Hyslop, personal communication, 2014). Another student commented that the course allowed her to participate in international (and synchronous) discussions, as the demands of travel were not possible at the time for her and her family (O Skinner, personal communication, 2014).

MAOR302 continues to have a good attendance rate, with 100% attendance at the final class for 2 years running, by contrast with other classes Ocean teaches. Many lectures have had 100 + % attendance, through the visits of interested postgraduate students and visiting Faculty.

Contemporary Issues at the Science Interface

Students engage with much critical literature in the course, and naturally apply these to their own situations, with knowledge exchange within the classroom canvassing students from a broad range of disciplines. The videoconferencing, Skype, and forum discussions also allow them to hear how these critiques, theories, and frameworks apply in cases in Alaska.

For the last 3 years, MAOR302 students have had further opportunity to connect with and contribute to active research projects occurring at the interface between WS and IK. This section describes some of this activity.

Digital Cultural Mapping

MAOR302’s first major piece of assessment is a “cultural mapping project.” This work connects into a school-wide initiative called the Te Kawa a Māui Atlas project. The project idea came from Cultural Atlas work at University of Alaska Fairbanks (Alaska Native Knowledge Network 2005). Since 2010, we have introduced digital mapping activity and assignments across several of our courses. The aim is to engage students, by involving them in a high-impact practice (Kuh 2008), diversifying their

learning experience, connecting with place, connecting with the disciplinary turns in spatial history and digital humanities, and exploring the plethora of ways that mapping is relevant to Māori studies (Mercier and Rata 2016; Mercier et al. 2013). Digital cultural mapping also explores how a critical pedagogy of place (Gruenewald 2003) might look, in practice.

In one such assignment, students contribute to a class-wide Google Earth map. In 2014 Ocean asked students to find two examples of projects or research which explore an “interface” between science and Indigenous knowledge. In 2015 students were tasked with finding two examples of “Māori and Indigenous collaborations.” They wrote a short narrative about each project and located and pasted these inside description boxes in Google Earth. The presentation back to students of their work combined gave them an appreciation of how global these initiatives are, even if the cases found were naturally biased toward Aotearoa New Zealand examples. The exercise enabled students to “specialize” in two particular cases, then glocalize their learning by peer-to-peer sharing. Spatial organization of the information meant that stories were visually pinned to a particular place, reinforcing a glocal “look.”

Conservation and Biodiversity – Pingao and Taputini

In 2014, Lincoln University ecologist Dr Hannah Buckley led a project that brought together conservationists, biologists, weavers, and community with an interest or connection to pingao, the golden sand sedge. Pingao is a sand binder, produces a stable dune, and is important habitat for native creatures, such as the katipō spider. It has always been highly sought after by weavers for its bright yellow color, ease of harvest, and minimal preparation required of the leaves, which are of a convenient width for tukutuku weaving projects. But pingao populations have been threatened by building on foreshores, trampling by stock, grazing by rabbits, and other introduced species, such as marram grass. As a contribution to the project, students in MAOR302 had a short field trip learning about pingao from Greater Wellington Regional Council staff. They surveyed and produced a Google Earth map of pingao at Lyall Bay. They also wrote a short treatise on pingao, inspecting and collating knowledge from various written sources, with different disciplinary foci, e.g., oral history, genetics, plant biology, and conservation.

Students have also explored how to plan crops for a māra kai, or traditional Māori garden. This is a project initiated by archaeologists Peter Addis and Dr Bruce McFadgen, assisted by administrator Terese McLeod. McLeod sourced two species of pre-European grown kumara – taputini and hutihuti – and these were planted alongside the gourd. The short growing season in the first year of planting did not suit the hutihuti. However, the taputini grew, was boiled, eaten, and relished. Although the students were doing their project outside of the growing and harvesting season, they nonetheless seized the opportunity to explore local resilience through the planning for placement of crops for a māra kai. These were based upon traditional principles, but some students blended these with other growing philosophies, such as companion planting and biodynamics.

Biotechnology

The Aotearoa New Zealand National Science Challenges are public and government-determined areas of research priority (see <https://www.sciencelearn.org.nz/resources/1112-new-zealand-s-national-science-challenges>). One of the eleven strands, “Our Biological Heritage,” funds a number of research projects concerned with protecting and enhancing Aotearoa’s biodiversity, through better management of “pests,” amongst other things. One such project is Novel Biotechnological Controls of Pest Wasps, and it brings together existing New Zealand research on four biotechnological controls – including gene silencing and the use of pathogen-bearing mites – of German and Common wasps. A new strand of the project research is led by Ocean and explores “social and cultural” perceptions of these biotechnologies.

In 2016 and 2017, Ocean involved students in this conversation. They are first tasked with reflecting upon, writing about and mapping the locations of a personal experience with wasps. The mapped points are aggregated and shown back to the class. In the second part of the assignment, students choose, consider, and submit a case for or against the novel biotechnology of their choice. Literature that is relevant for this discussion goes back to previous debates in Aotearoa about genetic modification of food and use of human tissue in research (Hudson et al. 2010; Cheung et al. 2007). Thus, frameworks for decision-making from a Māori perspective (Mead 2003; Hutchings 2004) debates on biocolonialism (see, for instance, Mead and Ratuva 2007; Pugh and Silver 2003), the appropriation of gendered images to soften contentious science (Cronin and Hutchings 2012), as well as discussions on biopiracy (Harry 2001), all need reconsideration in this new debate. Interestingly, students overwhelmingly choose to advocate for a biotechnology, rather than advocate against. Furthermore, they are situating the discussion in a context in which concepts such as *tino rangatiratanga* (sovereignty), the *mana* (inherent worth) of *taonga* (treasured) species, and *kaitiakitanga* (guardianship) are taken for granted.

Indigenous Science Film Festival

“The Indigenous Science Film Festival” is scheduled to coincide with MAOR302’s final lecture. Students are tasked with finding, presenting and analyzing a short film that they see presents issues related to Indigenous science. Students email the name, year, and country of origin of their film to Ocean, who groups the films into a “festival program.”

Students tend to select films that resonate with their own interests, so the program, illustrated in Fig. 7, was well populated with films in other Indigenous languages, featured traditional practices, and oral histories conveyed in song. Interestingly, at least five of the eleven programmed films were explicitly about biodiversity and climate change, reflecting the concerns of students to global issues, their impact on Indigenous peoples, and the potential of Indigenous ways of knowing to ameliorate against global warming’s impacts.

The 2nd Indigenous Science Film Festival
MAOR302, 31 May 2016

Film	Country	Year	Pr
The Navigator: Pathfinders of the Pacific https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2FglNdqHRUY	Hawaii	1983	Kiv Ng
Tā moko https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tXuCsSUFC_E	Aotearoa	2007	Jes Sai
Nowhere Else on Earth: Indigenous Plants in Hawaii https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AXT7v9klHCI	Hawaii	2011	Te Ma Pih
Walking on Country with Spirits http://ourworld.unu.edu/en/walking-on-country-with-spirits	Australia	2009	Ly, Ch
Boomerang: the Men of Fifth World https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HypNVcsozDE	Australia	2014?	Ma Ka
Indigenous Games, Elder Knowledge https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=THDn8rY-gWc	USA	2016?	Ka Pal
Meet the Natives (excerpt) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kvZNb_tFodw	England/USA	2007	Ta, Ye;
Sea Level rise in Kowanyama https://vimeo.com/2262880	Australia	2008	An Ha
Energy - Traditional Knowledge and Climate Change https://vimeo.com/45741466	Japan	2012?	Ku Na
Maori Creation Story in Sand Art https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TDzz_eDq3LE	Aotearoa	2010	Kii an- Wi
A Commons Sense http://cargocollective.com/thefsourceblog/A-Commons-Sense	India	2012	

Fig. 7 A screen grab of the program of films collated by students of MAOR302 in 2016. The final “Presenters” column has been partly anonymized

Conclusion and Future Directions

As this chapter shows, educational institutions can be places that perform emancipatory work: in freeing and enabling the decolonizing of the minds of our students and validating of personal and local knowledges. In Indigenous and Native studies, one way we do this is by calling out colonialism in its many forms. The courses described here are concerned with dismantling the hegemonic power of the Western scientific discourse. By thinking of Western science as another local knowledge system, with which we can choose to engage, and do so on our terms, Western science becomes another mechanism that can provide complementary tools for issues of concern (such as management of wasps). This opens up safe space for the exploration of our own Indigenous knowledges and ways of knowing. But it also invites us to work alongside “modern science” to produce knowledge in revolutionary and new ways, such as (perhaps) the “stretchy science” that has arisen in Aotearoa New Zealand’s discourse around science for the public good (see <http://www.confer.co.nz/crazyandambitious/>).

Our 11 years of experience at mounting virtual, international exchanges leads us to agree with Durie (2005b) that interaction across knowledge spaces needs to occur with certain things in mind, including anticipation of mutual benefit and knowledge

sharing in an environment of respect. Furthermore, as we work toward some common goals, we must be mindful of historical contexts and our place *in* place.

As we have shown here, tertiary classrooms can be reconstructed to connect disparate disciplines, geographically separated people, and different ways of knowing. This means it can model for other “negotiated spaces” (Smith et al. 2008) such as research projects in which connections between science and mātauranga are a key driver (such as in National Science Challenge projects). Our tertiary teaching spaces acknowledge Indigenous history in place, can be experimental, a nursery of new concepts and ideas, and pedagogically revolutionary. Importantly, relationships are at the center of our engagement between Alaska and Aotearoa. We open space for mutually beneficial interaction, different ways of knowing, and producing knowledge to be affirmed and expressed in a multitude of ways. In this way, the space becomes a respectful one that honors multiple traditions.

Student thinking and discussion on global climate change is a reminder that big problems need his kind of multi-directional input, and a greater recognition of ancient wisdom. When Naomi Klein traced the plunder of our planet’s resources and subsequent ruin of ecosystems to capitalism (Klein 2015), she recognized that Indigenous views of Earth – being relational and not proprietary, local and not global, sacred and natural – need to be adopted if we are to slow, halt, and reverse the inexorable grind toward a dying Earth. The granting in 2017 of legal personhood to Aotearoa New Zealand’s Whanganui River, and the Ganga and Yamuna rivers in India shortly thereafter, suggest that an Indigenous view of the river can sit companionably with Western legal frameworks. General concession is that this fundamental and potentially game-changing shift is rooted in Indigenous philosophies, reminding us how needful are our ways of knowing and being when it comes to valuing our natural environments. Conversations and courses such as our cross-Pacific collaboration give room for and vitality to Indigenous knowledges and pedagogies, promote discourse at the interface between ways of knowing our world, and practice and model how we grapple with big issues. These spaces will continue to be critical as we face an uncertain future and global change.

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Mā te Rourou: Māori Education and Innovation Through the Visual Arts in Aotearoa New Zealand

61

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Abstract

This chapter explores education through the development of Māori visual arts in Aotearoa New Zealand, in particular, the contribution of key twentieth-century artists to changes in customary art forms through their work in schools and tertiary institutions often in collaboration with tribal communities. A key role such artists played was in promulgating Māori culture as integral to art education in New Zealand the impact of which over time has led to some revolutionary innovations in traditional art forms. To illustrate the dynamic

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changes, the chapter focuses on one such innovation in art form, that of tukutuku or lattice work, both within the traditional context of marae settings representing communal projects and more recently by Māori graduates of tertiary-based indigenous visual arts programs exhibiting in community and mainstream gallery settings.

Keywords

Māori visual arts · tukutuku lattice-work · Māori art education · Indigenous visual arts education · Innovations in customary indigenous art

Introduction

There's a difference between ideas and action. Marae are where the action is; where it is happening; where people live. The only community that is organised for this type of creative work at the moment is the marae. The school is the other place where it could happen. I don't mind which way we start so long as we start. . . . The school is right in the middle of the community. It should be contributing a lot more than from 9am to 3pm. . . . (Para Matchitt in Dept of Ed, 1978, p. 296)

Writing in 1940 Māori statesman and esteemed tribal elder Sir Apirana Ngata predicted there would be evolutionary stylistic changes to traditional carving of the Māori and that “*the time may come when new designs will be evolved according to the vision of individual craftsmen*” (Davis 1976). As art specialist Frank Davis commented some 35 years later, little did Ngata know just how diverse such changes in Māori art and design across the board would be and within such a short period of time. This chapter focusses on one such art form – tukutuku or lattice work which were customarily located within the tribal meeting house setting. In the latter half of the twentieth century, key artists have contributed to periods of evolutionary change particularly through their work in schools, in tertiary institutions often in collaboration with tribal communities. Art educators too have played their role in supporting Māori artists and communities in promulgating Māori culture as integral to art education in New Zealand. Indeed, the reference by Matchitt links to the importance of the school as a site for creative work such as tukutuku. The impact of such changes has seen some revolutionary innovation in art forms such as tukutuku both within the traditional context of marae representing communal projects and more recently by individual Māori artists exhibiting in mainstream gallery settings.

This chapter explores how key Māori artists have contributed to the development of tukutuku as an art form through educational and communal projects. Evolutionary changes to process, medium, technique, and context are identified within a chronology of change based on hereditary and acquired leadership. For the most part, European contact has seen a rise in acquired leadership associated with the innovative transformation of tukutuku fostered by Māori prophets, Māori parliamentarians, Māori artists, and educators.

Background: Māori Art in Education

The impact of European colonization throughout the nineteenth century and beyond saw systematic devastation of Māori communities through colonial wars, massive land loss, and population decline resulting from introduced diseases. By the early years of the twentieth century, the survival of Māori people, their language, and culture were in crisis (Walker 2001). Ngata considered the building and embellishments of tribal meeting houses as one strategy to ameliorate the decline of Māori culture through the arts and as a means of revitalizing Māori communities. As part of this strategy, a formal education in the arts of Māori was realized in 1926 when Ngata established the School of Māori Arts and Crafts at Rotorua (Walker 2004).

Native schools had been established under the Native Schools Act in 1867, and in 1880 the Native School Code was enacted as part of the government's assimilation policy whereby Māori language was banned within school precincts and enforced through corporal punishment; a policy that remained extant well into the mid-years of the twentieth century. Schooling was conceived as an agent for "civilizing" Māori (Simon and Tuhiwai Smith 2001); thus, Māori beliefs and practices were discouraged and replaced by European beliefs and customs. By the 1930s, a utilitarian curriculum of practical arts of woodwork and home-craft was introduced and a socially engineered curriculum was instituted for Māori learners whereby Māori boys were trained as farmers and Māori girls as the wives of Māori farmers. The education regulations for Native Schools from 1880 to 1915 provided the earliest insights into visual arts education for Māori children that imposed a Eurocentric notion of the arts as utility.

By the 1950s and 1960s, and inspired in part by Ngata's successful arts revitalization program of tribal meeting houses through the previous decades, Māori arts and crafts were considered an important inclusion in the education of Māori children. Among Government schemes was that initiated by Clarence Beeby, Director of Education, who appointed Gordon Tovey in 1946 as the first national advisor in arts and crafts to set up the Art and Crafts Specialist Service for the Department of Education (Henderson 1988). His aim was to launch an ambitious Māori advisory art project for schools by convening a team of Māori artists who were trained as teachers and art advisors in schools. Between 1946 and 1961, 14 Māori art advisors were handpicked by Tovey. Many of these artists became leaders of the renaissance in Māori visual arts including Ralph Hotere, Katarina Mataira, Arnold Wilson, Para Matchitt, Sandy Adsett, and Cliff Whiting to name a few.

Cliff Whiting, Sandy Adsett, and Para Matchitt, in particular, established substantial reputations for their individual art and as a major force in art projects involving the community. Whiting drew on the work of master carver Pine Taiapa, the leader of the Rotorua Carving school by using community art as a focus for community revitalization (Department of Education 1978, p. 284). Whiting considered the marae

... the proper place for Māori arts and crafts. On the marae the people gather and share their thoughts through speeches, haka and action songs, singing and art. There on the marae

the significance of Māori art is made apparent. There a whole network of significance is sewn together by social relationships and art can make the tie manifest. (Department of Education 1978, p. 284)

Like Whiting, Paratene Matchitt influenced Māori art as an artist and teacher including teaching in the tertiary sector. His 1975 seminal work, the Kimiora Mural at Turangawaewae marae, was groundbreaking in its production for a number of reasons. The Kimiora Hall is not a meeting house but a marae facility that functions for social events. Besides Matchitt 12 other advisors from around the country were seconded to assist in the project. Local primary and secondary school pupils and teachers were invited to attend and contribute. Funding for the project was a combined effort of the Minister of Māori Affairs, the Turangawaewae marae committee, and the Department of Education (1978, p. 291).

The educational experiences generated by Whiting and Matchitt and others through community projects provided extraordinary opportunities for innovation in Māori art drawn from customary practices such as the art of tukutuku. However, a contributing factor to Māori art innovation in the latter years of the twentieth century was the emergence of Māori visual art programs in the tertiary sector some 40 years after the Rotorua Māori arts and Crafts School was established. These contemporary schools of Māori visual art encouraged radical and innovative expressions of art based on distinct communities of practice, Māori centered pedagogy, and new technologies.

Led by Sandy Adsett at Toimairangi at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa in Hastings, Steve Gibbs, and Derek Ladelli at Toihoukura at Eastern Institute of Technology in Gisborne, and Robert Jahnke at Toi Oho Ki Āpiti at Massey University in Palmerston North, each artist developed communities of practice defined by a shared interest in, and commitment to, Māori visual arts and culture. As inspirational teachers, their ability to remain innovative in terms of pedagogy and program design is due in part to a degree of autonomy they enjoy within the bounds of institutional structures. Being under Māori direction and control has enabled a distinctly Māori approach to the provision of Māori visual art practice to emerge. In contrast with other fine arts programs in mainstream, in the Māori art schools priorities are given to courses that have as their core focus Māori art history, language, and culture rather than art history and culture rooted in Europe. This is not to say that Māori visual art programs do not reference western artists or art history; of course they do. It is that Māori culture, and to an ever increasing degree the Pacific, is prioritized in order to ensure relevant practice and maximum engagement of students.

Such priorities are associated with an important assumption that underpins these programs; that Māori students achieve when they see themselves reflected in the curriculum and the environment. According to Adsett (2014, personal communication) in order to appreciate art, the students have to see themselves in the art. On these terms, student/staff engagement includes an approach to Māori ways of knowing that has seen the emergence of a distinct pedagogy based on the principle of kaupapa Māori incorporating wānanga (knowledge gatherings), hui (gathering), moteatea (ancient song), and karakia (incantation) on the one hand and public exhibitions at local, national, and international levels on the other. The imperatives

associated with such pedagogy require an enabling environment upheld by such principles as *manaakitanga* and *whakawhanaungatanga*. In other words, what is shared (*manaakitanga*) and what brings the students and lecturer's together (*whakawhanaungatanga*) is a level of participation characterized by mutual recognition and enabling engagement. Staff generally hold high expectations of students to achieve a high quality and standard of excellence which in turn challenges staff to ensure their own art practice remains current and up for public scrutiny.

This attitude is manifest, for example, in the expectation that students will exhibit their works in public venues alongside senior Māori and indigenous artists, including their lecturers and mentors. In terms of quality and excellence, there is an expectation that the integrity of expression and form are resolved in the student's art work to be exhibited because they are putting themselves on the line publicly. The incentive for students to achieve success is thus a temporal process in a real situation and with their mentors "... a matter of sustaining enough mutual engagement in pursuing an enterprise together to share some significant learning" (Wenger 1998, p. 86). An investment of practice in participation to this level is also a source of continuity in terms of succession planning and growing of new staff and new generations of teachers and artists. The programs mentioned here are staffed with former students, supporting Wenger's view that "... the history of the practice remains embodied in the generational relations that structure the community. The past, the present and the future live together. ..." (Wenger 1998, p. 90).

There is connectivity between each Māori visual art program and the aspirations of *whānau*, *hapu*, and *iwi* expressed in tribal development strategies. Thus, the importance of the wider community is actively promoted and practiced through student/staff involvement in local collaborations. This approach is underscored by the principle of reciprocity of "giving back" to their wider community. The *Toihoukura* and *Toimairangi* visual arts schools in particular are deeply linked to local *whānau*, *hapu*, and *iwi* through tribal affiliations and through community art practice.

Community Art Practice Through *Tukutuku*

It is possible to trace the development of *tukutuku* as an art form identifying changes to process, medium, technique, and context from the evolution of the art. As well, a chronology of *tukutuku* is offered by proposing a framework of change based on leadership and by extending on the work of Māori anthropologist Sir Peter Buck in the early twentieth century and contemporary Māori artist and university art educator, Kura Puke.

What Is *Tukutuku*?

Within customary tribal contexts *tukutuku*, *arapaki*, or *tuitui* were names used by different tribal groups for the traditional lattice work structure. For example, *tuitui* was used on the East coast of the North Island, while *arapaki* was in common usage

in the central North Island. Tukutuku is the most common term and therefore referred to as the generic term in this chapter.

The lattice work was comprised of a series of vertical strakes of kakaho (*Cortaderia splendens*) overlaid with horizontal wooded laths called kaho. Prepared native fiber including kiekie (*Freycinetia banksii*), pingao (*Ficinia spiralis*), or harakeke (native flax) bound the two sets of laths together generating a sequence of patterns in the process. The lattice structure meant that the patterns were rectilinear in configuration composed of single, cross, and overlapping cross-stitch. The overlapping cross-stitch was structural often appearing at the center and sides of the panels to maintain uniformity in the lattice structure, prior to the addition of pattern. As an art form within the meeting house, tukutuku evolved out of a wall thatching process and from the construction of traditional kites or manu tukutuku that have a similar lashing process. Within the interior of the meeting house, tukutuku were wall panels that appeared in between carved (or painted) house posts. Customarily the construction of the whare puni or chief's house was regulated by the system of tapu (a restrictive sanction). Consequently, during its early development, tukutuku was the prerogative of men. Women only participated in the art of tukutuku after introduced building systems allowed for the tukutuku panels to be inserted into the total house structure after they were completed thereby removing the panels from the house construction site where tapu sanctions were enforced (Taiapa 1953).

Although it is a three-dimensional art form, the rectilinear nature of tukutuku tends to exude a sense of two dimensionality. Over time patterns have evolved often related to the type of stitch used in the creation of the patterns. For example, waewae pakura (footprint of the swamp hen) utilizes a series of three alternating diagonal stitches or ties while patikitiki or patiki, commonly referred to as the flounder, has a deeper significance as the Coalsack constellation, which is a diamond pattern composed of cross-stitches. The cross-stitch is also viewed as the eyes of ancestors in concord with the notion of the deceased becoming stars expressed in the phrase of acknowledgment "kua wheturangitia." During the early development of tukutuku, there was a tendency to use a single pattern throughout the whole house. One of the most popular patterns in the late nineteenth century was the poutama (see Fig. 1). Poutama which features as the tukutuku pattern in Takitimu whareniui at Martinborough, Waiherehere in Whanganui, and Ruatēpupuke in Tokomaru Bay on the East Coast is a significant cultural pattern. This is because the pattern alludes to the progress one makes through life in terms of the obstacles and triumphs faced and overcome, as well as the journey of the Maori deity Tanenuiārangi in recovering the three baskets of knowledge. For Christians, the pattern became synonymous with the stairway to heaven. Within the context of the colonizing era, the popularity of the poutama becomes an appropriate metaphor for a people suffering depopulation, land alienation, and an imposed alien system of land tenure. Poutama thus signifies the trials and tribulations of people coping with a new world order with the ascending verticals of the pattern signifying the possibility of recovery. Patterns like kaokao (armpit) design relates to the haka posture, while others are patterns grounded in oral

Fig. 1 *Takitimu* (1887)
 Martinborough. Traditional
 fiber-constructed
 nonfigurative tukutuku
 panels. (Image by Kitty
 Martin; courtesy of Hami Te
 Whaiti)



narratives associated with bringing the kumara to Aotearoa from Hawaiki the ancestral homeland of Maori. Beyond their cultural messages, tukutuku offers a rectilinear counterpoint to the curvilinear kowhaiwhai painted patterns on the rafters and fascia boards and the carved ancestral poupou (wall posts) flanking the tukutuku panels.

A Tukutuku Chronology

In 1921, Sir Peter Buck identified three periods of tukutuku development that he named early, post-European, and modern. Drawing on Buck's 1921 observations and Kura Puke's 2008 review, a five-stage chronology is proposed for the art of tukutuku. Puke's five phases of tukutuku innovation begins in the 1870s–1880s with the Ringatu period (1870s–1880s) followed by the Ngata period (1927–1937), Māori Modernism (1950–), Contemporary Māori Art I (1970), and Contemporary Māori Art II (2000–) periods.

Both Buck and Puke's names for the periods have been revised to reflect the major shifts in leadership that provided the impetus for changes in tukutuku technology and pattern generation. These changes are outlined in Table 1.

Table 1 Tukutuku Chronology

Pre-1769-1849	<i>Te Ao Rangatira</i>
	Traditional leadership by hereditary chiefs
1850–1926	<i>Te Ao Poropiti</i>
	Māori Prophets emerge to contest the leadership of hereditary chiefs
1927–1950	Te Ao Paremata
	Māori Parliamentarians institute cultural and artistic change through statute and cultural revitalization strategies
1951–1999	Te Ao Wānanga Hou
	Māori emerge from tertiary art schools and teacher training programs to influence the development of art education in schools and within the marae context
2000	Te Ao Wānanga Rere Hiko
	Māori emerge from tertiary fine arts and Māori visual art programs to extend customary practice in the digital age

Attempts have been made to determine the nature of tukutuku patterns during the period of early European contact. However, what has become apparent from written and visual records up to 1844 is the repetition of a single motif, and a monochromatic or two-color (red and black) painting of the horizontal laths (Fig. 2).

With the advent of European contact, there was a “. . .change from repeating pattern sequences. . .to the composed symmetrical designs of post European work, and. . . the introduction of non-Māori motifs such as squares, octagons, playing card symbols, Christian symbols and representation of objects, both traditional and introduced” (Neich 1993, p. 100). In the latter part of the nineteenth century, there was also an increase in the color palette resulting from the use of Judson dyes as a substitute for customary dyes (Fig. 3).

Te Ao Rangatira Pre-1849: The World of Chiefs

Te Ao Rangatira literally means “the world of chiefs” and references the period when leadership was the prerogative of hereditary chiefs and *wharepuni* (chief’s house) were the premiere structure within tribal villages. In time, European colonization led by Missionaries and later colonial rule influenced not only land ownership but also architectural forms and the art forms within the house. Consequently, chiefs’ houses increased in size to accommodate religious and political meetings thus becoming communal meeting houses rather than a chief’s residence.

Traditionally tukutuku was used in the chief’s house and subsequently the meeting house between the *poupou* (house posts) on the porch and the inside wall of the house. The house posts were either plain, painted with *kowhaiwhai* (nonfigurative pattern), or carved. During the early explorer contact period, carved house panels were only recorded on the East Coast of the North Island and in North Auckland. In the early twentieth century, more durable wall cladding systems such

Fig. 2 George Angus *Chief's house at Te Kuiti* (1844)

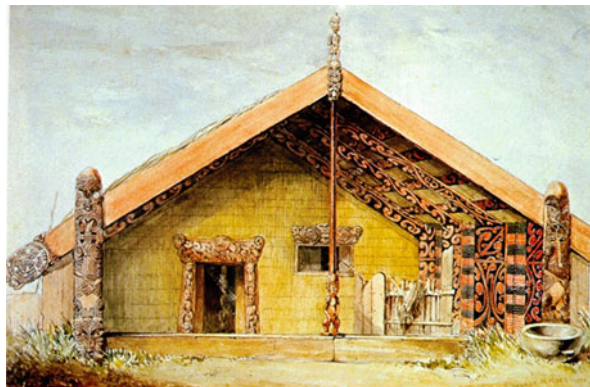
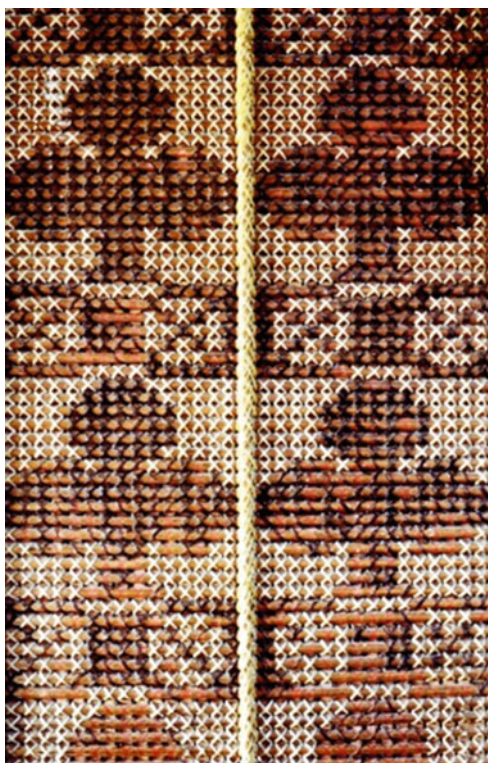


Fig. 3 *Houngarea* (1890s)
Pakipaki, Hawkes Bay.
Nontraditional tukutuku club
pattern. (Image by Robert
Jahnke; courtesy of
Houngarea marae committee)



as tongue and groove were used and arranged diagonally and vertically, as well as manufactured fluted panels simulating traditional vertical reed wall lining.

The earliest reference to tukutuku comes from Lieutenant Roux in 1772 who noted “neatly made lattice work” (Neich 1993, p. 99). The earliest visual recording of tukutuku was made in March 1839 by Richard Taylor, who sketched the exterior

Fig. 4 *Nga Tau e Waru* (1881) Masterton. Traditional fiber-constructed nonfigurative tukutuku panels. (Image courtesy of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa)



frontal view of two houses at Otumoetai Pa (Tauranga), and in April he sketched the house belonging to the Rangatira Te Kani-a-Takirau at Uawa (East Coast) that showed tukutuku in the porch area (Neich 1993). Porch tukutuku was also applied to the front wall of *Nga Tau e Waru* (1881) a tribal meeting house in Masterton (Fig. 4).

Te Ao Poropiti 1850–1926: The World of Prophets

Te Ao Poropiti is literally the world of prophets named after the proliferation of Māori prophets who contested the traditional hereditary leadership system from the mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. Among the prophets, Te Kooti stands alone as the only prophet who actively fostered the arts of the tribal houses throughout his lifetime. He founded the syncretic Ringatu religion after being falsely accused of spying at the siege of Werenga-a-hika near Gisborne and his imprisonment on the Chatham Islands off the east coast of New Zealand. After escaping from the Chatham's Te Kooti exacted revenge in the Gisborne area before evading Government forces along the Eastern seaboard through the Urewera country, west of Wairoa. Eventually Te Kooti found refuge in the King Country in the central North Island, which was off limits to the settler community and colonial forces. Although he died in 1893 his influence persisted into the 1920s. In his youth, Te Kooti was missionary trained, but he influenced the building of a number of meeting houses either directly or indirectly (Fig. 5).

It is during this time period that innovation in the style of art took on a new turn, including tukutuku design. Among Te Kooti influenced meeting houses is *Te Tokaanganui a Noho* (1873) which was built at Te Kuiti as a gift from Te Kooti to King Tawhiao (King Tawhiao was the second Māori king who succeeded his father Potatau Te Wherowhero. The Māori King movement originated in 1858 in response to increasing settler migration, Crown demands for land and political

Fig. 5 *Te Tokaanganui a Noho* (1873) Te Kuiti. Nontraditional figurative pattern. (Image courtesy of Auckland Memorial Museum)



marginalization. There was no Māori Sovereign prior to this period as Māori leadership was based on hereditary chieftainship.) for sheltering him from colonial forces in the King Country. Tawhiao was the second Māori King who succeeded his father Potatau Te Wherowhero. The Māori King movement originated in 1858 in response to increasing settler migration, Crown demands for land, and political marginalization. There was no Māori Sovereign prior to this period as Māori leadership was based on hereditary chieftainship. Apart from influencing the introduction of a new range of tukutuku designs including text and playing card symbols, Te Kooti is also credited with the introduction of figurative tukutuku based on the carved *wheku* facial form which appeared on a rear lattice wall panel of the house. The *wheku* facial form is common to most tribal carving traditions and features obliquely set eye-brow and elliptical eye-lids that appear slanted.

By 1888 Te Kooti's figurative schema was expanded by Ngāti Porou house builders in the Porourangi meeting house at Waiomatatini, allowing the carvers to represent additional ancestors within the commemorative scheme of the house. According to Cliff Whiting, the *poupou* (wall posts) represent women and children, while male ancestors (see Fig. 6) are represented in the *tukutuku* (Christenson 2013).



Fig. 6 *Porourangi* (1888) at Waiomatatini, East Coast. Figurative and nonfigurative tukutuku panels. (Image by Cliff Whiting; courtesy of Ramari Collier)

As illustrated in Fig. 6, there was also an attempt to translate cursive patterns, like the shoulder and hip spirals associated with carving and the moko (tattoo) pattern on the forehead, into the rectilinear grid of tukutuku.

As well text makes an appearance in tukutuku where artists used the whole space beneath the legs to inscribe ancestral names with fiber. In other houses, text appeared on porch walls. In an alternative development, messages of welcome in the Māori language appeared among conventional tukutuku patterns like the poutama stairway pattern. Other divergent developments in tukutuku were also introduced as a result of the impact of European colonization, the absence of carving expertise, innovation, expediency, and the desire to record a changing worldview (Jahnke 2006; Neich 1993).

Takitimu (1887) at Martinborough (Fig. 1) featured poutama lattice-work above painted panels based on taniko, the rectilinear patterns that are attached as borders of kakahu (cloaks).

The era from the 1870s through to the 1920s is one of transformation and change as tongue and groove panels arranged vertically or diagonally (with painted vertical boards with kowhaiwhai or naturalistic painted images) and fluted boards replaced tukutuku not only in the porch but also inside the house as well. It was also the era of the painted house which evolved as an alternative to the carved tribal houses (Fig. 7).

In Te Poho o Hinekura (1914) at the small rural settlement of Tuai, the ancestral panels and tukutuku panels are painted in orange and blue poutama (staircase) patterns that are applied to manufactured fluted boards that contrast with the flat panels depicting the painted ancestor. The house was restored in 1977 by a group led by Cliff Whiting.

Fig. 7 *Te Poho o Hinekura* (1914) Tuai, Urewera. Painted poutama tukutuku patterns. (Image by Cliff Whiting. Auckland War Memorial Museum)



In Hinetamatea (c1900) at Anaura Bay (see Fig. 8), the tukutuku panels are comprised of timber tongue and groove arranged diagonally in the lower wall section with linoleum in the upper section. The substitution of linoleum is particularly transformative and innovative and demonstrates the artist's ability to translate customary pattern concepts on to ready-made designs. The symmetrical nature of the composition with rectilinear patterns relating to the composition of stars like the patiki (Coalsack), purapura whetu (star dust), and Te Mangoroa (the Milky way) was no doubt instrumental in the selection of the linoleum.

Te Ao Paremata (1927–1950): The World of Parliament

Te Ao Paremata literally means “the world of Parliament.” It was the period when several ex-pupils from Te Aute Māori Boy's College in Hawkes Bay attended universities and graduated with degrees in medicine and law and who would serve as Parliamentarians during their illustrious careers. The group, which included Sir Apirana Ngata and Sir Peter Buck, made significant contributions to Māori land development and the revitalization of Māori art. As Minister of Māori Affairs in the New Zealand Parliament, Sir Apirana Ngata was responsible for introducing the Act

Fig. 8 *Hinetamatea* c1900 at Anaura Bay, East Coast. Linoleum substitute for tukutuku panels. (Image by Cliff Whiting. Auckland War Memorial Museum)



in 1926 that established the Rotorua School of Māori Arts and Crafts. Ngata was the most highly educated and qualified parliamentarian in the New Zealand Government. He was the first Maori graduate who received a Master of Arts from Canterbury University College in 1894, completed a law degree in 1896, and was admitted to the bar in 1897.

Under Ngata's direction, the art of carving along with the related arts of tukutuku and painting were revitalized, but it was a period largely marked by conservatism and orthodoxy. Under Ngata's tutelage and guidance, a set of tukutuku panels were created for the opening of the meeting house *Te Hau ki Turanga* at the Dominion Museum in Wellington which is now known as the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. Ngata used stock patterns from his tribal region of Ngāti Porou on the East Coast of the North Island such as *pātikitiki*, *roimata toroa*, *poutama*, and the Ngāti Porou version of the *poutama*.

Correspondence symmetry of tukutuku patterns is characteristic of the Ngata period evident in all the houses created under his stewardship. By way of contrast, *Hotunui* built in the late nineteenth century contains the oldest extant set of tukutuku of any meeting house. The tukutuku in *Hotunui* continue the early nineteenth-century alternation of red and black color (see Fig. 2) together with an asymmetrical juxtaposition of tukutuku patterns across the house and either side of the central front

and central back wall posts. The asymmetrical system evident in Hotunui was reintroduced by Master carver Pakariki Harrison in the 1970s in a house that he carved in Te Awamutu. The Ngata period was one of revitalizing the arts of the tribal house, and tukutuku produced during this period were generally conservative in maintaining priori patterns. The only exception is the continuity of the figurative tukutuku in Porourangi (see Fig. 6) influenced by Te Kooti.

Te Ao Wananga Hou (1951–2000): The World of New Institutions of Learning

Under Ngata's stewardship tukutuku as an art form migrated from the tribal meeting house to churches, marae dining rooms, and assembly halls. Within these contexts, carving was subordinate to tukutuku and more often than not carving featured as frames for the tukutuku panels. Generally, the traditional patterns were reiterated throughout this period. However, there was a shift from the lattice structure to peg board, a composite hard-board with gridded predrilled holes. This enabled new experimentation with raffia, leather, and plastic substitutes for the traditional binding fiber. The pegboard technology produced a single plane ready-made grid for lashing. To overcome the flattened nature of the tukutuku, oblong or half round timber was often fixed to the peg-board surface to simulate the kaho in customary lattice panels.

Many of the projects discussed within the Te Ao Wānanga Hou period are associated with communal projects that have involved communities of learners whether formal or informal educational or community contexts. Many of the projects are linked to tribal structures from ancestral houses, institutional houses (including those located in schools and tertiary institutions) to halls, and marae dining rooms.

The period of Te Ao Wananga Hou, which literally means “the world of new institutions of learning,” was characterized by marae restoration and innovative building projects. Cliff Whiting and Paratene Matchitt emerge during this period as two of the most influential contributors to change in tukutuku practice and design. In the 1950s, both artists were associated with Gordon Tovey's strategy for promoting the teaching of Māori art in schools. Both artists held positions as Māori art advisors for the Department of Education in various parts of the country leaving their inevitable mark wherever they visited and resided.

However, it was not until the mid-1970s and the advent of Matchitt's mural *Te Whanaketanga o Tainui* (1975) (see Fig. 9) at Kimiora that carving, tukutuku, and painting were combined to create radical dining hall murals that enabled tukutuku to migrate from framed lattice panels to purpose designed components within a mural narrative composition.

The mural, combined with a single plane tukutuku fabrication, introduced a radical shift from the rigid rectilinear lattice grid associated with customary lattice structure of tukutuku and predrilled peg-board substitutes to freeform cursive designs following the example of Cliff Whiting. The tukutuku patterns were achieved by drilling the holes for single, cross, and multiple stitches following cursive contours within which the linear patterns were configured on a vertical or radial grid.



Fig. 9 Paratene Matchitt *Te Whanaketanga o Tainui* (1975). Kimiropa Dining Room. Turangawaewae marae. Nontraditional cursive tukutuku patterns. (Image by Paratene Matchitt; courtesy of the artist)

However, the Kimiropa mural owes its realization to Cliff Whiting's *Te Wehenga o Rangi raua ko Papa* in the National Library in Wellington (see Fig. 10) which he created between 1969 and 1975. In this mural, the cursive tukutuku technique pioneered by Whiting is applied to the areas representing the sky, the radiating rays of the sun and Te Ao Mārama, the light that flooded into the world when Tāne separated the sky parents, the light that would see the emergence of the natural world and humankind in Māori tribal narratives.

Whiting's contribution to tukutuku straddles the continuum of Māori art from the conventional to the innovative. In 1969, he was the first practitioner to add carved elements to the tukutuku panels in Waiherehere tribal house at Koroniti on the Wanganui River. He repeated this technique in 1974 in Kauaetangohia tribal house on the East Cape expanding the range of figurative images to include fish. Perhaps his most comprehensive tukutuku statement can be found in Te Rau Aroha dining hall and Tahupotiki tribal house in Bluff (see Fig. 11), the house that Whiting worked on between 1998 and 2001. In the dining hall and house, tukutuku is presented in panel and mural form but can also be found on the roof of the dining hall as substitutes for painted rafters. The use of tukutuku on the roof of a house appears as a Wanganui innovation for the 1870s in Waiherehere at Koroniti. From 1975, Whiting's cursive tukutuku is extended with several customary compositions such as poutama composed in arcs on incised and perforated fiberboard. In a new development however, bracken fern stalks act as kaho following the curved pattern on perforated fiberboard. Over the years, Whiting has introduced a range of imagery including fish, the iconic Te Whānau ā Apanui ancestral form from the Te Kaha pataka (store house) with upraised arms, the Christchurch Commonwealth games symbol, and the rays of Te Ao Mārama among others.



Fig. 10 *Te wehenga o Rangi raua ko Papa* (1969–1975). National Library Wellington. Noncustomary cursive tukutuku patterns. (Image by the Alexander Turnbull Library; courtesy of Dean Whiting)

Fig. 11 *Te Rau Aroha* (2003) dining hall mixed media mural at the Bluff, South Island. Nonfigurative roof tukutuku panels. (Image by Cliff Whiting; courtesy of Te Rau Aroha marae)



Sandy Adsett is another Tovey generation artist who is also esteemed as a tukutuku practitioner. His tukutuku panels for the Te Huki House at Raupunga (see Fig. 12) feature a contemporized version of the pātiki (fish) pattern with an internal figurative reference to the raupunga fern from which the village takes its name. Adsett's wall mural relies on layers of relief and paint to create visual relationships to tukutuku patterns like poutama and niho taniwha (teeth of the taniwha).

Pākehā artist Peter Boyd emerges, under the guidance of master carver Pakariki Harrison, as one of the most transformative tukutuku designers combining customary patterns once separated in previous houses like the poutama and kaokao (arm pit design), as well as introducing an expanded color palette. The expanded palette was necessary to capture the subtle overlays and juxtaposition of hues referencing land and sea. Tanenuiārangi (1988) (see Fig. 13) at Waipapa marae at Auckland University is exemplary in its range of tukutuku designs with both figurative and nonfigurative imagery including tiki (human form), poutama, kaokao, and niho taniwha.



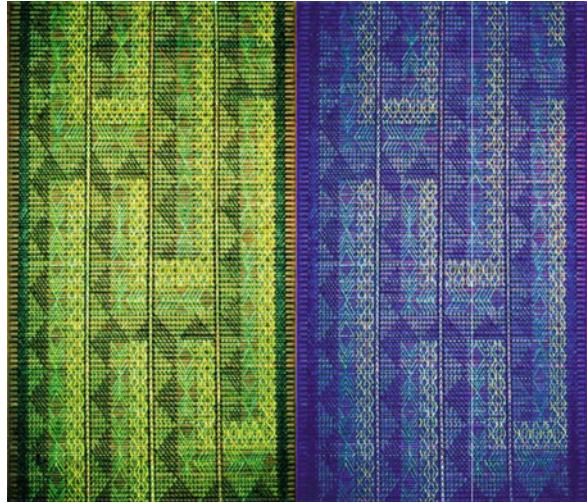
Fig. 12 Sandy Adsett *Te Huki* (1984) Raupunga. Figurative raupunga fern tukutuku pattern. (Image by Robert Jahnke; courtesy of Sandy Adsett)

Te Ao Wananga Rere Hiko (2000–): The World of Computer Technology

With the advent of the digital age, computer technology impacts on the tukutuku-related arts beyond tribal spaces. While conventional approaches to tukutuku still feature prominently in tribal and institutional spaces like the marae, parishes, diocese, and tertiary institutions, tukutuku transformations have evolved outside these spaces. *Te Ao Wananga Rere hiko*, the world of computer technology, endeavors to capture the transformation of tukutuku processes and patterns in the digital age of pixilation while acknowledging the continuity of conventional translations of tukutuku within the modern era.

Lyonel Grant was trained at the Māori Art and Crafts Institute in Rotorua in 1974. Since graduating he has completed three carved houses, a voyaging canoe and countless commissions. In the *Ihenga House* (1996) at Toi Ohomai Institute of Technology (formerly Waiariki Polytechnic) in Rotorua, Grant was assisted by weaver Christina Wirihana in the creation of plaited whāriki (flax mat) panels as a substitute for tukutuku panels. This alternative process for wall cladding was used in a church in the Bay of Plenty in the 1940s, a tribal house in North Auckland in the 1980s and at Waipiro Bay on the East Coast in 1990. In 2000 Grant used vacuumformed plaited relief panels on the rear wall of *Ngakau Mahaki* (2009) at *Te Noho Kotahitanga marae* at Unitech in West Auckland (see Fig. 14) introducing a unique and bold departure from the tradition of lattice panels of the past.

Fig. 13 Peter Boyd *Tane-nui-a-rangi* (1988). Multicolored nonfigurative tukutuku panels. (Image by University of Auckland; courtesy of Peter Boyd)



In 2000 Kereama Taepa a graduate of the Toi Oho Ki Āpiti school created an undergraduate body of work for his Bachelor of Māori Visual Arts degree using wax crayons arranged in a grid formation in deference to tukutuku. He produced three large-scale relief works as a tribute to Leonardo Da Vinci, two featured the Mona Lisa and the other St John the Baptist. Using a computer to plot the grid Kereama was able to capture the fidelity of Mona Lisa's "smile" (see Fig. 15) while simultaneously referencing tukutuku patterns by altering the relief depth of the black, white, and grey crayons. His approach not only references the pātiki (flounder) tukutuku pattern in a related but different approach to Matchitt, but he was also able to produce a work that was unique in its capture of both figurative and nonfigurative elements simultaneously. The use of crayons also elevates the work to a conceptual engagement where crayons, as the medium of representation become the building blocks for a relief sculpture. Scale is a critical factor in the work in order to allow the pixelated pattern of crayon circles to fuse as they do in a pointillist painting.

In contrast to Kereama's computer plotted grid, Gina Matchitt, also a graduate of Toi Oho ki Āpiti, resorted to recycled computer keys to plot her references to range of tukutuku patterns including kaokao, poutama, and pātiki among others in her 2007 pre-Master's thesis exhibition *E Kare You're so Colonised*. The panels at 2400 mm × 1200 mm were a parody on literacy as a colonizing process where computer keys with imprinted letters, numerals, punctuation marks, and commands are reordered according to color rather than any literary or numerical order to generate patterns about cultural beliefs and values. The works stand tall and proud in an act of colonizing the colonizers system of communication (Fig. 16).

Peata Larkin created a series of tukutuku inspired works by forcing blobs of acrylic gel pigment through whitened mesh weave. The work is seductive in its tactile nature, the apparent randomness in the fusing and mixing of pigments, and the tendency of the pigments to disrupt the regularity of the mesh structure. The result can be viewed as



Fig. 14 Lyonel Grant *Ngakau Mahaki* (2009) Unitech, West Auckland. Vacuum formed rear wall plaited relief panels. (Courtesy of the artist)

Fig. 15 Kereama Taepa *The smile* (2007). Crayon relief combining nonfigurative tukutuku patterns with a portrait of the Mona Lisa. (Image by Bridget Reweti; courtesy of the artist)



expressionist tukutuku in terms of the splatter-like appearance of the paint. In her 2010 *Woven In-Pixelled Out* exhibition, she introduced a light box version of the paintings that introduced another level of luminescence into the work almost like stained glass as the blobs of pigment glow like gemstones. When the light is turned off the works project another layer of engagement in the tactile nature of the blobs of pigment with their impressionist juxtapositions. With *E Tu* (Explorer) 2012 Larkin introduces a black and white pixelated ground of pictograms that bring an added visual language into the process of navigating the actual and the digital. The tukutuku reference remains in the “stairway to heaven” pattern, but overall the painting is more akin to taniko (hand-weaving) with its minute figurative ground of signs from European and Māori culture both past and present. The new work also sees a shift away from the overpowering symmetry of the previous works to the inclusion of an asymmetrical counterpoint in the background. The works are more intimate in scale compared with “stairway to heaven.” (Figs. 17 and 18).

Fig. 16 Gina Matchitt *Patiki* (2007). Traditional kaokao pattern using computer keys. (Image by Robert Jahnke; courtesy of the artist)

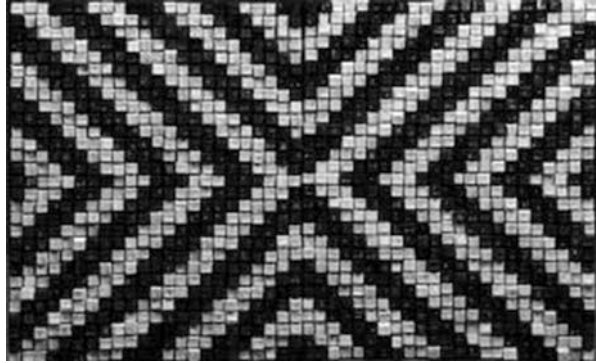


Fig. 17 Peata Larkin *Tuhourangi Tapestry* (2006) Rotorua Trust Collection. Traditional poutama pattern using blobs of paint pigment. (Image by Jennifer French; courtesy of the artist)

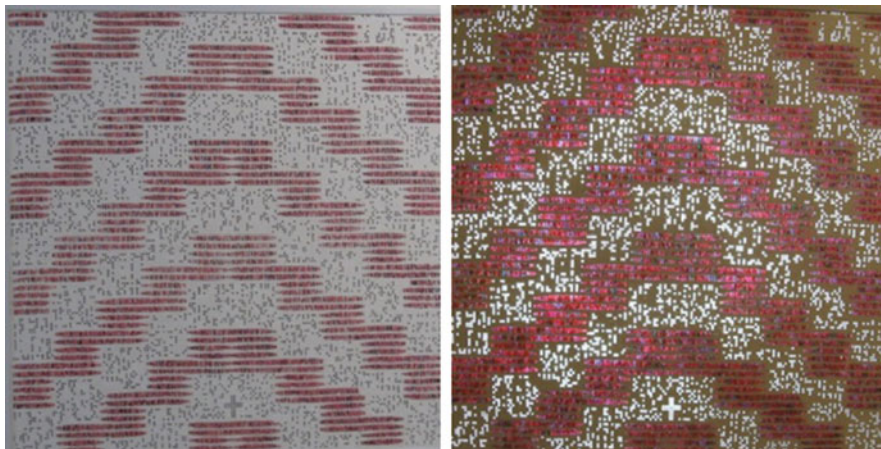


Fig. 18 Peata Larkin *Stairway to heaven* (2010). Traditional poutama pattern using blobs of paint pigment. (Image by Bartley and Co; courtesy of Bartley and Co and the artist)

Artist and art educator Lisa Reihana has been at the forefront of video and new media arts since the 1990s. One of her major projects *Digital Marae* (see Fig. 19) was exhibited at the Auckland City Art Gallery in 1998 and 2002 and accessioned in 2003. Over the years the project has undergone a number of configuration changes. Its configuration in 2007 at the Govett Brewster Art Gallery resulted in its selection for the 2008 Walter's Prize and attracted The Anne Landa Award in 2009 for video and new media arts.

The tukutuku animations are accompanied by digitally manipulated references to ancestral wall posts in tribal houses comprising deity of old like Mahuika the goddess of fire and modern day heroes such as a Dandy dressed as a Victorian gentleman representing takatāpui (transgendered identity) to evoke a tableau of identities that present a continuum between past, present and future. For the artist, the figurative images are about being connected in space and time and about being Māori. It is a project that translates the honorific context of carved ancestors flanking woven tukutuku panels within ancestral houses into a digital marae with digital poupou and digital tukutuku. The resulting installation is a feast for the senses as one is confronted with digital portraits of over human sized ancestors, animated tukutuku sequences, and sound within an immersive environment.

In 2009 Kura Puke exhibited *Muramura* at the Pataka Art Museum as partial fulfilment of her Master of Māori Visual Arts degree. The exhibition later featured at Pukeariki Museum in New Plymouth and Te Manawa Art gallery in Palmerston North. The exhibition was a development of experimental work created in the previous year using computer programmed fiber optic illumination of dots of light configured to simulate tukutuku patterns. *Muramura* referenced tukutuku patterns with astrological connotations like purapura whetu (star dust) and pātikitiki (the Coalsack constellation) to create a narrative of cosmological origin. The 12 screens (1200 mm × 400 mm) alluding to the tiered heavens of Māori tradition created a spectacle of celestial illumination that was poignant in its reverential acknowledgment of oral traditions in which Tanenuiārangi clothed Ranginui the sky with a cloak of stars (Fig. 20).



Fig. 19 Lisa Reihana *Digital marae* 2001–2012 Edge of Elsewhere Campbelltown Art Centre, Sydney. (Digital prints and animation juxtaposed to simulate interior of a tribal house by Lisa Reihana; courtesy of the artist)

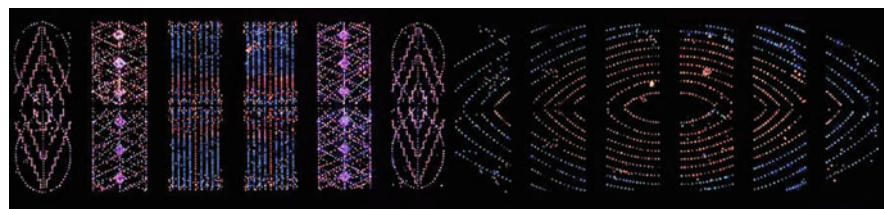


Fig. 20 Kura Puke *Muramura* (2009). Animated fiber optic panels referencing traditional rectilinear and nontraditional cursive tukutuku patterns. (Image by Kura Puke; courtesy of the artists)

In 2010 recent Masters graduate Karangawai Marsh extended tukutuku from the flat viewing plane into a cylindrical format with vertical wooded dowels and plastic ties with fluorescent illumination housed within the cylinders. Instead of creating rectilinear patterns, she used text and numerals to reference shorthand text messaging using Māori phrases. Hence, KOWHATU meaning stone or rock became KO42. “WHA” is the Māori term for number four and “TU” is pronounced phonetically as the numeral for two (Fig. 21).

Marsh’s approach has the closest affinity with traditional practice with its integration of a binding system of plastic ties and a lattice structure of wooden dowels (vertical as opposed to horizontal) for pattern generation while breaking from the flat plane presentation of tradition to tukutuku in the round. A similar physicality is maintained with Kereama’s crayons, Larkin’s paint blobs, and Matchitt’s re-cycled computer keys. With Reihana and Puke, the computer generated and powered imagery renders tukutuku as digitized animations of light.

Recent developments beyond the conventional tukutuku lattice structure have evolved within an educational context fostered to a large extent by exhibition spaces beyond the tribal marae context. The shift from “traditional” medium, technique, and subject matter coincides with a shift in tertiary education art programs and an increase in Māori-centric visual arts programs since the 1990s, an increasing referential acknowledgment of the value of traditional Māori art as a source of inspiration and the use of computer technology.

Fig. 21 Karangawai Marsh *Kowhatu* (2010). Circular illuminated text panels using fluorescent lights, wooden dowel, and plastic ties. (Image by Bridget Reweti; courtesy of the artist)



Conclusion

Tukutuku as an art evolved out of the lashing of the walls of tribal houses into a form of house embellishment using vertical strakes overlaid with horizontal laths bound together with fiber in its natural state or dyed. Overtime patterns evolved that related to narratives of migration and Māori aspirations in terms of leadership or battle or death. Patterns were rectilinear, conditioned by the grid format of the lattice structure with a limited color palette. This was the period when tukutuku evolved as a distinctive architectural art form alongside painting and carving during the age of traditional chiefly leadership.

With European contact and the advent of literacy, text entered the tukutuku pattern range alongside religious, playing card symbols, and images of ancestral carved effigies. Painted patterns and even linoleum were introduced as alternative systems for tukutuku embellishment. Much of this transformative practice happened under the influence of the prophet leader Te Kooti. At the heart of Te Kooti's vision was a desire to make carving, painting, and lattice work accessible to his Ringatu congregation. In this respect, there was a didactic intention that drove his vision.

For a time, there was a period of conservatism that was spawned by Ngata's desire to reinvigorate a dying art and to resurrect the traditional patterns and techniques of the past as templates for the future. Ngata's vision and drive resulted in the establishment of a School of Māori Arts and Crafts and a building and restoration program that ensured the continuity of tukutuku as an important corollary to carving and painting. In the process, Māori art was reinvested with its former vitality. But Ngata's vision did not have a place for the liberalism of Te Kooti, and the renaissance of Māori art went hand in hand with the suppression of the painted histories of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In time the introduction of new fiber-board resulted in the two-layer lattice system being replaced by a single-layer system and the introduction of curvilinear tukutuku patterns. Teacher, educator, and artist Cliff Whiting stands as the inspirational leader

of the era whose involvement in marae projects has resulted in an unparalleled development of a range of tukutuku innovations within the tribal context that straddles the 1970s into the twenty-first century. Ironically while it is a period that saw graduates emerge from tertiary art training institutions, it is also a period when many of the graduates return to the marae environment to inspire a new generation of artists and educators. It was also a period of the restorations of painted houses associated with Te Kooti where tukutuku was simulated in paint or replaced by linoleum. The inherent attraction of tukutuku is a three-dimensional process that translates images into pattern that maintain a rectilinear two dimensionality. This retention of two dimensionality regardless of materials and techniques is an enduring feature of tukutuku over time. This relates back to its original function within tribal houses as an iconographical and rectilinear counterpoint to the carved ancestral wall panels and curvilinear painted rafters. In houses like Mihiroa at Pakipaki in Hawkes Bay, there are no carved panels; tukutuku and kowhaiwhai stand as the champions of tradition.

Inevitably the age of computers would impact on Māori artists trained in the art schools of the new millennium as they searched for innovative ways to express their identity as Māori, and accessioning the art of tukutuku as a template for artistic engagement and transformation. The works of Reihana and Puke are exemplary in their use of computer technology. However, the conventional form of lattice work of tukutuku continues today. In 2013, a number of Māori weavers were involved in creating tukutuku panels for the United Nations Building in New York led by Christina Wirihana. The commissioning of the panels clearly demonstrates an appreciation of customary aesthetic of tukutuku with painted wooden kaho (vertical strakes) and dyed fiber.

Tukutuku in all its innovative forms is still the art of ancestors whether presented in tribal, educational institutional, or gallery spaces. In the art of tukutuku, the cross-stitches that bind strake and lath are believed to be the eyes of ancestors. In a darkened space, fiber optic pins of light twinkle like stars in the night sky. With Puke's magical rectilinear and curvilinear works, the native and the exotic merge in a narrative of the universe that has its origin the eye of the sky father in Māori tribal narrative – Ranginui e tu ake (Rangi the great one who stands above).

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Te puna wai ora, e tu atu nei e: Stand Up, Stand Strong, and Be Proud

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Abstract

An indigenous, specifically Māori worldview is used as the foundation for a case study that describes the people and their relationships and interactions in one New Zealand primary school (ages 5–11). We contextualize this school and its people, within the education and schooling system since the introduction of a new leadership team in 2011. We consider how leaders, teachers, and *whānau* (family and extended family) have promoted contexts for learning to ensure Māori students can enjoy and achieve education success as Māori (Ministry of Education 2013). Leaders' and teachers' beliefs, and their principles for practice, are detailed alongside the changes in Māori students' experiences. Finally, we consider these principles for practice in terms of their relevance for other indigenous and nonindigenous students. The case concludes in 2017 when, for the second successive year, the school became a finalist in the New Zealand, Prime Minister's Excellence Awards in Education for teaching and learning.

Keywords

Cultural relationships · Responsive pedagogy · Equity and excellence · School reform

Introduction

E kore au e ngaro, he kākano i ruia mai i Rangiatea.

I will never be lost, for I am the seed which was sown from Rangiatea.

Like the potential signaled in this *whakataukī* (proverb/wise saying), this case is a story of educational success. However, the issue of lost potential is an intergenerational reality for many Māori students in New Zealand schools. Data from New Zealand's official secondary school qualification, the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA), the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), and the Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS) all highlight an achievement gap between Māori students and their non-Māori counterparts. This longstanding gap is indicative of the deeper issue of "education debt" (Ladson-Billings 2006) that Ladson-Billings (2008, p. 3) in her research about African-American students defines as "longstanding inequities and educational disenfranchisement," based on the historical, socio-political, economic, and moral inequities, which have never been repaid.

Māori student and *whānau* narratives, recorded in projects such as *Te Kotahitanga*, indicate the ongoing impact of pathologizing practices and deficit discourses in New Zealand (Bishop and Berryman 2006; Shields et al. 2005). Education debt is also evident in the consistent achievement disparities between Māori and non-Māori students, which are present at 5 years of age on entry and that often continue to widen throughout schooling (Office of the Auditor-General 2012,

2013). Descriptions of high-quality and low-equity education systems, driven by deficit-oriented approaches, are familiar to educators across the world (Sleeter 2011). Ladson-Billings (2008, p. 3) likens the reduction of the achievement gap to achieving a balanced budget without addressing the bills of the past. This achievement gap is widely focused on through the media, within schools and at a political level. In New Zealand, teacher professional development focuses on the reduction of the gap and school reporting is mandated by the Ministry of Education to include an Analysis of Variance. Using quantitative and qualitative evidence, schools report on the gaps in achievement against the past year's student progress of achievement. Overall, the evidence shows this gap continues to be entrenched through the education system provided by the state, with very few enduring examples of closure.

Important Historical Markers

The current New Zealand education system was shaped with the signing of The Treaty of Waitangi on February 6, 1840, by representatives of the British Crown and approximately 512 Māori tribal leaders. It is important to note that two versions of this Treaty were signed: one in English and one in Māori. The Treaty was initially written in English by two crown representatives, then translated into *te reo Māori* (the Māori language) by two others. This translation and its interpretation differed greatly from the English version. Orange (1987) noted that only 39 *rangatira* (tribal leaders) signed the English version, which then became the official version. Māori viewed the Treaty as a reciprocal agreement, an *operational partnership*. However, the European settlers were operating under a “fundamental belief in the inherent inferiority of the Māori people” (Shields et al. 2005, p. 57). This fundamental difference of interpretation has had huge ramifications for all New Zealanders, and in many respects, it has continued to be perpetuated through the education system.

As in many other colonized countries, New Zealand's earliest schools were mission schools, which operated to *civilize* Māori through Christianity. The medium for instruction in these schools was *te reo Māori*, with many historians noting that Māori were keen to learn reading and writing and were quick to adapt these skills to further enhance their own means (Bishop and Glynn 1999). Following the signing of the Treaty, the colonial government was established, and in 1843, the Colonial Office decreed that all Māori were under the Queen's rule, signatories or not. The Native Trusts Ordinance was established to focus on the “welfare and protection of Māori, offering a solution through education and assimilation” (Tauma 2015, p. 16). Subsequently, in 1847, government funding for mission schools was provided on the proviso that instruction was in English only. This move established, through British rule, education as the means for social control. The subsequent Native Schools Act of 1858 included policies geared towards assimilation through the rejection of Māori knowledge and values and went on to establish a separatist education system: Native schools for Māori, the other for non-Māori or Pākehā children of the colonial settlers. According to Shields et al. (2005, p. 63), this was justified by “pathologizing Māori people's abilities to cope with, in this instance, a modern schooling system.”

Educational policy and practice was geared towards one future for Māori, that of laborers and domestics, and a separate, more academic focus for Pākehā children. Teachers were only permitted to use Māori as a means of introducing English. By the turn of the century in 1900, children were punished for speaking Māori in school and parents raised their children speaking English to avoid their children being punished (Berryman and Macfarlane 2017). The prohibition of te reo Māori in schools, often enforced by corporal punishment, had devastating effects on the Māori language. In 1930, for example, a survey of Māori children attending Native Schools estimated that 96.6% spoke Māori at home. By 1960, only 26% spoke Māori (Shields et al. 2005). Today, the number of Maori speakers is even less. Furthermore, the restricted curriculum offered Māori very few opportunities for higher education and limited employment opportunities. Native schools did not offer the required subjects for matriculation to higher education. At the time, one secondary school, Napier's Te Aute College, led by a non-Māori principal, stood against this policy and offered the required subjects for matriculation. However, a government inquiry in 1928 forced the school to return to its previous curriculum (Consedine and Consedine 2005). During this small window of opportunity, New Zealand's first Māori university graduates, including Māori politicians and leaders such as Sir Apirana Ngata and Sir Maui Pomare, matriculated from this school.

The Ongoing Pathology

During the period of mass Māori urbanization, to seek employment following the Second World War, Māori children moved away from the largely rural Native schools and had to attend state schools. Leaving behind older family members, and with them the remaining vestiges of their own language and culture, coupled with entering a compulsory education system based on low academic expectations of Māori, deficit thinking and the derogatory representations of Māori in textbooks and reading materials, resulted in further exclusion from academic success for Māori (Bishop and Glynn 1999). Shields et al. (2005) identified that values, such as individual competition and achievement, stood in opposition to core values within the Māori culture of reciprocity in teaching and learning and the importance of relationships and responsibilities of interdependence. This *talking past each other* (Metge et al. 1978) resulted at best in cultural confusion, at worst in cultural genocide, and this was often manifested as a lack of engagement, poor behavior, and subsequent low achievement. Situations like this continued to reinforce the deficiency discourses prevalent among educators and the ongoing inequity for Māori (Bishop and Berryman 2006).

Resistance and Potential

In resistance to both the colonizing of education for Māori and the ongoing decimation of te reo Māori, the kaupapa Māori movement began to set up a very effective

Māori language immersion system for education outside of that provided by the state, beginning with Kōhanga Reo (Early Childhood Māori immersion language nests) in the 1980s (Pihama et al. 2004; Hohepa et al. 1992). Māori resistance and solution seeking continued (Smith 1997) and, from the turn of this century, a move away from focusing solely on the barriers to learning for Māori saw a long-awaited shift towards listening to *iwi* (tribal groups of indigenous Māori people in New Zealand) and a focus on Māori potential in English-medium education, both in policy and practice. *Iwi* had become increasingly strident in voicing their discontent with an education system where Māori consistently were forced to leave their culture at home. Instead, *iwi* wanted to become active determinants in the pathway education should take for Māori. A series of four *Hui Taumata Mātauranga* (Education Summits) were hosted by *Ngāti Tūwharetoa*, a central North island *iwi*. Education officials and politicians attended the hui and listened as Māori parents and grandparents spoke of their aspirations and hopes for their children through education. A second Hui Taumata was held in November 2001, focusing on leadership in education and the place of Māori in education authority. A third, held in March 2003, looked at the quality of teacher education and Māori experiences in the tertiary sector.

Ka Hikitia Māori Education Strategy

In 2008, largely as a result of these education summits, the New Zealand government created the *Ka Hikitia-Managing for Success* strategy, followed by the *Ka Hikitia-Accelerating Success* 2013–2017 (Ministry of Education 2008, 2013). This strategy aimed to make significant changes to Māori student achievement in the next 5 years and beyond through the underpinning values of quality teaching and learning and strengthened engagement of students and whānau. The Ministry of Education website tells us that *Ka Hikitia – Accelerating Success* is “our strategy to rapidly change how the education system performs so that all Māori students gain the skills, qualifications and knowledge they need to enjoy and achieve education success as Māori” (Ministry of Education 2013). *Ka Hikitia* is defined as “to step up, to lift up or to lengthen one’s stride” and challenges educators with, “stepping up how the education system performs to ensure Māori students are enjoying and achieving education success as Māori” (Ministry of Education 2013). The website spells out that when this vision is realized, all Māori students: will have their identity, language and culture valued and included in teaching and learning, in ways that support them to engage and achieve success; know their potential and feel supported to set goals and take action to achieve success; experience teaching and learning that is relevant, engaging, rewarding, and positive; and have gained the skills, knowledge, and qualifications they need to achieve success in *te ao Māori* (the Māori world) New Zealand and the wider world.

In 2016, while there was evidence of changes within some schools, the overall conclusion of the Auditor-General was that “the implementation of *Ka Hikitia* was originally flawed by a slow and unsteady introduction by the Ministry of Education”;

“Ka Hikitia was not effectively communicated to schools”; and in the words of a senior Ministry of Education official, “the implementation of Ka Hikitia was faulty because it relied too much on goodwill and devolved responsibility” (2016, p. 19). Although in 2017, this policy is due to end, schools, such as the school in this case, have benefitted from the guidance provided by this policy.

Methodology

This chapter is told by members of the senior leadership team, of an urban primary school, and a researcher who has been working closely with this school. Together they constitute a research-whānau (Berryman 2008) or, as described by Bishop (1996), a research whānau of interest. As such, they are a group of people, using a kaupapa Māori approach that reinforces Māori knowledge and self-determination to act as a metaphoric whānau, in the telling of this story. This story is told as a case study using both qualitative and quantitative data, gleaned from recent school documents and people’s experiences within the school. The case tells a story of shift, from the repositioning of teachers, to the reduction of the achievement gap and in turn to agency of students and whānau, towards collective capability and adaptive expertise as described by Groff (2012), and through the development of a shared vision with moral purpose (Berryman and Eley 2017a).

Kaupapa Māori Research

Bishop (2012) defines a kaupapa Māori approach as one that challenges the dominant discourses in education through tino rangatiratanga (self-determination), by and for Māori. This approach calls for decolonization through resistance to the entrenched colonial agenda (Smith 1999) and assuming positions of authority to transform and reposition power relationships as the partnerships mandated by The Treaty of Waitangi. It aims to create a sense of moral purpose and a growing sense of responsibility for educators to address the need for a shared vision for Māori students’ achievement, created through culturally responsive, power-sharing relations between stakeholders. A kaupapa Māori approach connects with Māori political, social, economic, and spiritual aspirations, and it can provide guidelines embedded in te ao Māori, for what constitutes excellence for Māori in education (Smith 1997).

Case Study Research

Case study research can involve both qualitative and quantitative research and aims to gain in-depth understandings of a research site by studying the relationships and interactions as they occur in their real-life setting. Stake (2000) describes a case study as the study of a functioning, specific, integrated, and *bounded system*. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) also describe a case study as a bounded system and suggest that

this type of study involves the study of a single instance in action. Stake (1994) suggests, however, that although certain features sit within the system or the boundaries of the case, other features that might sit outside the case, for example the historical or political events, can also provide important contextual information. Case study research therefore provides opportunities to learn about the case as well as from the process and from the product of the learning.

Participants and Procedure

This case is contextualized within the historical and contemporary education policy and schooling system in New Zealand. It is bounded by two points in time: 2011 – when a new senior leadership team was introduced to this school and its community and 2017 – when this chapter was written. The principal is of Samoan heritage, the deputy principal has Ngāti Porou connections, and the researcher has connections to Ngāi Tūhoe, Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Whare. Two distinct pathways have brought them together: the first being academic study and the second the new policy pathway for professional development in schools known as Kāhui Ako. This case is told through the direct experiences and learning outcomes of this school and its community.

Invercargill Middle School: Te Kura o te Puna Wai Ora te kura

*Ko Waipourewa te maunga
Ko Ōtepunī te awa
Ko Murihiku te rohe
Ko Te Kura o te Puna Wai Ora te kura
E tu atu nei mātou
Ānei mātou. No tēnei kura, hei tauira.*

The case begins by making formal, cultural connections to the important land marks and people of the region, within which the school is located: the mountain, *Waipourewa*; the waterway, *Ōtepunī*; and to the people, *Murihiku*. This greeting continues by introducing the school's Māori name, both a direct translation and a metaphorical connection to the potential of the school, as a spring with waters of wellbeing. It concludes by calling attention to the people standing together within. *Here we are. In this school, learners.*

Indigenous Leadership

Through an indigenous Māori lens, the leaders and teachers at Invercargill Middle School – Te Kura o Te Puna Wai Ora – are transforming this school. Students' potential and successes are at the heart of the schools' core purpose and students,

Māori, and non-Māori (Pākehā and *Tauīwi*, more recent immigrants) are thriving. Alton-Lee (2016, p. 36) describes indigenous leadership as responding to “the ways of knowing of the people most affected by educational disparities” by building upon “Māori aspirations, preferences and practices for educational reform.” This model, as with this school, views culture as a resource that can be deliberately used to draw upon Māori knowledge thus accelerating progress for Māori students, while also benefitting non-Māori with new ways of being and new learning.

Invercargill Middle School is a year 1–6 school, located in the middle of Invercargill, hence the name Middle School. Invercargill is the most southern city in the South Island of New Zealand. The *mana whenua* (locally affiliated tribes) are of Kai Tahu, Kati Mamoe, and Waitaha descent. There are also many families in the region, affiliated to iwi from the North Island, in particular Ngā Puhī and Ngāti Porou. These families migrated south in the 1950s–1960s seeking employment in the farming, shearing, and freezing work industries that at that time were thriving. The school is on a small site and given that it is in the middle of the city, it has a predesignated zone for student enrolments. The school is one of the oldest in Invercargill and has buildings that reflect this. Students come from a mix of low cost rental properties and middle income New Zealand housing. Contributing to the special nature of the school are the 22% Māori students on the roll. The school’s leaders and staff are actively using a kaupapa Māori approach to transform the school culture and in turn the achievement of these students. In so doing, they are respecting their responsibility to the mana whenua community. Another aspect of the special nature of this school is provided by the local tertiary provider, The Southern Institute of Technology, which is located within the school’s zone. This institute provides a lot of accommodation for families, meaning that the school roll includes a number of international learners whose parents are studying. A high number of these learners are English Language Learners. There are also a number of transient students who enroll in the school from around New Zealand and may stay for a year or less before moving to another part of the country. The international and transient numbers in the school have averaged 16–18% of the school roll since 2011. In 2017, it was up to 25%.

Today, in order to achieve equity and excellence for all students, the Treaty of Waitangi principles of participation, protection, and partnership are at the forefront of the school’s delivery of the New Zealand curriculum (Ministry of Education 2007). The core principles of *whanaungatanga* (the act of developing familial type relationships and responsibilities), *ako* (unified and reciprocal responsibilities to both learn and to teach), *manaakitanga* (care for people and provide hospitality), and *mahi tahi* (to work together as one) are also embedded into all aspects of school life. We now return to 2011 to contextualize this journey.

In 2011

In 2011, the school staff numbered 16: eight classroom teachers, the principal, and seven support staff. Of these, 14 identified as New Zealand European/Pākehā, one as Ngā Puhī and the incoming principal was of Samoan descent. His first appointment as deputy principal was a young woman of Ngāti Porou and New Zealand European

descent, with 12 years teaching experience within *Reo Rua* (Bi-lingual Māori English) settings. Her initial focus was curriculum and teaching practice reform.

At the time, the school was challenged financially, relationships were not good, and student achievement clearly indicated that teaching practice, assessments, policy, and curriculum needed some serious considerations. The student achievement data gathered for all learners achieving at or above the National Standard showed:

- Reading 79%
- Writing 59%
- Math 80%

The achievement data for Māori students were:

- Reading 79%
- Writing 50%
- Math 79%

Of concern, was a belief that the reliability and validity of these data might well be compromised due to the lack of robust moderation throughout the assessment procedures. For example, the Education Review Office (ERO), the official agency for evaluating and reporting on the education and care of children and young people in all New Zealand education institutions, had identified the school as in need of careful monitoring and support. This review, conducted shortly after the current principal was appointed, stated areas for significant improvement including:

- *Most students need to make accelerated progress.*
- *Set targets to raise Māori student achievement in consultation with whānau progress.*
- *More cohesion between Charter, curriculum plan, class programs.*
- *Appropriate priority in Charter re raising student achievement.*
- *Accountability and clarity of roles and responsibilities for leaders and trustees.*
- *Consistent implementation, monitoring and review of plans and systems developed (including PMS [Performance Management Systems], review of school programs and practices).*
- *Effective assessment practices, OTJs [Overall Teacher Judgements], including re National Standards.*
- *Moderation for consistency and reliability.*
- *What constitutes high quality teaching. (ERO 2011)*

Reflecting these assessment practices against relevant research from other schools, the leaders, teachers, and members of the Board of Trustees (BOT) found that the teaching, learning, and assessment practices within the school:

- *Were not reflective*
- *Were not truly collaborative*
- *Did not genuinely acknowledge the aspirations of Māori*

- *Were not improving achievement levels over time*
- *Were not intentionally seeking a research base for improvement (BOT report 2012)*

In response, focus lines of inquiry were developed in order to transform these practices. The questions included:

- *How can learners' progress, in particular Māori learners, be accelerated so that they are able to achieve at or above their current levels?*
- *What teacher knowledge needs to be built in order to improve learner, and in particular Māori learners' outcomes?*
- *What systems can be developed to require teacher, management, and board reflection to improve practice?*
- *What concepts and values need to develop in order to achieve learner, in particular Māori learners, outcomes?*
- *How could a culture reform encourage continuous improvement, equity, excellence and agency alongside a sense of belonging and cultural located-ness? (BOT report 2012)*

A teacher, recalling the situation the school was in before the transformation occurred recalled:

The school that [the leadership] inherited, even if people were motivated and wanted the best for their students, there wasn't the same urgency, there wasn't the same collective accountability. . . (2016, ERO video series)

Reforming the School Culture

Taking an indigenous leadership lens, the principal decided to focus first on the development of respectful working relationships, applying the elements of dialogic practice to begin the repositioning towards more positive relationships between and among staff members, parents and students. By 2012, this thinking was evident in the School's charter where it was stated that "We have already identified whanaungatanga/community care as being an important aspect about our school. We celebrate the diversity we have in cultural groups, family types and income brackets." Exemplifying the focus further, the leadership team determined that "*Whanaungatanga*: [would involve] actively engaging in respectful working relationships with Māori learners, parents and whānau, hapū, iwi and the Māori community" (Invercargill Middle School Charter 2012). Māori cultural understandings such as whanaungatanga were established with reference to Tātaiako, the cultural competencies for teachers of Māori learners (Ministry of Education 2011). Tātaiako is a resource designed for use with the Graduating Teacher Standards and Registered Teacher Criteria (New Zealand Teachers Council 2009) and promotes other cultural

understandings such as Manaakitanga; *Tangata Whenuatanga*: respecting and caring for the land and the people; and Ako. It was from this position and these central cultural tenets that buy-in and ownership was spread across the school and the reform began to develop.

Another action taken by the school leadership was to establish a sense of *turangawaewae* (location and connectedness to the land) within the school. A close personal whānau relationship between the Deputy Principal and a local highly respected *kaumatua* (tribal elder) Riki Cherrington, whose children had attended the school in the 1970s–1980s and who had been a Board of Trustees member, provided the connection and impetus. Through *whakapapa* (history and genealogy), the *kaumatua* gave the school its Māori name, *Te Kura o te Puna Wai Ora*, the school of the fresh water spring, referencing literally the fresh-water spring at the location where the local iwi refreshed themselves, resting on their long journey to the *motu īīī* (mutton-bird islands) each season; and metaphorically to the springing forth of knowledge through the teaching and learning taking place. The *kaumatua* visited the school frequently and through dialogue with the principal and teachers maintained a deep connection with the school and its people. He composed a school *haka* (group performance that issues forth a challenge), which begins with the line *Te Puna Wai Ora, e tu atu nei e* (stand up, stand strong, and be proud), and this became the school motto. Every student in the school knows this *haka* and it is celebrated weekly during *kapa haka* (Māori cultural performing arts) and at all school events such as school assemblies, prize-givings, and school productions.

The gift of this new name and motto provided the focus for a series of artworks which now adorn the school and are constant visual representations that promote indigenous Māori culture as normal, valuable, and important. The first of these is a series of murals, designed and painted by the students and staff, representing the school name literally and metaphorically. The second is a series of window wraps representing the school values of Ako, Manaakitanga, and Whanaungatanga. These values encompass cultural location, as through a Māori worldview, and with these aspirations and knowledge as integral to the school. The window wraps communicate these values through the application of *kowhaiwhai* (traditional Māori patterns) to represent the school name and values. Through the design process, the teachers and students engaged in dialogue towards developing shared understandings of the meaning of each value. Currently a staff member's son, a talented *kaiwhakairo* (carver) has been commissioned to design and create several art pieces representing the concepts of the school values as well as, *Poutama Mātauranga* (stairway of knowledge), the school name and motto. These carvings will be displayed at significant areas around the school and will be developed into the school logo to be displayed on the school uniform, letterhead, and signage. Normalizing Māori cultural iconography, as an important part of the school culture, has increased students' sense of belonging.

Through the development of the school values and the collection of student and whānau voice throughout this time, the school leadership responded to the growing need to provide opportunities for further learning in te reo Māori. The principal, deputy principal, and Board of Trustees surveyed the school community and

responded to the positive interest by establishing a Level 3 Immersion Reo Rua class at the school. The location of the class was deliberately at the heart of the school, and the decision was made that the class be named as Room 4, in line with the other classrooms, therefore locating this class as connected and a part of the whole school culture.

The class continues to operate, is open to students from years 2 to 6, and is taught by the Deputy Principal. The teaching and learning includes both te reo Māori and English and operates within an additive strategy to bi-literacy, whereby students add to their lexicon, or mental dictionary, words and phrases in both languages and utilize this learning interchangeably as they choose. Aspects of front loading and dialogic teaching practices defined by Lyle (2008) as “what happens when teachers and pupils work together to build on their own and each other’s knowledge and ideas” (2008, p. 230) support the development of te reo Māori. Within the classroom, the curriculum is delivered through a Māori worldview with cultural responsiveness (Bishop and Glynn 1999), viewing the cultural knowledge of students, their prior knowledge and experiences as important in the construction of new knowledge (Bruner 1999). In recognition of the first group of students to transition on to secondary school from this class, the students and teacher investigated *tukutuku* (traditional Māori woven panels) and designed and created a series of panels that tell the story of the school values and motto within the patterns. These panels now adorn the school hall and are the backdrop for all school activities that take place there, including weekly assemblies. The school kaumatua blessed these panels during an assembly, making this a special memory as it was the final school function he attended before his passing.

Reforming Leadership

As discussed previously, the central vision of Ka Hikitia, the MoE’s Māori Education policy strategy (Ministry of Education 2008, 2013), aims for “Māori students to enjoy and achieve education success as Māori.” Accordingly, Invercargill Middle School set out to achieve this for Māori and in the same way, aimed to achieve greater success for all students by ensuring their success was not at the expense of having their own home cultures assimilated by that of the school. This was achieved through the deliberate exploration and implementation of knowledge and relationships that come from a Māori world-view, through the co-construction of culturally responsive practices and through the deliberate relationships forged with all members of the home community. Constructivist theories describe culture as super-organic, one that institutions both create and in turn, are created by (Bruner 1999). According to Bruner, one’s *cultural toolkit*, their prior knowledge and experiences, are thus essential in the construction of new knowledge. Through their own application of culturally responsive leadership (by listening to students, parents, and teachers), school leaders aimed to transform the culture within the school and thus created by the school, by providing the agency to enact change in response to the *Ka Hikitia* policy strategy as described above. They did this by using Ka Hikitia as the mandate and then providing teachers

with both the will and skills, through understandings of *Mauri Ora* (emotional, social, cultural, and academic well-being), to provide equity, excellence, and belonging for all students in the school (Berryman et al. 2016). Like a socio-cultural view of the mind, one of the contentions of neuroscience is that learning occurs through social interactions; therefore, the organization of learning should be highly social (Groff 2012). However, increasingly many schools, through required testing regimes, are becoming places that appear more interested in the narrowing of the curriculum with independent transmission of learning and competitive scholarship. Organizational factors, such as shared vision through strategic leadership, participation, and aligned goals, are also key factors that significantly impact on efforts to improve student achievement (Timar and Chyu 2010, cited in Hynds et al. 2016, p. 539). The key role educational leaders play in “developing expectations for improved student outcomes and organizing and promoting engagement” (Timperley 2008, p. 22) has been identified as a powerful catalyst for transforming practice at a whole school level. Research tells us that “according to dialogism we produce and organize social reality by talking and writing” (Lyle 2008, p. 225); therefore, through their acts of teaching and learning about language, reading and writing the teachers and leaders at the case study school enacted social and cultural reform.

Reforming the Pedagogy

At Invercargill Middle School, all aspects of teaching and learning now operate from an additive perspective, which means every team member brings value and innate worthiness or *mauri* just by being a part of the team, and that any professional development must add to that value rather than replace or subtract from it. The leadership team constructed the teacher professional development methodology through a *kaupapa* Māori lens, which operates within the context of *whanaungatanga*; defined by Bishop et al. (2014b) as culturally responsive relationships, evidenced by classroom practice that provides appropriate cognitive demand, student engagement, and dialogic teaching and learning practices. There is a collective responsibility to show *manaaki* (caring hospitality), *tiaki* (nurture and guidance), *awhi* (helpfulness), and *aroha* (love) to each member of the group, while maintaining a focus on the task or purpose. This approach avoids singling out individuals and taking collective responsibility for achievement. Through relationships that respect and care for each other, rather than being coercive or demanding of the other, power is shared and responsibilities are interdependent. Learning is interactive and interpersonal through dialogic practice and participants are connected and committed to one another. Bruner (1999 p. 181) describes this as the *interactional tenet* whereby learning is co-constructed through interaction. Leaders and teachers provide opportunities for the discovery of principles and ideas through active dialogue with and between participants and reject the model of Initiation-Response-Feedback (IRF) more favored by mono-logic pedagogy (Lyle 2008). Curriculum material is delivered in a spiraling manner, in order to build on previous learning. This includes the consideration of the participants’ prior knowledge as

resources for learning. Teachers understand that through dialogic practices they can position themselves alongside students, in order to transform the world, rather than transform the students themselves (Lawrence 2011, p. 33).

It is from this additive, kaupapa Maori foundation, within the context of whanaungatanga and through social co-construction, that school leaders have designed and implemented professional development to promote the new shared vision and aligned goals. At Invercargill Middle School, whanaungatanga-based relationships are evident in the clear, consistent, responsive co-construction of expectations and routines. The expectations and procedures for weekly teacher professional development is an example of this. The focus for each meeting is preplanned by leaders and teachers, on a shared document one term in advance. The selected development foci are based on teacher and student needs, gathered from observation feedback and co-constructed next steps. Initially the meetings were planned and delivered by the school leaders; however, as teacher confidence grew and adaptive expertise developed in classrooms, the meetings began to follow a leadership model that distributes responsibility across the team. The development of internal expertise is prioritized.

Active participation is an expectation and scaffolding is provided to ensure this happens. The agenda is set a week in advance and now follows an expected pattern which includes purposeful professional reading and reflection. This ensures every team member comes to the meeting from a position of *mauri* (innate worthiness), and through more equitable power relations, they take responsibility for adding to their own learning and the learning of others. Throughout the professional development, acts of dialogism, which “assumes knowledge is something people do together rather than an individual possession” (Lyle 2008, p. 225), are enacted. Culturally responsive practices are another key aspect, as leaders pay careful attention to the discussions, to student achievement data and observed outcomes in order to provide readings and contexts that will meet teachers’ future learning needs.

The timetabled observations and data sharing meetings are another key aspect to reforming pedagogy within the school. Initially the deputy principal modeled and was observed by every staff member following prenegotiated protocols and procedures. The lesson observation form was co-constructed by reflecting on aspects of the teacher registration criteria, the *Te Kotahitanga* effective teaching profile (Bishop et al. 2014a), the school’s values and students’ voices. The observation timetable that emerged follows a set pattern and is planned each term in advance. Teachers are observed regularly, and they observe each other. This is further reflective of *ako*, as educators are both learners and teachers within this process. Teachers have opportunities to request observations in order to be in control of their own development, including using videoed lessons which are then viewed during the co-construction process. Teachers watching their own lessons (on video) can reflect on their use of questioning and types of conversations in the classrooms through structured self-reflection practices. Observation practices such as these have built the impetus and agency for changes in their own practice and in the practice of others.

Data sharing meetings are also timetabled three times each term. The data are gathered based on a co-constructed assessment timetable and the data are recorded

on co-constructed student progress graphs. These graphs are stored in a shared folder and are accessible to any staff member at all times. At the meetings, student progress and concerns are shared through critical dialogue that focuses teachers on their own agency and away from deficit theorizing. A student summary form is used to scaffold this discussion. The reliability and validity of data collection and analysis is also moderated through the use of videoed assessment procedures. Through this dialogue, teachers and leaders plan next learning steps and deliberate acts of teaching, for themselves and their students, and the focus for future staff development and observations is set.

By 2015, ERO had begun to see the beneficial influences of this work. In their report, ERO noted that:

Leaders share very strong beliefs about what effective teaching and learning looks like. Teachers work well together and are improvement focused. They have detailed guidelines as to what effective teaching should look like in this school. New teachers are very well supported. ERO observed well-embedded systems and practices to build and support the quality of teaching. These include:

- *detailed planning and purposeful resourcing for classroom learning,*
- *intentional professional learning and discussions,*
- *peer observations of teaching practice and helpful feedback,*
- *teachers reflecting on their practice,*
- *and a rigorous appraisal process. (ERO 2015)*

Cultural relationships and responsive practices have been applied to all aspects of school life. Contexts where power is shared and learners have the right to equity and self-determination are evidence of this (Berryman and Eley 2017a, b). Teachers have begun to spread these practices further through the active sharing of student achievement information with students and with whānau. Now lessons begin with students discussing their achievement levels, learning goals and next learning steps. Students have opportunities to question, request learning conferences, and seek feedback. Every student knows, understands, and can articulate their current achievement levels, learning goals, and next steps. The Māori metaphor of *poutama mātauranga*, the never-ending upward stairway pattern, representative of the ongoing nature of learning, is commonly discussed as students talk about “moving up the poutama.” This is also understood by their parents. In the 2016, ERO, Shared Values video, one parent commented:

A sense of urgency to want to keep climbing and not be left behind. They are all pushing each other up that poutama and for me that's what whakawhanaungatanga is about. (ERO video file 2016)

Research tells us that “one of the barriers to the implementation of dialogic teaching is the dominance of the teacher’s voice at the expense of students’ own meaning making voices” (Lyle 2008, p. 227). At Invercargill Middle School, the pedagogy and curriculum reforms have created contexts where teachers value students’ cultural

locatedness and their cultural knowledge and they now view these as resources for the basis for all learning. Therefore, one teacher reflected:

In order to connect and create whanaungatanga with the home, the first way is through the children, so if the child is going home and talking to them about their learning, the parent knows that their child is being valued. (ERO video file 2016)

Home and School

Ako is described as a reciprocal relationship for teaching and learning, within the context of the broader whānau, this affirms the innate value of all parties. Grounded in reciprocity, ako recognizes that the knowledge and experiences that both teachers and learners bring to the learning ensure that both parties can grow and benefit from the learning. Furthermore, ako recognizes that the learner and whānau must not be separated (MoE 2008).

At Invercargill Middle School students have regular opportunities to comment on their learning and share this with whānau through the use of weekly *reflection books* and *student led conferences*. Reflection books are journals which encompass evidence of student progress, assessment, and weekly goal setting and reflection. Student agency is evident as students set weekly goals and reflect on their learning, engagement, and next steps. This is undertaken every Friday across all year levels throughout the school. These books are shared with whānau each term, and whānau comment and respond to their child in writing, thus providing opportunities for the strengthening of home-school relationships. Student-led conferences are held annually. Students lead their parents around stations covering aspects of their learning. At each station they explain, describe, and model their learning by teaching their whānau the skills and strategies they have been working on, thus providing further sharing of expertise within the broader whānau. As stated by one of the teachers, these conferences are of shared importance to students, whānau, teachers, and leaders:

The student led conferences are completely run by the children. They bring their whānau in and they take them around the different learning stations and teach them something. The purpose is for the children to explain what they have been doing and show their family. (ERO video file 2016)

Recently the innovative use of Facebook and the Seesaw app have added to these interactions. Each class has their own Facebook page; teachers post photos, videos, and comments that encompass the learning taking place on a daily basis. This provides opportunities for discussion and celebration among wider whānau, with posts often being shared by whānau more widely across the country and the world.

Evidence of the impact of powerful home-school partnerships for improved achievement was identified by Hattie's (Hattie 2012) visible learning analysis, which reported that concurrent home and school interventions were three times more powerful than good teaching alone. As a consequence of students developing expertise in their own learning, parents and whānau could also understand what was

happening at the school and they become adept at explaining what this meant. For example, a parent described:

Student led conferences are not a tick-box conference, it is a true sense of my child knowing everything that is happening in the classroom. They really understand their work, they understand where they are at now and where they are trying to get to. (ERO video file 2016)

Specific expectations that link within the school community will be used to raise achievement are now explicit within the current school charter. Already, the impact of these innovations is being spread by parents, among them one who stated:

The school's use of Facebook for a school page and each class having their own Facebook page gets used in lots of different ways but reminds parents and children who are looking over their shoulder at what's happening. . . there is a clear emphasis on showing the learning and recognizing achievement. (ERO video file 2016)

Oral Language

Another innovation that the school is using to improve students' learning and sharing with their home communities is that of oral language. Dr. Rangimarie Pere (1991) describes traditional Māori learning as understanding that every person is a learner from the time they are conceived to the time they die. Because everyone is in a constant state of learning and therefore teaching, the collective can also benefit through both the construction and the transmission of knowledge. In these endeavors, Pere describes language as the life line and sustaining force of culture. This is akin to the *whakataukī* (wise saying) *Te kai a te Rangatira, he kōrero* (the food of leaders is oratory) or with language our potential as leaders can grow.

Through professional learning discussions, students' oral language was identified as key to their accelerated progress in all aspects of their learning and leading. As a result, a new development focus for teaching and assessment practices began to emerge. Through regular classroom observations, reciprocal visits, and feedback meetings, the leadership team and teachers noted that many students were not actively participating in class or partner discussions, and when they did, they were asking questions that had already been answered. Furthermore, they were unable to summarize what had been said. Rather, the students were seeking affirmation and praise as opposed to sharing their ideas and opinions.

The literacy assessment data confirmed that needs in vocabulary and sentence structure impacted student achievement. The Deputy Principal attended the Language, Education and Diversity conference to further investigate additive language approaches. She connected with Associate Dean Pasifika Rae Si'ilata from the University of Auckland in regards to additive language acquisition strategies. On return she formulated a plan, applying the strategies of recasting and rephrasing, and together with the students in Room 4, she began the journey towards being active participants in their own and each other's learning. The class began to develop *talk*

moves that would empower students to participate more actively and in the end, run the class discussions. As the class developed their practices, they also created strategies and expectations for student ownership, empowerment, and active participation, rather than affirmation alone.

Soon, a whole school inquiry model was planned with the aim of developing more dialogic teaching practices and developing capability and adaptive expertise of all teachers in order to introduce these strategies into all classrooms and to increase the participation and ownership for all students. Dialogic teaching practices contrast with the view of behaviorists who see teaching as the passively received transmission of prepackaged knowledge (Lyle 2008). This transmission model is described by Freire as the *banking* model of education, whereby education is viewed as the transference of information and becomes an “exercise in dominance” (Freire 1972, p. 53). The co-construction and deliberate teaching of talk-moves and sentence stems provided students with the scaffolding to share ideas and questions and take responsibility for maintaining interdependent discussions. This required repositioning of the teacher from the center of learning to learning with and alongside the students. It was from this viewpoint that teachers established shared *talk moves* that would build, grow, and sustain the school culture of accelerated progress and reposition power relationships and responsibilities between teachers and students.

The oral language progress the students have made has enabled them to more richly describe their learning. In Room 4 the oral language development has impacted teaching and learning in te reo Māori, where the talk moves are being developed in te reo. The students began to use the talk moves to structure their writing, resulting in improved written language assessment results. Teachers noticed that the students started actively seeking out and using a greater range of vocabulary in their oral and written language – not just from their learning in class, but from things they encountered at home. The students were excited to share their vocabulary learning. As teachers focused on the ability to listen to and repeat back an idea using the talk move: “I heard you say” or “What he/she said was,” students became more actively engaged in listening because they knew they would be expected to repeat or comment on what was said. This flowed on into their writing – they were able to discuss their idea and successfully and confidently record it on the page. Teachers saw increased student confidence in the classroom – agreeing and disagreeing with each other’s ideas – using these silent signals, which also allowed them to constantly participate and show their engagement more actively. It also validated the opinions and ideas that the children were sharing in class as they received instant nonverbal feedback from their peers. The *talk moves* have given students confidence to have a voice, be heard, and to experience success, as themselves.

The oral language teaching and learning developments at Invercargill Middle School were being further accelerated through home-school relationships. Students shared their new vocabulary, silent signals, and talk moves at home and brought words from home to share at school. This process exemplifies: *whanaungatanga* which builds as learners’ participation increases and their voices are heard by others; *manaakitanga* which develops as learners work together, and with their parents, to support each other; and *ako*, as all take on the roles and responsibilities of teacher

and learner, building teacher capability as much as learner capability. The impact in teaching practice can be summed up by this sentence from a teacher:

I can't imagine teaching without the talk moves now. (PM Awards Application 2017)

In 2016

By 2016, rather than being seen as a school that was not performing, the school was invited to be one of the schools from throughout New Zealand to be filmed to exemplify ERO's new Evaluation framework indicators. In part, this invitation was undoubtedly due to the ERO evaluation that the school received in 2015 when, in their report to the school, the ERO reviewers noted:

Since the last ERO review in 2012 the school has responded to parents' wishes for Māori language learning. A level 3 bilingual class has been established. Māori and non-Māori students enjoy this class.

The school has continued to build on the good progress noted in the last ERO 2012 report.

This includes:

- *a strong focus and very effective systems to accelerate students' progress,*
- *comprehensive curriculum planning,*
- *high-quality teaching and learning,*
- *continued effective leadership,*
- *and, the development and use of useful review processes.* (ERO 2015)

Furthermore, ERO observed that:

Teachers skilfully use their in-depth understanding of each child's progress in reading, writing and mathematics to inform their day-to-day teaching and to support individual students in their classroom learning. Teachers work hard to ensure students understand their learning, know how well they are achieving and what they need to do to improve. (ERO 2015)

And finally, using the voice of a senior student, the ERO reviewers showed in their report that what teachers were doing in their classrooms was letting students know that teachers cared about their students' learning:

The board, leaders and teachers have worked hard to create a caring, inclusive school culture. The school values of respect and responsibility and its vision (e tu atu nei – stand tall, be proud) are very evident. There are high expectations for learning and behavior. Senior students told ERO 'teachers care about our learning'. One current school focus is to strengthen the home-school partnership and establish community links to raise student achievement. (ERO 2015)

The accelerated progress that emerged from the development of strong cultural relationships and responsiveness to students and their home communities was

encapsulated within the voices of the schools' students and whānau throughout this filming. For example, one parent stated:

...they're [the students'] given the space to be creative and they're given the trust that they're doing what they're supposed to be doing, and they thrive within that environment so you know, it works because they're known as individuals. Each know, the teacher knows them, like knows the children really well, and knows their likes and their dislikes and she targets them to where they're at, and where they need to go.

Another stated:

They [the school] really encourage them [the students] to know who they are, Ko wai au? Who am I? Where do I come from? Who do I belong to? So, in terms of their learning they always know where they are at. (ERO video file 2016)

Teachers also expressed their changed expectations about teaching and learning, one saying:

Our children know that they are going to achieve today. Our children know that they are coming to school to learn, we have these high expectations of them and they have high expectations of themselves and we have high expectations of each other. (ERO video file 2016)

Shifts in Student Achievement

Overall achievement, as shown in Table 1 below, a comparison between the 2011 and 2015 National Standards data showed that indeed, as a result of the schoolwide reforms, improvements in core areas of the curriculum had been achieved for both, all students and as seen by the disaggregated data in the columns alongside, for Māori students.

A finer grained analysis across the student cohorts, room-by-room, showed that achievement for Māori students was significantly higher in the Reo Rua class, established in 2013. A comparison of students across the classrooms by age revealed that for reading, similar aged students in the rest of the school progressed on average, 9.8 stages over the 3-year period, while students in the whānau class progressed on average, 14.33 stages. This was further evidenced in writing where similar aged students in the rest of the school progressed on average, 2.1 stages over the 3-year period, while students in the whānau class progressed on average, 7.5 stages.

Spreading the Culture

The academic success of the Invercargill Middle School whānau class has driven the desire from parents at other schools to have the opportunity for te reo Māori provision for their own children. As a result, the principal has now established a

Table 1 Comparison between the 2011 and 2016 National Standards data

	All students at or above the expected National standards		Māori at or above the expected National standards	
	2011 (%)	2015 (%)	2011 (%)	2015 (%)
Reading	79	86	79	84
Writing	58	82	50	89
Math	80	85	79	89

Māori Provision focus as a recurring item on the agenda of every Invercargill Primary Principal's meeting. Further, this group has now set a long-term goal of effective Māori educational provision across the city. This initiative remains on-going, and the plan is for this to be a long-term initiative that gives voice to the *Runaka* (local tribal leadership council) and develops collaboration in order to strengthen Māori provision in other schools. At these meetings, each school reports on what the school is doing to improve Māori outcomes. An Invercargill wide survey was conducted and a subsequent forum emerged, with the main focus being on the new Education Review Office indicators framework (ERO 2014), which now also focus on whanaungatanga, ako, manaakitanga, and mahi tahi, as levers for school reform.

School Success

Building and maintaining reciprocal whanaungatanga-based relationships has been a key focus at Invercargill Middle School since 2011. By 2017, the School Charter goal states:

All learners will be actively involved in their education taking responsibility and ownership of their progress. Learners receive regular feedback and use this to develop learning goals and they become experts in their learning, being able to articulate and report on their learning. (School Charter 2017)

School leaders have transformed the school culture to one that is now built on: whanaungatanga – through learning collaboratively towards a shared and aligned vision and goals; using ako – reciprocal teaching and active learning for teachers and students; and manaakitanga – as learning by empowering and supporting others. Using a kaupapa Māori approach as the basis of these transformations has reformed the school at all levels and seen impressive shifts in students' learning and achievement outcomes.

These results prompted the school to write and submit proposals for the New Zealand, Prime Minister's Award for Excellence in Teaching and Learning in 2016, and then again, in 2017. Each time the school was selected as one of three national finalists. As with this chapter, these proposals were based on the ways in which the school leadership team and teachers had applied a kaupapa Māori

approach to enable comprehensive school reform, thus resulting in increased and accelerated student achievement. Leaders provided a whanaungatanga-based framework alongside Ka Hikitia and used aspects of culturally responsive practice (Bishop et al. 2014b; MoE 2011) and historical and ongoing student outcomes, from which to change both the *positioning and skills* of teachers. Teachers were then supported to build new relationships and plan for *strategies and interactions* that would engage their students and whānau more effectively in their classrooms. As well, the school received advice from Māori community members. In turn, the *experiences* of Maori students began to change in ways that ensured they were able to enjoy and achieve education success as Maori. As a result, whānau also wanted to engage more regularly with the school and all other students also improved.

The results have enabled staff to inquire into their own teaching practices using evidence-based perspectives and from positions of honesty and openness aimed at equity. Leaders and teachers have maximized opportunities for ako by ensuring that their core community, school, and classroom work is paying careful attention to the incorporation and interrelationship of three discrete contexts (Berryman and Eley 2017a, b). These contexts for teaching and learning begin with cultural relationships that are responsive to the students' prior cultural knowledge and experiences as the basis for sense-making and new learning. These contexts also involve the development of purposeful, deliberate professional acts of teaching with adaptive expertise. Finally, the school works together with ongoing and authentic whānau input. Working together across these contexts has begun to see excellence, equity, and belonging for all students in the school, Māori, Pākehā, and Tauīwi.

Conclusion

Invercargill Middle School provides clear evidence of indigenous leaders recognizing their critical role of disrupting and changing the status quo of Māori underachievement. The transformation of the school through an indigenous leadership lens demonstrates how the development of Mauri Ora for Māori students can also benefit non-Māori students.

This case concludes with the voice of the principal looking to the future:

We have some unique opportunities now to support other schools through the provision for Māori and immigrant learners and we want to develop these further as is part of our 100-year thinking, to leave a lasting legacy for our children, our school and our community, so that we can live our school haka.

At the 2017, gala dinner for the New Zealand, Prime Minister's Award for Excellence in Teaching and Learning the school was announced as first equal. The principal's acceptance was impressive as he stood and performed the school haka to the room full of political and educational dignitaries. Perhaps 1 day, if we have more schools like Invercargill Middle School and more Room 4s, we will all be able

to understand not only the power of his performance but also the power of these metaphors and words.

	<i>Awaken, be alert Stand staunch, grimace!</i>
<i>Te Puna Wai ora</i>	<i>Te Puna Wai Ora</i>
<i>E tu atu nei</i>	<i>Stands with Pride</i>
<i>E whai ana</i>	<i>that seeks knowledge</i>
<i>I te puna</i>	<i>in the well</i>
<i>O te mātauranga e</i>	<i>of education</i>
<i>I aha ha</i>	<i>ahhh...rightfully so...</i>
<i>Kia tupu ake</i>	<i>that we grow</i>
<i>Ngā uri</i>	<i>the descendants</i>
<i>Waihotanga</i>	<i>to follow the footsteps</i>
<i>O ngā mātua</i>	<i>of our forefathers</i>
<i>Tūpuna e</i>	<i>Aha.. rtand tall in life</i>
<i>I aha ha</i>	<i>Move as one in education</i>
<i>Haramai te toki</i>	<i>Aha...stand tall in life</i>
<i>Haumie, huie, taiki e</i>	<i>Move as one in knowledge</i>
	<i>How great is the adze in education</i>
	<i>Ana, bind together all as one</i>

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Where Indigenous Knowledge Lives: Bringing Indigenous Perspectives to Online Learning Environments

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Jean-Paul Restoule

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Abstract

This chapter will highlight some of the challenges and opportunities specific to bringing Indigenous knowledge and perspectives to online learning environments. Drawing on two recent Indigenous education case studies – the author’s experience developing a massive open online course (MOOC) on Indigenous worldviews and codesigning an online course for principals working in First Nations schools across Canada – this chapter will discuss the opportunities and challenges of designing online learning experiences that invite all learners to engage with Indigenous knowledges, worldviews, and pedagogies in culturally appropriate, respectful, and meaningful ways. This research is based on a

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decolonizing theoretical framework using a critical pedagogical and relational approach to processes of knowledge production, informed by Indigenous research methodologies and epistemological frameworks. Applying an Indigenous ethics derived from Indigenous knowledge protocols in both the course design and the subsequent analysis of data drawn from evaluations of the course, the chapter argues that indigenizing online learning spaces is possible but also fraught with the same challenges of any learning space not of our own making.

Keywords

Indigenous education · Online learning · MOOC · Indigenous knowledge · First Nations schools · Principals · Indigenizing · Decolonizing

Introduction

This research is based on a decolonizing theoretical framework (Smith 1999) situated within action research, which I will discuss more fully below. It was inspired by the many Indigenous researchers who are “making the road by walking,” reframing our traditions to create respectful and relevant ways of doing research as ceremony. In writing this chapter, I referred to notes from our planning meetings; notes and emails from the design team meetings; feedback from our FNSPC expert advisory panel; and unsolicited feedback from our MOOC participants in the form of letters, emails, and postings on the course forums, and from two exit surveys distributed to the MOOC participants, one for those receiving a certificate of completion and one for those who were ineligible for certificates (meaning, they had not completed enough required assignments in the course). All these sources of data helped me to tell the story of how we attempted to Indigenize online learning in two very different types of courses: a MOOC scalable for thousands of learners across the globe over a few weeks and a small private online course of 10 months intended for no more than 20 learners from across Canada in each offering.

This chapter examines the opportunities and limitations of bringing Indigenous knowledge, perspectives, and education to online learning environments. Looking at two contexts of online learning, a massive open online course (MOOC) in Aboriginal Worldviews and Education and a small private online course for principals working in First Nations schools in Canada, it also includes discussion of how to design e-learning opportunities that invite all learners to engage with Indigenous knowledges, worldviews, and pedagogies in culturally appropriate, respectful, and meaningful ways. Situating our course design in Indigenous principles of respect, relevance, responsibility, and reciprocity, it is only fitting to extend these values to an analysis of how well the online spaces described here could be indigenized.

I begin with an overview of the two courses. While differing greatly in scale, openness, and cost, by the nature of their online mode of delivery, both courses share many fascinating similarities. In most instances, the challenges and opportunities of bringing Indigenous education to both online mediums are shared. The chapter begins with an overview and background of the MOOC and the First Nations

Schools' Principals Course (FNSPC) and then moves to a description of the overarching theoretical assumptions guiding the research project, the data sources utilized to answer the questions, and the ways that the data demonstrate the challenges and opportunities of introducing Indigenous knowledge in online learning environments.

Before moving on, it's important to clarify the terms I will use in this chapter. I understand "Indigenous education" to mean learning throughout the life course that is shared and draws from the accumulated knowledge and wisdom of Indigenous communities. While this definition is broad enough to include schooling, it is by no means limited to formal education. Indeed, traditional Indigenous education would likely be very much the *opposite* of the characteristics of many mainstream schools today which are based around age and subject segregation, bureaucratic authority, disciplinary power, routines, schedules, and separation from family, community, and adult work. In Indigenous education, learning takes place in the community and the environment, and everyone is a potential teacher from family members to nonhuman and more-than-human relations. Indigenous education as it is talked about today usually includes schooling that has an element of culturalism for self-determination or anticolonialism for building solidarity among non-Indigenous learners. I situate the online learning strategies of our research projects as emerging both from within and against these notions of education. Indigenous education can include the transmission of Indigenous knowledge to either an Indigenous or a non-Indigenous learner.

Indigenous knowledge is defined by UNESCO (2017) as the understandings, skills, and philosophies developed by societies with long histories of interaction with their natural surroundings. Battiste and Henderson (2000) add that these are systems. One part is not easily extricated from the whole without changing its nature. Castellano (2000) talks about systems of Indigenous knowledge as having three sources, traditional, empirical, and revealed, as well as five characteristics that include being experiential, holistic, personal, orally transmitted, and using narrative and metaphor. While I believe that Indigenous knowledge is part of the knowledge we've brought to bear in designing curriculum for these courses, it is also not the only system or tradition we've drawn from in creating these courses. From a purist perspective, we cannot exchange exclusively Indigenous knowledge in cyberspace; it is a hybrid way of working, not unlike the "ethical space" or "third space" notions of thinkers such as Willie Ermine (2007) or Homi Bhabha (1994). Indigenous knowledge brought to online spaces is usually compartmentalized into individual teachings, which, while discrete and workable independently, still refer and relate to all other teachings (to a person knowledgeable within the culture). These pathways and connections are not necessarily accessible or shared in these spaces – often for good reasons. Additionally, pragmatically it takes a lifetime to learn the intricate connections and cycles linking knowledge together. Often, the safest and most accessible aspects of Indigenous knowledge are what find their way into online learning. Deeper knowledge would require greater experience and connection to knowing, and that apprentices of the knowledge form relationships with the knowledge keepers in person in order to yield a meaningful exchange. So, when we talk about Indigenous knowledge online, it is usually in reference to a particular kind of Indigenous knowledge that is more introductory, will not bring harm on others if

shared again, and is able to work in a relatively low-context communication exchange.

In traditional Indigenous education, value is placed on teaching and learning from place and in high-context relationships (Hall 1976), where the teacher knows the learner intimately and can customize teaching to the pupil (Styres and Zinga 2013). In an online environment, place, relationships, and community building become virtual constructs, and communication is usually low-context, especially when the audience includes large groups, as is the case with MOOCs. Another characteristic of traditional Indigenous education is engagement with the whole person in developing spiritual, emotional, intellectual, and physical aspects of their being (Bopp et al. 1989; Cajete 1994). My research seeks to examine if online activities can contribute to these aspects of learning, identified by some as the core of Indigenous education.

This chapter draws from research into two online courses that I played a role in developing. The first was a MOOC entitled *Aboriginal Worldviews and Education*, which was offered on the Coursera platform in early 2013. The second was a small private online course run by the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) of the University of Toronto in partnership with the Martin Family Initiative – a partnership that is detailed later in this chapter. The design teams on these courses formed a research partnership to glean lessons learned, and this chapter is a distillation of emergent findings from our work.

Our research is guided by these questions:

- What are the opportunities and limitations of bringing Indigenous knowledge, perspectives, and education to online learning environments?
- How can we design e-learning opportunities that invite all learners to engage with Indigenous knowledges, worldviews, and pedagogies in culturally appropriate, respectful, and meaningful ways?

Theoretical Framework

This research is based on a decolonizing theoretical framework (Smith 1999), using a critical pedagogical and relational approach to processes of knowledge production, informed by Indigenous research methodologies and epistemological frameworks (Debassige 2010; Kitchen and Raynor 2013; Kovach 2009; Restoule et al. 2008; Restoule 2011; Wilson 2008). Our research framework is situated within action research, an appropriate methodology, given our focus on actively developing educator capacity and leadership (Kitchen and Raynor 2013). Action research is “. . .collaborative, inclusive research with the objective of action resulting in the promotion of social change” (McDavid et al. 2013). Further, we are committed to work that is Indigenous community-first, land-centered, culturally aligned, relevant, and based on respectful relationships (Styres and Zinga 2013; Zinga and Styres 2013).

As researchers working in Indigenous contexts, we were inspired by the work of Shawn Wilson (2008) and Linda Smith (1999). We have approached research as

ceremony (Wilson 2008) with a focus on relationships, as we agree with Wilson (2008) that reality is composed of our relationships and essentially form who and what we are and what we can know. Within our course design and our research, we seek to inspire learning and coming to know through the fostering of relationships and studying the relationships and networks that have formed as a result. In *Decolonizing Methodologies*, Smith (1999) identified 25 projects of anticolonial research: our partnership incorporates several of these, some of the more obvious fits being indigenizing (project 6), connecting (project 9), representing (project 12), and reframing (project 15). We hope that by engaging in this work, we study how our course designs have inspired greater indigenization, connecting, representing, and reframing Indigenous identities, rights, knowing, and realities, and actively contribute to these processes through the partnership's practices themselves. One of the Elders we consulted said that we walk the walk not just talk the talk and that our path for the next ones coming is the one that we make today. In other words, "we make the road by walking" (Horton and Freire 1990). It is this symbiotic relationship between research and practice that we aspire to enact and enable through our work.

Creating the First MOOC on Aboriginal Worldviews and Education

Offered in early 2013, the Aboriginal Worldviews and Education MOOC attracted 23,000 initial registrants from around the world. Several thousand more have taken the course in its archived form since, and, in 2017, the course was modified for on-demand mode attracting 2000 more learners in its first month. In its inaugural offering, our completion rate was triple the average for MOOCs (13% vs. 4%) (Jordan 2015), showing a high level of engagement and interest sustained among course participants, a result our team worked hard to achieve.

In the span of just a few years, MOOCs have gone from relative obscurity to being touted as the most important recent innovation in higher education. Taking apart the acronym allows us to see how they differ from conventional distance learning. "Massive" refers to enrolment numbers, typically in the thousands or tens of thousands. "Open" refers to the price tag of enrolment: completely free to anyone with access to broadband Internet, which also depicts the "Online" part. The course content is available through the Internet, usually at the users' convenience and usually without a synchronous "real-time" participation component. The "Course" part is that a MOOC covers standard course material delivered by a course instructor or small team of instructors over several weeks, with assignments and quizzes to assist in the absorption of course content. These assignments are often machine-graded or assessed by course peers. Following the course, one may obtain a certificate of completion or in some cases, and for a fee, receive course credit toward a university degree.

The MOOC I designed required no previous knowledge or prerequisite courses, only an interest in learning about Indigenous history and worldviews. The "About the Course" section on Coursera described the course:

Intended for both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal learners, this course will explore Indigenous ways of knowing and how they can benefit all students. Topics include historical, social, and political issues in Aboriginal education; terminology; cultural, spiritual and philosophical themes in Aboriginal worldviews; and how Aboriginal worldviews can inform professional programs and practices, including but not limited to the field of education. (Coursera 2012)

For each week of the course, there was a different topic with several short videos that delivered the course content (5–20 min each) featuring the instructor (me or sometimes a guest lecturer). Some of these videos included one or two integrated quiz questions. “Adequate participation” in the discussion forums was defined as a minimum of ten posts and ten comments on others’ posts, which was worth 10% of participants’ final grade. There were also two graded quizzes each worth 20% of the course grade and the peer-assessed assignment, worth 50% of the final mark. This assignment grade was only accepted if the participant had assessed three of their peers’ assignments as well, again encouraging learners to learn from one another’s knowledge and use their own expertise to enhance the experience of their course peers. The course also included optional activities that could be completed independently or through the forums, but these were voluntary and did not count toward the final grade. The videos had subtitles in numerous languages, and additional accommodations, if needed. The quiz due dates were overlapping in case some students had more time in one section of the week than the other and remained open past the end date for more learners to take advantage of the content by watching the video lectures, reading the suggested articles, and surveying and possibly contributing to the forum discussions.

The primary mode of organization in the Coursera platform is the video lecture. These act as the main content or anchor funneling the student to the assigned readings and resources.

Discussion forums, a key component of each course, enable students to interact with each other about course material. Aboriginal Worldviews and Education featured video lectures released on a weekly basis and related resources tied to each video, such as additional readings, video screenings, and websites. Each week about 10 videos were released with approximately 2–3 h of content in total per week. There were three optional nongraded activities that were designed to encourage forum participation on key topics. Video lectures and “screenside chats” also encouraged students to make comments about the lecture material in the forums.

The findings in this chapter from the MOOC study are based on an exit survey completed by 2,500 people, as well as the in-course statistics that Coursera captures. The results of two post-course surveys sent out to participants were also examined to gain a better understanding of participant engagement. Importantly, one survey was for learners who did not complete the course, and the other was sent to learners who did.

Having discussed the MOOC background, I will now turn attention to the FNSPC, a small private online course, and will then detail the similar challenges and opportunities available to us when bringing Indigenous knowledge into these e-learning contexts.

Designing a Pilot Course for Principals in First Nations Schools

In early 2014, the Martin Family Initiative (formerly the Martin Aboriginal Education Initiative) entered into a partnership with OISE to design and pilot a primarily online course for principals working in First Nations schools in Canada. A number of agencies funded the development of the course, and XX volunteer advisors, all experts in the field of Indigenous education in Canada, were consulted during the development and pilot process. The reason behind creating the FNSPC is that research has shown “leadership not only matters: it is second only to teaching among school-related factors in its impact on student learning” (Leithwood et al. 2004). In a survey of best practices and high performing schools, Bell (2004) and Fulford and Daigle (2007) found a common theme: effective educational leaders led to successful students and schools. As Bell (2004) noted:

Successful schools are led by capable and caring principals and energized by teachers and the instructional and student assessment practices they employ. The quality of their training, their depth of experience and knowledge of subject matter; their expectations, their ability to form positive relationships and their cultural understanding of their students and communities positively affect students’ performance and behaviour.

A design team from OISE met with a 22-member Expert Advisory Panel of leading educational thinkers, planners, principals, and academics in regions across Canada on two occasions before launching the pilot course. The first meeting helped establish the content that had to be included and preferred activities, design features, values, and resources. The design team then created a 200-h, 10-month course for review by the Expert Advisory Panel. During this second meeting, the panel evaluated the flow, amount of information, type of resources, and scale of activities. The design team then produced a beta version of the course which the panel reviewed virtually. The pilot course was then offered from September 2015 to June 2016.

The FNSPC has now been offered twice in addition to the pilot. Based on the experiences of those involved in the FNSPC, the research aims to gather perspectives and insights as to what works or doesn’t when transferring Indigenous knowledge and perspectives to online spaces, for whom, and why. Participants and design team members from the piloted and subsequent year of the course, the MFI team, and the Expert Advisory Panel have all contributed valuable data to the research study, which is important for furthering understandings of Indigenous education.

Indigenous communities have consistently called for meaningful recognition of Indigenous worldviews and ways of knowing in school curricula and community learning (Canadian Council on Learning 2009; Kanu 2011; Paquette and Fallon 2010; Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1996; Wilson and Wilson 2008). In our design of a course for educational leaders working in First Nations schools, we sought to improve general knowledge of Indigenous worldviews, history, and perspectives and thereby foster increased understanding and build meaningful cross-cultural relationships.

In answering our overarching research question, regarding the opportunities and limitations of bringing Indigenous knowledge, perspectives, and education to online learning environments, the data from the FNSPC analysis came from three sources. These sources included exit interviews and surveys of the 21 pilot course participants, as well as comments from the national Expert Advisory Panel, who provided extensive feedback during a 3-day intensive meeting and course closing in June 2016. I also draw from evaluation forms for both the panel and the course participants that were collected by the course coordinator, which allowed completers to submit anonymous comments.

Opportunities of Bringing Indigenous Perspectives and Education to Online Learning

Although the MOOC and the FNSPC are ultimately quite different, the opportunities that each provides for Indigenous education were remarkably similar. Further, many of the opportunities found are in line with the literature on the advantages of online or distance education, namely, greater accessibility, flexibility, access to experts and diverse perspectives, and the opportunity to mobilize action and form communities of practice. Proponents of MOOCs have also noted the low cost for participants as a key plus. The literature on online learning identifies the following challenges: loss of context and place-based meaning in the main lectures, loss of control over how information is used, and the typical issues with technical problems, such as learning curves related to adopting new technology and the loss of community and real-time interactivity when communicating through computers. It's common in the literature on best practices in online learning to find that online modes of delivery is best suited for learners who are highly self-motivated and have strong time management skills.

Among online learning options, the MOOC has at least two features that are distinct: scalability and lack of course fees. Unlike conventional online course offerings, MOOCs are designed to scale up to support an indefinite number of participants. Accordingly, course design platforms and considerations must take into account the potentially global reach and the widely divergent starting points of course participants vis-à-vis knowledge and experience. The lack of course fees means that the course is open to all students. Accordingly, many enroll and may have little intention or motivation to complete the course. Completion rates for MOOCs are estimated to be 4–5%. However, as Balch (2013) notes: “MOOC completion rates aren't really low in the context of Internet engagement. A click through rate of 5% for a Google ad is considered a strong success. Convincing 5% to engage intellectually for 8 weeks is, I think, a big deal.”

The two features detailed above are likely behind much of the hype (and backlash) associated with MOOCs. MOOCs have variously been called the end of higher education as we know it and the realization of extending education as a fundamental human right to everyone. The potential of MOOCs in terms of scale, reach, and size contributes to the democratization of learning from an optimistic standpoint and potentially entrenches the cultural imperialism of higher education

from a critical perspective. The scalability is what gives MOOCs such global reach, accessibility, and cost savings over time and per capita. However, the scalability is what may also attract investors to for-profit MOOC ventures. MOOCs in a capitalist environment will ultimately influence accessibility. The largest and most well-known MOOC providers are currently highly reliant on the prestige of the universities they partner with. In essence, to draw students to the courses, they are using the brands and prestige that the names of world-leading higher education institutions provide. Koller's Ted Talk (2012) often references the "top-tier" education available through Coursera's partnerships.

The high-quality free course offerings are the main appeal of the MOOC to those who sign up. Peterson (2012) states that there is one word that matters more than any others in assessing MOOCs:

That word is "free." MOOCs can provide the liberty to learn as adults so often must. Without relocating. Without reorienting. Without unpaid, unpayable debt. If MOOCs can simply educate adults for zero cost as well as the expensive for-profit colleges upon which people presently rely, then their admittedly imperfect enterprise will still do real good in the world by chasing real evil from it.

Presciently, Peterson (2012) sees MOOCs as challenging not higher education institutions in general nor even the prestigious universities being courted by the various MOOC platforms. The real threat is to the many for-profit institutions currently offering online education opportunities marketed to adult professionals who can't afford the time, money, or space to attend the renowned brick and mortar schools.

At the time of this writing, Coursera is the largest MOOC provider, with 23 million registered users (Shah 2016). A social entrepreneurship company founded by two Stanford University computer scientists, the company partners with well-known universities, such as Stanford, Michigan, Princeton, UPenn, Duke, and the University of Toronto, to deliver courses online. For Coursera, instructors videotape their lectures in advance and upload them for captioning and transcribing, a service that increases accessibility, especially for a global audience. This can take a few days, which is one reason why producing content ahead of scheduled release dates is important. In some regions, students have to travel to an Internet provider, download the content onto a hard drive or memory stick, take it home to absorb, and return to the ISP to post questions and comments or submit assignments. To have to "attend" class in real time is not possible.

Personally, I struggled with having to produce the majority of the content ahead of the course offering. A key component to teaching in an Indigenous way is interactivity, responsiveness to the particular group and its needs, reading the feeling of the group and responding accordingly. I wanted to avoid what Freire called the "banking concept" of education where students are passive recipients of content. As Sumner (2000) states, "one-way technologies leave little room for communication in the true sense of the term – communication as emancipative, non-dominative discourse designed to promote understanding" (p. 279). I began to ask myself,

how could I engage students in the meaningful dialogues that are fundamental to Indigenous ways of teaching? In classroom teaching I prioritize and center on both narrative and storytelling. How might I apply Freire's notion of conscientization (Freire 1973) to this course and contribute to social change?

Using transformative learning as a conceptual framework, I sought to find ways to bring a more reflective and critical discourse to the MOOC. Merriam et al. (2007) assert that "Transformational Learning is about change, dramatic, fundamental change in the way we see ourselves and the world in which we live" (p. 123). Imel (1998) states that teachers should foster a learning environment of trust and care and that students should share the responsibility for establishing a learning atmosphere whereby "transformative learning can occur" (p. 4). Working with a team of graduate assistants, we began to actively seek ways to create an online space in which people felt comfortable and safe to share their personal experiences and stories with the desire to catalyze personal change in the lives of those taking the course, spurring the learners on to take action in their lives to contribute to social change in how Indigenous peoples are treated.

Mainly, the data identify a series of paradoxes about learning online. On the one hand, you can access experts and knowledge keepers who might never visit the community in person; on the other, your opportunities for immediate interaction with those people are severely limited (outside of a webinar format). On the one hand, you can connect with a community of people from across vast geographies; on the other hand, it's rarely synchronous, and often there's a lag between sharing a message, journal entry, or post to a forum and receiving a reply from others. One has access to a community of like-minded practitioners and learners; but this community is geographically distant and not often online at the same time, nor available for quick chats in the hallway after class. On the one hand, technology enables these possibilities; on the other hand, it frustrates users to the point of disengaging, feeling inconvenienced by learning new programs, or having them work inadequately.

Translating Indigenous Education to an Online Environment

One characteristic of Indigenous education is seeking ways to engage the whole person in developing spiritual, emotional, intellectual, and physical aspects of their being. Using a medicine wheel as organizational principle, our MOOC course activities sought to focus on these different aspects of being.

Activity 1 asked participants to describe a place that has special meaning to them. Many people interpreted this icebreaker as a spiritual question. Indeed, there is an intuitive aspect to the question that engages students in describing why a place draws them to it. Activity 2 involved writing a response to what it feels like to experience loss of life and knowledge. Students complete a list of ten names all of which have taught them something valuable. They are then directed to strike off a name one by one until only one name is remaining. In the debrief students learn that in some regions 90% of the North American Indigenous population was killed by disease, warfare, and other means over the course of a few generations. What is the impact on

knowledge and learning and cultural worldview? This activity had an emotional component. Another activity had students analyzing a segment of discourse from Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper's Indian Residential Schools Apology of 2008. It was largely an intellectual exercise. The peer assessment assignment required creativity as students used ethnographic writing to describe with detachment and cultural insight, an event or location that is familiar to them.

The open online platform offered great opportunities for diverse voices and media to be shared as part of the content. Available open-source material is vast, and selecting the right video, resource, or reading became tricky. I incorporated videos from Indigenous Elders and community members to provide a diversity of voices. The online platform proved particularly helpful in this regard as we were able to hear from a broad range of Indigenous scholars, thinkers, and activists. The response from course participants demonstrated the effectivity of this approach, exemplified by the following excerpt:

Dr. Restoule's MOOC uses the Internet to provide links to highly relevant materials that provide the essence of the course. These materials include more than 90 hyperlinks to relevant professional articles, Government Reports, United Nations' Documents, interviews of other departmental faculty members and graduate students, segments from interviews by other professionals, talks given at professional conferences, blogs, YouTube videos, interactive graphics, historical footage, short films, tours of significant museums, photographs of other locations, stories of Indigenous people and even access to 4 hours of CBC programing. (Canadian equivalent to PBS programs). Something that would be impossible to provide in a classroom setting.

The feel is something entirely new to me. ... Dr. Restoule, provides something more like a docent in a museum tour. He exposes you to a wide range of material about which he is very knowledgeable, and draws your attention to things you might otherwise have missed while keeping the tour group moving along. While you may not actually visit the museum again, you know that if you do go back, what objects you like to look at in more detail.

A different participant responded to our approach and also touched on another goal in the course design: to encourage students to take up their own learning long after the course was complete:

i've just been ruminating on this the entire time. ... the way the teaching in this class really has been different from my other experiences in Coursera and classes in general. i really felt like a great effort was made to give us lots of different KINDS of resources, to get us to think on our own, investigate and ponder on our own, imagine, understand, create. this is the only class out of several i've taken on Coursera where there were so many additional resources of all kinds, where there was such a creative kind of essay assignment, and where the lectures themselves seemed to wrap throughout just like a medicine wheel. in other words, we learned about the content just by being a part of the class!

A key focus of our course design efforts was to ensure the forums would be used often as a place for deep discussion and dialogue, just as in a face-to-face Indigenous education class. The discussion forum in particular was helpful in creating a more "horizontal student-teacher relationship" (Taylor 1998, p. 18) and demonstrating how much students have to contribute to the learning environment. The online forum

was used by students to support one another and answer each other's questions. For Aboriginal Worldviews and Education, there were a total of 43,879 posts in the forums made by 4685 participants. There were 326,266 views of forum posts. These numbers lend credence to the idea of four student archetypes Hill (2013a) suggests: lurkers who read but don't post, passive participants who look at the material and do the assignments but don't participate in discussions or postings, active participants who engage with the material and their peers in numerous ways, and drop-ins, who become deeply involved in aspects of the course, subtopics that interest them, but do not attempt to complete the whole course.

In a sample pool of 500 randomly pulled participants of the course who filled out the demographic survey, Brugha and Restoule (2016) found that forum participation mostly met expectations, with a few interesting exceptions. For instance, countries where English is not the predominant language appeared to have a lower contribution rate to both posts and comments and had seemingly more discomfort with original posting than commenting. North Americans were more likely to post more than the required number of original posts, which could be because of their comfort with the language or perhaps even the course content. Males appeared more comfortable posting their own notes rather than commenting on others, whereas it was the opposite for women who were more likely to choose commenting rather than posting. Participants with less than a high school diploma did not comment on others' posts, whereas it proved to be the opposite for those who had a high school diploma as their highest level of education. Participants with a post-graduate degree appeared to like original posting, whereas participants with a completed post-secondary school degree chose commenting on others' posts more than creating their own.

The results of two post-course surveys ($n = 1656$) sent out to participants were also examined to gain a better understanding of participant engagement. One survey was for learners who did not complete the course, and the other was sent to learners who did. For the former survey, when they were asked what course components they found were most valuable in helping to learn the materials, most agreed on the video lectures (93%), related resources (89%), and quizzes (62%). Interaction with peers was agreed to be valuable to 41% of participants, and 39% stayed neutral on the subject, which could be because they did not use the forums. If they had used the forums, it is possible that they may have been more engaged and complete the course. As Saadatmand and Kumpulainen (2014) state, the nature of MOOCs requires students to assume active roles, in a spirit of openness, to shape activities and collaborate in goal achievement. Learners decide which tools and resources to use, which readings to master, and which connections to rely on. If they do not choose to participate in and learn from these connections, perhaps this results in less learning and achievement. This supports the theory that online learning favors self-motivated learners.

In the post-course surveys returned by learners who completed the course, 65% said that reading their peers' work helped enhance their understanding, and 57% agreed that forum discussions enhanced their understanding. Sixty-seven percent agreed forums were safe and supportive, and 55% agreed that forum

organization was conducive to communication with peers. Some of these numbers appear to disagree with the non-certificate track participants, but as mentioned before, this could be because they did not have an opportunity to participate as much in the forums.

The course data of Aboriginal Worldviews and Education indicated a direct relationship between forum contributions and grades achieved (however, this result may have been encouraged by 10% of the course grade being tied to forum contributions). While correlation does not imply causation, it should be noted that forum presence might be a larger contributor to achievement and dedication to course completion than previously estimated. The importance of creating a community is indicated throughout the literature as a predicate to engagement (Kop et al. 2011; Maddix 2013), and active participants have been noted as being the key to a successful MOOC (Milligan et al. 2013). These connections, however, must be supported by an effective pedagogy that supports and engages such a diverse group of learners (Ahn et al. 2013; Kop et al. 2011). This will allow them to engage with each other, learn from one another's experiences, and form lasting and effective learning connections.

Transformative Learning Potential

This goal of pushing the students to become responsible for their own learning harnessed the power of open sources and finding materials that are no cost and accessible online. Indeed, this is the core group MOOCs are targeting and hoping to pull into higher education:

I am so grateful that Dr. Restoule, the University of Toronto, and Coursera are sharing this information for free. Where I live, there are very few (if any) courses on Aboriginal/American Indians within a 50-mile radius. ...Also, at this point in my life, I can't afford to attend college courses (it's very expensive in the US – I'm still paying off my student loans from 1997!). Anyway, it would be a lot harder to learn about this topic without a free course like this.

We watched as students took learning into their own hands, creating Facebook study groups, in-person meet-ups, and a Twitter hashtag for the course so students could immediately share their thoughts on the course and their learning. Libraries reached out to explore ways of supporting MOOC learning in their spaces by hosting and facilitating meet-ups.

There is a notion that the learning process could continue after the course is over and that authentic networks of people interested in lifelong learning could be promoted. As the 4-week course progressed, we watched as this critical reflection became more substantial and students engaged in the notion of praxis, "moving back and forth in a critical way between reflecting and acting on the world" (Taylor 1998, p. 18). It was clear students were challenging themselves to think in a new and transformational way as in this example:

... The course also got me thinking much more critically about knowledge and goals for obtaining it - not acquiring units of categorizable information, but envisioning it as something deeply personal outside the bounds of an external authority. While I don't come from an Indigenous heritage, much of what we learned about knowledge struck me as intuitively "right" somehow.

We received multiple responses about the course moving participants to seek out Indigenous activist events. This kind of movement toward making critical social change as a result of what was learned in the course is the most dramatic example of transformative learning. There were other responses about being moved personally, being "changed" forever as a result of what was learned usually followed up with additional comments about ensuring others would learn about what the participant had learned. There were many responses about "decolonizing" oneself. The course brought people together to engage in more than intellectual learning. They were learning with their "whole selves."

Opportunities Embedded in the First Nations Schools Principals Course

With respect to the data shared from participants in the FNSPC, the opportunities provided by learning this material online were often similar to those expressed by MOOC participants. Characteristics that were named often included accessibility, flexibility, convenience, connecting to a community, and greater opportunity or access to diverse opinions and perspectives on both leadership development and working in a First Nations community.

As with many other aspects of the FNSPC, the ways in which these advantages are felt are nuanced by the use of Indigenous knowledge and the fact of the content being situated in First Nations contexts. For instance, where access is concerned, many of the First Nations schools are located in remote areas. In order for leadership development to remain relevant to the context the principals work in, a healthy foundation within local Indigenous knowledge needs to be fostered. While this quality cannot be transferred adequately on a national scale, we could and did design assignments to require each individual participant to make connections in their local community to enable exposure to the local knowledge ways and practices. This was a key design consideration so as to align with the diversity of First Nations demands an approach that favors the local and specific over a pan-native approach. We designed assignments to encourage principals to connect with the local community practices. As the participants and Expert Advisory Panel let us know, it was important to ensure no imposition of worldview and that the tone of the course should be respectful of the culture of the school and community where they are located [June 2016 meeting].

The flexibility of an online learning module allows the FNSPC participants to take the course at their own pace and at times that are more convenient for them. While this is true also of the MOOC experience, principals have demanding schedules with responsibilities that often make their daily timetables unpredictable.

Further, being able to access a course in a flexible manner allowed the principals to keep their regular work hours, maintaining their responsibility to First Nations Schools. By continuing to attend work, while studying professional development in their own time, the FNSPC was able to inspire through direct relevance: from what they study at night in the course to what they experience in the day at work. If they had needed to travel away from their school to access an in-class course, this opportunity would have been lost. Participants shared with us that they most preferred to work on the course on weekends and evenings. They also stated that going forward, the course should “make sure all activities/tasks are open/flexible enough for participants to adapt them to their circumstances.” At the same time, they cautioned us to maintain the rigor of the course, indeed, even to reduce some of the flexibility and choice within the assignments. As one group noted, “there shouldn’t be too much flexibility as timely collaboration and contribution is paramount to the success of the course.”

Principals expressed to us the loneliness of their profession, especially when they were working in First Nations communities. Rarely did they have opportunities to chat through challenges and experiences that come up as they must maintain a sense of neutrality among staff, parents, students, and other constituents in their daily activities. While respecting privacy and anonymity, principals cannot appear to be taking sides in conflicts, or debrief or discuss these encounters and leadership challenges with their peers, unless they have access to a network of other principals. For principals working in First Nations contexts, this loneliness can be heightened by the specificities of the role, remoteness of schools and communities, and the added challenges of being members of small and tightknit communities. An opportunity of bringing Indigenous knowledge to online learning was to enable and foster the development of relationships among principals in the course. In each other they found a supportive learning community and one who understood the unique challenges of working in a First Nations context.

The importance of networking with other principals was highlighted in the post-course evaluation focus groups and surveys. When asked how the Martin Family Initiative could continue to have impact on First Nations schools, all groups named the importance of establishing a network to link principals and schools via video-conference and email to discuss topics, such as best practices in educational leadership, where to access additional training, how to develop curriculum, and how to indigenize curriculum. Furthermore, the principals noted in their groups the importance of learning from someone with experience as a principal and as a teacher in First Nations schools. Every group mentioned that future facilitators must have First Nations school experience, even more important than academic qualifications, although several did note this as an important qualification. All groups underlined the importance of course facilitators understanding Indigenous languages and cultures, as well as understanding the difference between provincial schools and First Nations schools. Most groups, though not all, mentioned the importance of facilitation coming from a strong instructional leader.

Another identified opportunity for online learning in the FNSPC is the way more “experts” could be brought into the instruction of the course. By including videos,

we were able to draw from the expertise of the members of the Expert Advisory Panel and include their perspectives in the teaching of the course. Some of the most popular segments created for the course were on-site tours of a school with experienced principals and interactive interviews with expert principals drawn from our advisory panel. This expanded the possibilities of instruction and increased the number of perspectives on issues of importance. Indeed, these aspects of the course were so appreciated that all focus groups in June 2016 mentioned the desire for more guest speakers in future offerings. The groups identified topics where they desired guest speakers, in particular special education, as well as strategies for conflict mediation and resolution.

This access to diverse opinions was another key piece of using online learning tools. The principals had access to each other's opinions and also to diverse materials curated for the course curriculum. Since we tried to cut materials down to make the course less imposing or intimidating, there were many items, videos, and readings that became supplemental, yet were still accessible to the participants. It meant a wealth of opportunities for access to materials. Again, for some of the more remote communities, finding these items would not have been possible without the course. In our focus groups, the resources were universally lauded as excellent. The suggestions were limited to additional organization of the resources so that they could all be accessed from one spot (instead of only within the relevant modules) and a few additional resources designed specifically to build on material covered within the course. In addition, one group recommended a particular resource from their region, and another group suggested an additional video on the topic of managing classrooms.

Challenges of Online Learning

In the literature on online learning challenges, there are a number of themes that recurred in our analysis of the MOOC and FNSPC. These include technological issues, such as the learning curve associated with using new technologies, occasional inconveniences of connecting from remote locations, and other various technical issues. Aside from technology-related problems, there are the challenges of mediated communication, such as (not) feeling part of a community and delays in receiving feedback or responses that characterize asynchronous courses.

In online learning literature, the need for learners to have strong time management skills and self-motivation are often named as challenges. The pilot group of the FNSPC, however, was excellent in this regard. The only way they were challenged in this component of e-learning might have been with falling behind in the early days of the course. Usually, when you feel like you are behind more than a module, you start to just not log in at all. To avoid this potential challenge, our course coordinator had regular check-ins and would encourage those falling behind to just start at the module of the current month instead of progressing sequentially. Because our modules were not dependent on prior learning or scaffolding of concepts, it was possible to do this – to skip ahead without getting lost.

The motivation to log in to the FNSPC was challenged in the early days of the pilot because of a technical glitch with permissions to use software chosen for the course. It was in fact a glitch fairly unique to our cohort that had to do with timing of software releases, shared permissions, and institutional issues with our cohort's student statuses. While representative of the potential difficulties of relying on technology, this particular set of circumstances is highly unusual and unlikely to recur. With this bug sorted out by the release of module three, the tech challenges became more typical in nature: community broadband limiting video uploads and minor inconveniences related to videoconference feeds.

Where learning curves were concerned, the FNSPC participants found the EdX MOOC platform we used for the course intuitive and easy to work with. Our supporting solutions such as Seafile, a file sharing software, while easy to use and reliable, were missing some desired features such as notification when a file successfully uploaded. When participants received files, it was obvious, as they appeared in a folder created for the course, but when they submitted files to the instructor or other members of the cohort, it wasn't clear to the sender when or if the file had successfully transferred. At end of course, nearly all participants recommended additional supports for navigating the tech, including an in-person walkthrough of how to do day-to-day course functions. They greatly appreciated the tutorial videos created for the course and recommended a few more as well as making them easily accessible from the main page at login.

One of the interesting findings around the tech learning curve is that the principals reported using their phones for a LOT of the course. Therefore, a mobile app for the course would have been appreciated. Also, the majority of FNSPC participants used multiple devices and locations for participating in the course. Reasons ranged from finding quieter workspaces and being more comfortable (at home or in the office), to issues with firewalls and security, to device preferences. While the course was designed to be mostly asynchronous to allow principals the utmost freedom and flexibility to choose when to participate, an interesting recommendation emerging at the end of the course was to have more videoconferencing opportunities (at least monthly) and to schedule them at set times from the beginning of the course so that they could be scheduled and planned for well in advance. The desire to interact in real time with colleagues was the motivating factor behind this recommendation. It should be noted that the Vidy software we used in the course actually enabled participants to contact any one of their cohort members at any time and use a private chat room to connect. It seemed the interactivity that real-time video conference sessions afforded the principals helped to counteract lack of motivation and provide support.

A challenge of online learning is that participants don't always get immediate responses from instructors or other participants. There can be a lag in communication that makes interactivity and immediacy suffer. In the FNSPC, we found that connecting the principals via videoconference helped to take this barrier away. After our module 6 practicum check-in with the whole group, we saw the desire in participants to have more video conferencing and interactive synchronous meetings. From that point on, we held monthly check-ins using the program Vidy. Providing

the course participants with up to three conference options per month allowed us to reach nearly everybody and to increase interactivity. Not only did this help with building community within the course, it also helped to instill confidence in participants who had differing perceptions of everyone's level of comfort with the course or with their own participation. By hearing what others struggled with or where they were at in the course, it helped to assuage fears about their own progress through the course. They also found ways to communicate and provide support to one another through the conferences and in following up from them. Learning that someone else is interested in the same topics or has something to share about past experiences or struggles helped to initiate conversations within and outside the course. Ultimately, these conversations helped in the horizontal transfer of knowledge and skills.

In online learning contexts, learners tend to default to the technologies they know well and are most comfortable with. What we found with the FNSPC pilot is that when an urgent matter arose and a course participant wanted feedback, he or she would send an email to the whole group. The responses often came instantaneously or within a few minutes or hours. Cohort members were generous with their emotional support and helpful advice including sharing resources, additional contacts, stories from past experience, or just words of encouragement. While the forum would have been an appropriate space for some of the requests for information and feedback, participants are more comfortable with email and seemed to know they'd get more immediate response via group email. The reactions and responses would seem to bear out this presumption. Accessing the forum would have meant logging in and then several clicks. The emails, however, were instantaneous and most likely allowed for immediate, direct notification to a mobile device application.

This falling back to email was visible in the MOOC environment too. Many learners wrote to me personally, to a point that was overwhelming during the first running of the course. However, I responded to every request (eventually), and learners were actually pleasantly surprised and happy that I did. This tells me they didn't fully expect to receive a response and knew that it was unlikely for a single person to be able to respond to students individually in a MOOC.

These concerns and limits to personal communication and community building are particularly felt when working in Indigenous education and knowledge contexts. Learning online and communicating via media require low-context, clear communication goals, strategies, and outcomes. Nearly everything has to be explained very clearly, and words and instructions have to be checked numerous times for any possible inference that might lead to misunderstandings or confusion. One exception to this limitation was the tech tutorials which successfully employed images to convey the steps for participating in the course. Indigenous forms of knowledge transfer that include personal interpretation, time for digesting or processing experience, and narrative and stories, often related to particular landscapes, landmarks, or sites, do not necessarily transfer well to this new medium. In the MOOC, we had to be clear from the outset what the course biases would be. For one, most examples would be drawn from the Canadian context as it is what I, as an Anishnaabe and the lead instructor, know best. There was an emphasis on cultures from the Northeastern

Woodlands and more Anishinaabe examples than anything else. To mitigate this bias, our design team attempted to select sources and videos from different regions and to request learners to make connection to their own local context as best as they could for the assignments and activities.

The diversity of nations from which course content could be drawn, a plus in many ways, becomes a con when considering the transferring of Indigenous knowledge arising from one nation, time, and place to another. These teachings are not always meant to be compatible outside their place of origin and face losing richness when divorced from the places that gave them birth, life, and texture. As with the MOOC, the greatest challenge when selecting content to share with an audience that is not familiar to us is that it is impossible to control who will share what with whom, when, and where. Therefore, choices are limited to knowledge that is safe, that any learner may be ready to hear, or that will not bring harm upon someone. There are protocols governing much of the knowledge that is kept within families, clans, moieties, and nations and is not meant for being shared widely. This helps with narrowing down what is safe to share. But there are some stories, medicinal knowledge, and spiritual ways that are best shared only in highly controlled settings with clear guidelines for who may hear them and what they may do with the info. I tried to select teachings and resources that had some transferability and universality in its observation of how people work, relate, and learn.

Developing a community online can be challenging: for the FNSPC we had to think of ways to ignite connection to their physical community where their workplace is located as well as to the community of practice within the course itself. Getting to know each other was important – so important that module 1 was taken in person and a pre-course module was developed to begin breaking the ice among the community. The use of video conference check-ins was also significant. The check-ins were so highly appreciated that they became a monthly activity, altering the course curriculum and experience. This feature was also adopted by subsequent course offerings.

If there is one thing that all Indigenous peoples share, it is the experience of colonialism. In both the MOOC and the FNSPC, there is content related to understanding and addressing colonialism that is applicable across all contexts. However, to properly center Indigenous knowledge, one has to start from the community and the place where it lives and then move outward. When your course is composed of at least 20 different communities, as was the case in the FNSPC, with many of them from completely different nations, languages, and cultures, how are you to honor the specificity of Indigenous knowledge in an online course shell that responds better to low-context communication? The answer that we landed upon was to let the learners do this work on their own in the places where they live and work. We used the 5Rs as a framework to ensure the universal and standardized pieces of the course were balanced by content and activities. Importantly, the content and activities brought community knowledge and experiences to bear on making the learning respectful, relevant, responsible, and reciprocal. The 5Rs teach us how education can accommodate Indigenous knowledge and learning, not the other way around, whereby

Indigenous peoples are meant to accommodate, or conform to, traditional university expectations. The 5Rs are a reference to Kirkness and Barnhardt's (1991) classic article on higher education where they listed the 4Rs of Indigenous higher education as respect, responsibility, relevance, and reciprocity. We've added a fifth R for "relationship," as it underlines and permeates all the other Rs.

By requiring the principals to engage in these learning activities and assignments themselves, making connection to the community where they were, we were ensuring that *relationships*, the underpinning of Indigenous knowledge and education, were being honored, fostered, and, in some cases, initiated. It ensured that there was *respect* for local experiences, traditions, and ways as that became the locus of the activities and the answers sought to complete assignments and activities. It highlighted the *responsibilities* of the principal to the local culture and the families of the children the schools served. We attempted to ensure there was *relevance* to the community and to the principal too so that the learning never felt merely theoretical but was rooted in daily requirements and responsibilities as well as what needed to be attended to every day. Finally, we wanted to ensure that our course ultimately contributed to community self-determination and betterment and didn't merely develop the individual course participant. So, our practicum, or capstone course activity, was essentially a giving back to the school or the community. To ensure reciprocity, we required the course assignment to "give back" and "stay" with the school.

Employing the 5Rs in the FNSPC enabled us to address our second guiding question, of how to design e-learning opportunities that invite all learners to engage with Indigenous knowledges worldviews and pedagogies in culturally appropriate, respectful, and meaningful ways.

Conclusion

Indigenous education is possible in online environments, but it takes some effort and thoughtfulness in order to ensure optimal participant experiences, while best adhering to traditional Indigenous values. There are many attributes and strategies that can help. There has to be emphasis on community building within the course and extensions outside of the course, finding ways to bring participants to connect with place and community. Course designers must strive to encourage participants to see themselves as both learners and teachers. This can be done by honoring experience and experiential learning and the personal stories that emerge from this learning. In this way we honor Indigenous knowledge that is personal, experiential, holistic, and shared through narrative and metaphor.

The course design teams behind the Aboriginal Worldviews and Education MOOC and the First Nations Schools Principals' Course attempted to ground the curriculum and pedagogy in Indigenous approaches. For the MOOC we attempted to balance modes of learning valuing the four aspects of being: physical, emotional, intellectual, and spiritual. We wanted to ensure that people were changed

by the learning: that it went beyond intellectual development to real personal and political commitment to addressing social injustice. When we received feedback that students were forming activist groups, or joining a cause in their community or participating in Idle No More events as a result of their being in the course, we knew that we were succeeding in sparking transformative learning. We intended our teaching and our research on learning in online environments to ultimately have the objective of precipitating action for promoting social change.

This orientation toward action for social change was also visible in the FNSPC. Whereas the principals in the course all cared deeply about the children in their schools before taking the course, we watched as they drew on community resources and from each other as a result of the course curriculum and ways of teaching and learning. There was an increased connection and relationality encouraged by the 5Rs that helped to deepen the relevance and responsibility to community and redoubled the commitment to student well-being and achievement. It was stated by one of our participants that he observed all the principals in the course and in First Nations schools were having to do twice as much work as most principals. As he explained, they were delivering the Canadian curriculum and ensuring their students' abilities to adapt and survive in the mainstream society, but in addition to this requirement, they were providing the tools and cultural teachings to survive in the local community, essentially a second curriculum that included language and culture to ensure a decolonizing learning space for student safety and cultural survival. Being able to do both well was a testament to the challenge of the work, and having a leadership course that recognized this context demanded a different approach was liberating and appreciated by our pilot group. When designing the course, we set out to indigenize leadership programming and see positive changes during the course, not only as a result of the course but as part of the process of learning and applying that learning. For these changes to make an impact was to see social change and transformative learning happening before us and to see a decolonizing action. We witnessed several of Smith's (1999) 25 decolonizing projects being enacted within the course: greater indigenization; connecting, representing, and reframing Indigenous identities, rights, knowing, and realities; and active contribution to these processes through the course practices themselves.

In any course planning, one has to see the limits of the medium and work within it. It's not unlike how Elders see the limits in any setting where they are teaching. Depending on the time, place, and learners they are working with, they adapt what they share and how they share it. So too must we in our course design. Once we know the limits of what can be achieved in this medium, we can push against them and use the technologies to take the best elements of Indigenous education to grow a larger community. Colonialism works by segregating us, separating us, dividing us, and playing us against one another. But by creating a sense of community and shared struggle in our courses, we can all be working to combat colonialism and restoring our peoples to vital sites of cultural resurgence.

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Whāia te Ara Whetu: Navigating Change in Mainstream Secondary Schooling for Indigenous Students

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Elizabeth Ann McKinley and Melinda Webber

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Abstract

In New Zealand, the national education achievement statistics identify Māori (Indigenous), Pasifika (Pacific Islanders living in New Zealand), and other students from low income groups as “underachieving” in the education system. This chapter outlines the design, implementation, and outcomes of a longitudinal multifaceted secondary school intervention, named the Starpath Project for Tertiary Participation and Success (Starpath), which was designed to fundamentally change pedagogy and challenge the distribution of opportunities for students in some of New Zealand’s most under-served communities. In this chapter, we provide a brief summary of major school research and development projects carried out in New Zealand addressing the needs of Māori and Pasifika students in English medium schools. Then we provide a description of the project design, including the theoretical background of the approach. Following this, we outline of the New Zealand educational context, how we worked with schools, and the overall demographics of the student cohort. We then document the two phases of the project – the research and its outcomes, and the professional development design and its implementation. This is followed by an overview of the project outcomes and a discussion regarding the project’s mixed success. Lastly, we draw some conclusions regarding what we think is necessary for equitable and quality school reform.

Keywords

Equity · Research and development · School improvement · Data utilization · Academic counselling · Parent and community engagement

As the first navigators crossed the Pacific they followed the stars from island to island. At the beginning of their journey, they found the star which marked their direction, and followed it until it sank towards the horizon. Then they located the next star on the star path, and the next, and the next, until they reached their destination.

Introduction

A long held view in democratic societies is that *all* students should receive and achieve a high standard of education. Yet there has been a long history of students being educated differently within the same school system according to their class, ethnic, or racial background. While it is accepted by educators, there will be diversity of individual student achievement, entrenched inequity stratified along lines of ethnicity, race, class, or income is viewed as unfair and undesirable, and indicative of inequities within the education system itself. It is also regarded as socially and economically counter-productive for any country to have identifiable sectors of its population failing to achieve educationally and bearing the ruinous consequences of low income, poor health outcomes, and social alienation.

The introduction of Māori language immersion schooling in the 1980s had a transforming effect for Māori students and their whānau (extended family) (Smith 1997). Māori immersion schooling was initiated partly in response to Richard Benton's (1979) identification of the demise of the Māori language and his subsequent suggestion that schooling could be used as a vehicle "save" it. New Zealand now has a Māori medium education system from early childhood education through to secondary schools. The Māori immersion system became popular as students graduated not only having achieved academically, but also with the "cultural assets" of Māori language and having a greater depth of understanding Māori culture. These schools remain successful for the students who attend them; however, the number of students attending these Māori medium schools remains small (9.6%) in comparison to Māori students in English medium schooling (90%) (Education Counts 2017). Of all the students in Māori medium education in 2016, 82% were in primary (elementary) education. This suggests that Māori students are transitioning between Māori medium and English medium schooling options at a crucial point – upon entering secondary school. So, with an overwhelming majority of Māori students in English medium (also known as mainstream) secondary education, lifting their performance within this system is an absolute imperative.

In New Zealand, the national education achievement statistics identify Māori (Indigenous), Pasifika (Pacific Islanders living in New Zealand), and other students from low income groups as "underachieving" in the education system. This chapter outlines the design, implementation, and outcomes of a longitudinal multifaceted secondary school intervention, named the Starpath Project for Tertiary Participation and Success (Starpath), which was designed to fundamentally change pedagogy and challenge the distribution of opportunities for students in some of New Zealand's most underserved communities. In this chapter, we provide a brief summary of major school research and development projects carried out in New Zealand addressing the needs of Māori and Pasifika students in English medium schools. Then we provide a description of the project design, including the theoretical background of the approach. Following this, we outline of the New Zealand educational context, how we worked with schools, and the overall demographics of the student cohort. We then document the two phases of the project – the research and its outcomes, and the professional development design and its implementation. This is followed by an overview of the project outcomes and a discussion regarding the project's mixed success. Lastly, we draw some conclusions regarding what we think is necessary for equitable and quality school reform.

Previous New Zealand Research and Development Initiatives

In this outline of the previous research, the authors have chosen to privilege the research and development work carried out in New Zealand. While colonized countries share some similar experiences, and British colonies have derived their education systems from similar beginnings albeit at different times in history, New Zealand's school systems and peoples have taken some different paths. It is

also very difficult to find longitudinal research and development programs done internationally that report on outcomes for Indigenous students. For these reasons, and others, we have decided to highlight New Zealand longitudinal research and development programs in this section.

The disparity between various groups within New Zealand schools gained increasing attention over the 1990s and early 2000s. International tests showed that there were greater disparities within New Zealand schools than between them. In other words, the gap between the high and lower achieving students within the same school was one of the largest in the OECD countries (Ministry of Education 2015). In particular students who went to schools that served low income communities, in which Māori and Pasifika communities are over represented, were not enjoying the same success as their wealthier counterparts. These schools have been the focus of some large school reform projects that have achieved some success. In particular there were two major, long-term projects described below that contributed to the development of the Starpath project.

The Strengthening Education in Mangere and Otara (SEMO)

This project targeted schools in two low-income suburbs in South Auckland that cater for New Zealand's largest Pasifika community. The purpose was to increase the capacity of the schools and communities to offer high quality learning environments for students (Robinson and Timperley 2004). The project was undertaken with a three-way partnership between the Ministry of Education, the schools and the communities, and targeted the areas of school governance, reporting to parents and the perceptions of Pasifika student achievement. In the study, some schools had as many as 95% Pasifika students (not uncommon for South Auckland schools).

The findings of SEMO, of relevance to this chapter, showed that good progress was made with schools' reporting practices as they became increasingly focused on educational achievement, which resulted in changed reporting regulations as well. The schools went from under reporting underachievement and misleading parents about their child's achievement levels, to increasing their reporting against explicit standards (Robinson and Timperley 2004).

When teachers, parents, and students were asked about improving Pasifika student achievement, two major factors were identified: teaching quality (including teacher attitudes, changing teaching practices) and home-school partnerships. These factors have since become a major focus for intervention (see Rubie-Davies 2015). While schools practiced more accurate reporting on achievement post-SEMO, they still did not seek to partner with Pasifika parents more for the purpose of working together to improve student achievement (Robinson and Timperley 2004).

Another important contribution was that SEMO also highlighted the many complexities of working within a significantly Pasifika cultural context. For example, Timperley and Robinson identified Pasifika board members and parents' cultural tradition of deference to high status educational professionals, schools needing to promote Pasifika students' identity, and building on the cultural strengths Pasifika

students bring to school. They also found many of teachers and principals had lower expectations of Pasifika students (Robinson and Timperley 2004). These identified factors have become sites of further research in New Zealand (see Coxon et al. 2002; Chu et al. 2013; Turner et al. 2015).

Te Kotahitanga

Te Kotahitanga was designed to improve the educational achievement of Māori students in mainstream high schools (Bishop et al. 2010). The Ministry of Education funded the research and development project which was developed from a “unique perspective, in that it draws on the ways of knowing of people most affected by educational disparities, and [...] built on Māori aspirations, preferences and practices for educational reform” (Bishop et al. 2010, pp. 13–14). An Effective Teaching Profile was developed from interviews carried out with Māori students, their families, principals, and some of their teachers, to provide the focus for an intervention targeting classroom pedagogy and professional development.

Importantly, Te Kotahitanga drew our attention to the importance of relationships between teachers and students in the classroom, arguing that establishing whānau (extended family-like) relationships in the classroom was central to Māori student engagement. The developed strategy became known as a “culturally responsive pedagogy of relations” where teachers focused on improving Māori student achievement through developing their own understandings of antideficit theorizing and agentic positioning (Bishop et al. 2007, p. 7). The strategy includes changing the institutional structures in their classrooms; distributing leadership through the development of power-sharing relationships; spreading the reform to include all students in the benefits of participation in the conversation of learning; formally and informally monitoring and evaluating Māori students’ (and others’) progress so as to inform their changing practices; and above all, schools and teachers taking ownership of the aims and objectives of the project (Bishop et al. 2007, p. 196).

Results from the project indicated that Māori students, whose teachers were in the project, increased their academic achievement in mathematics and in literacy, especially students in the lower to mid-range of achievement. The project also found positive trends in measuring the quality of teacher practice (in terms of establishing whānau relationships) and student performance (Bishop et al. 2007). The Starpath Project consequently included in their design the establishment of trusted learning relationships between teachers and students to increase Māori students’ engagement in learning. Starpath also deduced that it would be beneficial if students could build a relationship with at least one significant adult (Darling-Hammond 2010) whom they recognized as “knowing them” and displaying an ethic of care about them as people and as learners (Webber et al. 2016). In addition, and by implication from Te Kotahitanga’s results, engagement with Māori parents/whānau and building further trust between them and the school was also seen as critical.

One of the wider influences in New Zealand is that there are national policies that guide schools, such as national curricula (in English and Māori), Māori education

policy and plans, and a Pasifika Education plan. Most important to note in this chapter is a policy on Māori student achievement called *Ka Hikitia* that promotes “Māori success as Māori” no matter which system students participate in. The policy argues that this outcome can be achieved by attending to each student’s academic performance as well as Māori language, culture, and identity. *Ka Hikitia* promotes quality evidence-based teaching and learning experiences; high expectations; collaboration between schools, parents, students, and the wider community; and that all Māori students have access to learning pathways of their choice (Ministry of Education 2013).

Project Background

The Starpath Project for Tertiary Participation and Success (known as Starpath) was established in 2004. The idea for the Starpath Project emerged from discussions at the time on building a knowledge economy in New Zealand (Gilbert 2005). The development of human capability and skills for a knowledge society, particularly among those groups currently under-represented in degree-level education and high skill employment (Māori, Pasifika and other students from low income backgrounds), was considered to be one of the most fundamental and urgent challenges facing New Zealand at the time. It had been predicted that by the year 2050, approximately 57% of New Zealand’s population would identify as Māori and/or Pacific Island, while more than two thirds (68%) would identify as non-European/non-Pākehā (Ministry of Education 2001). As such, the greater Auckland and Northland regions were chosen as the project base because they are home to New Zealand’s largest Māori and Pacific Island populations. These striking shifts in the country’s demography, coupled with unacceptable patterns of educational underachievement for the groups above, put at risk the prospect of developing and sustaining a high income, high value knowledge economy in New Zealand (Gilbert 2005).

This concern accompanied the view that New Zealand’s relatively young population had the potential to give the nation a major competitive advantage, if only all New Zealanders had the opportunity to realize their educational potential. Consequently, the Starpath Project was proposed in recognition of the urgency of this challenge and subsequently tested and coordinated a set of robust and reliable research and development projects, so that at each critical transition point in the educational life cycle, an evidence-based initiative could lift the educational performance of students to new levels.

Gilbert (2005) premised that in a knowledge society all students would be catered for through multilayered, individualized programs accessing the resources they needed at any given time for their learning journeys. Working on the assumption that the educational achievements of each student addressed achievement statistics of groups as well, it was important that Starpath worked with schools to help them address the learning needs of every student in the schools *in a timely manner*.

At the time of implementation, New Zealand was in the initial stages of employing data-driven evidence to confront achievement disparities and did not

wish to adopt a one-dimensional view of evidence (i.e., high stakes testing) apparent in other countries. Rather, Starpath was premised on the notion that “achievement gaps” can be decreased through responding to data-driven evidence and individual school accountability across a variety of dimensions. The project opted for a partnership between all stakeholders (university, school, teachers, parents, students), a wide view of evidence, and individual schools “owning and driving” the data strategy deployed in the school. Up-to-date data became the core of the project – tracking and monitoring student learning and achievement progress, setting individual student and school targets, assisting with professional learning in schools, and engaging parents/caregivers and students in learning conversations. In order to achieve the data focused intervention, schools needed to undertake significant professional learning.

The over-arching rationale behind the Starpath Project was to ask the question “how do we work with schools (and their stakeholders) to build and implement effective evidence based strategies to assist them to achieve more equitable outcomes for underachieving groups of students?” From the beginning the project was concerned with both research based and practical and pragmatic strategies. Therefore, a mixed methods research and development approach was employed, and Starpath worked alongside schools advocating for a systematic approach to inquiry as a basis for schools to ask questions of themselves.

The New Zealand Education Context

Students are required to attend school in New Zealand from the age of 6–16 years. However, most children begin on their 5th birthday and are increasingly staying at school until the age of 17 or 18. In all, schooling in New Zealand is made up of 13 Year Levels, with primary (elementary) schooling Years 1–8, and secondary (high) schooling Years 9–13.

Approximately 95% of all New Zealand students attend government-funded schools (referred to as state and state-integrated school – e.g., Catholic schools). Students are entitled to go to their local school for which they are zoned. At the time of the project and over its duration, all New Zealand state and state-integrated schools were assigned a category (referred to as decile ratings) reflecting the socio-economic nature of their intake for funding/resourcing purposes. High decile schools had the lowest proportion of students from low socio-economic homes; low decile schools had the highest proportion of these students. The Starpath Project worked with low-mid-decile secondary schools in the wider Auckland and Northland region.

New Zealand introduced a new national qualification system in 2002 that was innovative in that it catered for senior secondary and tertiary education on the same framework. The senior secondary school qualification is called the National Certificate in Educational Attainment (NCEA) (New Zealand Qualifications Authority 2016). Students can achieve NCEA at 3 levels (NCEA 1, 2 and 3) that approximately match onto the last 3 years of secondary school (Years 11–13). Students enroll in

subjects, and in each subject, skills and knowledge are assessed using a number of standards. There is a range of internally and externally marked assessments to measure how well the students achieve. Internally marked assessments undergo a national moderation process. When students attain an achievement standard, they gain a number of credits depending on how difficult the standards are. These credits accumulate towards a qualification (NCEA Level 1, 2, or 3). There are various criteria that need to be met to go from one level to another (e.g., credits in literacy, numeracy) (Madjar and McKinley 2013). The NCEA assessment system allows teachers to track and monitor credit accumulation towards the national certificate over the year.

This assessment system is extremely flexible and complex, as it offers a wide range of standards where students can gain qualifications towards trade certificates or they can qualify for entry to university (Madjar and McKinley 2013). However, it can also place students onto academic pathways that are narrow and restrictive, particularly if students are uncertain about their goals, lack good advice, and do not choose their courses with care, or if schools do not offer appropriately challenging NCEA courses. The Starpath Project targeted the NCEA system to develop a data-driven evidence-based intervention.

It is worth noting here that by the time Phase 2 was implemented the New Zealand government had a national goal to maximize success at NCEA Level 2. Resources were deployed to support student achievement at NCEA Level 2 and schools reported on this level. This, in turn, influenced school targets (and possibly student ones too), in that, instead of focusing on what the evidence (school data) was saying about what individual students could achieve, many schools focused on students achieving the NCEA Level 2 target.

Working with the Schools

Starpath was designed to be a partnership-focused research and development project. The aim was to be a key learning partner in the school improvement process. As a result, a participatory action research (PAR) approach (Reason and Bradbury 2008) was used as a guiding framework for data collection, reflection, negotiation, and agreement on specific actions and professional development work to be undertaken by the schools and the Starpath team. The PAR approach allowed us to pay equal attention to the two key aspects of the project: implementing the intervention and evaluating its effectiveness, impact, and potential for transferability and sustainability.

The PAR design maximized the collaborative aspects of the relationship with each school and built on the schools' capacity to use data to inform their decision-making and classroom practice, as well as to contribute to evaluation research. We could not require individual schools to follow a single protocol and recognized that because of the differences in context it would have been impossible for them to do so. We needed to be collaborative and responsive to how different schools chose to implement the intervention.

School and Student Demographics

Starpath worked with 39 low-mid-decile secondary schools in the wider Auckland and Northland regions of New Zealand. The schools were chosen according to stated criteria that included size, decile rating, and population characteristics. Of the total student population across the 39 schools ($N = 19,000+$), 29% were Māori and 29% were Pacific Island students. From a national point of view, Starpath schools included approximately 43% of the total Pacific Island and 14% of the total Māori New Zealand secondary school student population. School size also varied considerably as Starpath schools came from both urban and rural areas. Twenty-six percent of the schools had less than 500 students attending them, 28% had 500–1000 students, and 46% enrolled over 1000 students. The smallest school had approximately 100 students, while the largest had over 2000. With priority being given to schools that served the lower socioeconomic communities, 87% of Starpath schools had a decile rating of 4 or less. Sixty-two percent of schools were in urban areas and 38% in rural areas and small towns. We personally approached and met with the Principal and/or senior leadership teams in each school. Ethics was sought and approved by the University of Auckland Human Subjects Ethics Committee, and procedures were strictly adhered to for all aspects and phases of the project.

Project Description

The Starpath Project was divided into two phases.

Phase One (2005–2010)

The first phase of the project was a collaboration between two tertiary institutes and five high schools. During the first 5 years of the Project, the Starpath team completed over 25 quantitative and qualitative studies that focused on identifying barriers to student participation and achievement, examining the context and impact of the recently introduced NCEA system in secondary schools, and testing a program of academic counseling and target setting. This broad range of studies included: carrying out factor analysis studies on issues impacting student achievement (e.g., subject choice) and its effects on student pathways to university; university secondary school outreach programs in mentoring and academic assistance; an analysis of learning support programs in schools; a prospective, longitudinal, narrative enquiry of student transition from high school to university; a quasi-experimental effectiveness study of an academic counseling and target setting (ACTS) initiative; a mixed methods evaluation of ACTS initial impact and its sustainability in the original school; and a mixed methods, participatory action research of ACTS transferability to 4 other schools. The project also spent time interrogating school data – what was kept, where, how it was managed, accessibility by all teachers, and how schools and teachers used it to improve their teaching and student learning.

Findings from the first phase identified a series of structural and systemic barriers to student achievement and progression to degree-level study. Significant findings included:

- The poor collection, management, and use of data to track student achievement over time and allow for timely academic interventions (Irving and Gan 2012)
- Unequal access to relevant NCEA subjects and relevant standards for university pathways (Shulruf et al. 2008a)
- Inadequate understanding of the NCEA system and the medium and long term implications of subject choices by parents, students and teachers (Madjar et al. 2009; Madjar and McKinley 2013)
- A lack of evidence-based academic guidance of students (Webber et al. 2016)
- Failure of students to reach the literacy standards required for university entrance (Smith and Timperley 2008)
- A proliferation of student support programs outside the core curriculum, and little to no evaluation of these initiatives regarding their impact on student achievement (Shulruf et al. 2008b)
- A lack of capacity in schools to move from collecting data to identifying issues in student learning and formulating interventions (Tolley and Shulruf 2009)
- Numerous challenges during the transition from school to university for students from these schools (Madjar et al. 2010a, b; McKinley and Madjar 2010)

From these findings, and the evaluation of some school practices developed and trialed in partnership with the five Phase 1 schools a comprehensive, school-wide intervention was designed for Phase 2.

Phase Two (2011–2015)

Phase 2 of the project worked with 34 new schools (39 schools in total) on an evidence-based program that focused on:

1. Establishing quality longitudinal data and student information systems that could be used to track and monitor student progress to ensure that each student's academic progress was known in real time and timely interventions could be provided to ensure best possible outcomes. This required quality data to enable staff and students set achievement targets, for individual and groups of students.
2. Working with schools and teachers to develop teacher knowledge and skills to help students understand the path, they needed to follow to fulfill their educational goals and enable them to chart their progress (also known as 2-way academic counseling conversations).
3. Helping schools to engage with students' caregivers or parents/whānau (families), as partners in their child's learning journey. Doing this was a way to ensure clearer understanding of educational opportunities, promote more in-depth discussion about their child's learning needs, and work with parents on how best to support their child's educational goals and progress (also known as 3-way Parent-Student-Teacher conferencing).

The professional learning and development program that Starpath implemented in schools was comprised of Data Utilization, Academic Counseling, and Target Setting (known as DUACTS). In Phase 1 the DUACTS program had been developed and tested for its academic effectiveness (Smith 2010), and overall impact on students, teachers, and the school (McKinley et al. 2009) in one school. The program was then implemented and evaluated in a further 4 schools, both urban and regional, to test for transferability to other school contexts (McKinley et al. 2010).

Implementation of DUACTS

The Phase Two implementation of Starpath in schools included on-site direct assistance for teachers and school leaders, regular observations of data utilization, academic counseling, and target setting and other professional learning and development (PLD) support through the provision of workshops. Some of the PLD work was generic and was presented to all schools in the project, but other PLD was responsive to the needs expressed by individual schools. Following the introductory presentation made by Starpath staff visiting each school, the DUACTS professional development program had two major strands. One was focused on each school's capacity to collect and use student achievement data for improvement purposes and the other was on improving academic conversations between students, teachers, and families. Baseline data were collected and improvements tracked in student achievement and school practice in a series of formative, individualized reports which were fed back to all schools.

Data Utilization

Without a capacity for longitudinal tracking, it is impossible to discern whether a student or group of students are on track to achieve their goals and aspirations. It is also difficult to determine when a student or group of students begins to head towards failure, discover the reasons why, and take effective action. A key aim of the DUACTs program was to enable each school to develop and maintain an up-to-date school achievement database. It was viewed as an essential tool to enable schools to collect longitudinal data on student achievement and use those data to improve practice and outcomes for students over time. However, evidence collected by Starpath indicated that many schools struggled to maintain their databases, particularly if key project personnel with data utilization expertise left the school. Ongoing support was required for schools to achieve this goal.

Role of the Student Achievement Manager (SAM)

One of the first tasks was to train the person identified as the Student Achievement Manager (SAM). Some schools also nominated an administrative assistant who

supported the SAM with data storage and analysis. After locating all student achievement data in a school, assistance was provided to the SAM to create the database using Microsoft Excel, so that each school could interrogate patterns in student achievement over time. Approximately 45–50 people were involved in these individual professional learning sessions.

The staff development workshops for SAMs and their assistants introduced new skills such as merging data, target setting, manipulation, and interpretation of data. Subsequent workshops concentrated on techniques for target setting (individual and group) and data analysis using data visualization tools. After initial training, there was a program of regular school visits by Starpath staff to support the tracking of student achievement results, to provide feedback on data utilization work being undertaken within schools, and make suggestions for improvement. Individual coaching was provided to better understand and use student management systems in schools. Reports were written up for the individual SAM, school, and school leadership teams.

In the second and third year of the project, there were further workshops based on using data for discussion and planning, including the development of data teams. At times SAMs were accompanied by nonteaching staff who supported data utilization within their school. In response to requests from schools, Starpath facilitators provided training on interpreting assessment data and using these data to develop next steps for teaching and learning.

Target Setting

Prior to intervention, the process of target setting in schools was for each year level cohort and consisted of extrapolation from previous years' results. With the introduction of the EDB, it was possible to use the individualized longitudinal achievement data to estimate a target number of credits for each individual student in a cohort and therefore to predict whether each student would reach the credit threshold for the award of NCEA. By aggregating the outcome for each student, a whole-cohort target could then be set. Part of the challenge of this work was ensuring high expectations for students so that targets encouraged teachers to push and support students to do their personal best.

An innovative approach, using a modified form of data envelopment analysis (DEA), was introduced and the SAMs were provided with training to implement the process early in the school year. DEA is a method for measuring efficiency of decisions using linear programming techniques to envelop observed the relation between inputs (such as PLD, course taking) and outputs (e.g., achievement, course taking, student retention). The method allows multiple inputs–outputs to be considered at the same time and efficiency is measured in terms of a proportional change in inputs or outputs. It has many other features that allow schools to see the effects of each and combined inputs, whether it is worthwhile to minimize certain inputs and the consequential effects on outputs, and can show the weightings of relations to best maximize individual or combined outputs (see Cooper et al. 2004; Smith 2010).

This process, however, proved to be too time-consuming for schools at a busy time of the school year (at a minimum, half a day per cohort), and the SAMs abandoned the process in favor of the simpler extrapolation method they were more familiar with. For individual students, the de facto target reverted to the award of NCEA Level 1, 2 or 3 according to the year level of the student.

Academic Counseling (AC) and Parent-Student-Teacher (PST) Conferences

Schools were asked to nominate one or two teachers who would take responsibility for coordinating two-way academic counseling (AC) and the newly introduced three-way parent-student-teacher (PST) conferences. The first workshops covered the key ideas and shared strategies for introducing the practices in schools. Starpath also provided resources and initial professional development to support the establishment of these practices. Staff at two Phase 1 schools agreed to share their practices through the production of a video. Schools were encouraged to use this in their own professional learning programs, particularly when training new teachers. Most Phase 1 schools shared resources they had developed for academic counseling and student-parent conferences. These resources were stored in a private website so schools could easily access templates. In the second and third year of implementation, workshops were held that enabled the AC and PST coordinators to meet and reflect on the introduction of the two and three-way conversations and to share any feedback they had collected from students, parents and staff. Ideas were shared willingly, including the successes and challenges of actual implementation.

The principal message of the academic counseling program was that every student should have a significant adult (generally called an academic counselor) who had responsibility for overseeing his or her academic progress. Using achievement data, the academic counselors were asked to help their students formulate learning goals and work with them to plan their pathway through the NCEA Level 2, 3 and UE qualifications. Different schools arranged different times and locations for these conversations depending on their own timetable structures.

All Starpath schools adopted some form of academic counseling, albeit with some variation. For most of the schools, academic counseling sessions were conducted throughout the year with individual students having at least one conversation per term. In a couple of schools, the time for academic counseling was concentrated into two- or three-week blocks and these AC-intensive periods would occur two or three times per year, often a few weeks before the PST conference.

The academic counselor was generally a teacher who met with the student and their family for an extended PST conversation about the student's progress and learning plan. It was expected that schools would replace the traditional short five-minute subject teacher meetings (with 5–6 individual teachers) with a 20- to 30-min conversation where families and students discussed the students' overall progress with the academic counselor. The intention was that the student-led conversation would be based on achievement data and other evidence of learning.

Thirty-six schools introduced the PST conferences, although in one school they were implemented in Year 11 only. Two schools made the deliberate decision not to hold PSTs. All schools that held Starpath-style PSTs asked the form teacher to be the teacher in the three-way conversation. This meant that for 9 of the 39 schools the teacher involved in the PST *was not* the academic counselor. Twenty-one schools in the project held the three-way PST conference once a year. For 15 schools, PSTs were held more than once a year. In many of these cases, the first meeting was used to discuss student goals for the year with the second used as a review meeting. At least two schools continued to hold the traditional subject teacher/parent interviews as well as the new PST conference.

Towards the end of the project, the emphasis of the PLD program was on helping schools to sustain and embed AC and PST practices. The Starpath facilitators responded to schools asking for reflective workshops and the training of new academic counselors. Some schools were also interested in how they could embed processes for self-reviewing.

Project Outcomes

The goals of the project were to improve student achievement at each level (1, 2, and 3) of the National Certificate of Educational Attainment (NCEA) and University Entrance (UE) in each of the 39 schools, year on year, with the added goal of improving the opportunity for these students to entry degree level study after secondary school in either a Vocational or University institution. The overall measures included students' NCEA pass rates, entry into degree level study and retention into the second year of their degree.

Achievement gains were seen across NCEA Levels 1–3 for all students but disappointingly not for UE during the term of this study. Māori students made year on year gains across all levels and progress was particularly notable across NCEA Levels 2 and 3. Most Starpath schools made considerable gains in the percentage of students passing at each level of NCEA after the intervention compared with the percentage pass rates prior to the intervention, and most schools' gains were larger than the national gains for the same period. However, the patterns of student achievement across the schools showed considerable variability. This variability can be seen across NCEA levels at the same school, between pass rates year-on-year at the same school, between similar schools, between low and high decile schools, between ethnic groups at the same and different schools, and between boys and girls at the same and different schools. (See Fig. 1).

Starpath was also able to look at the progression of students from Starpath schools into degree-level study. Results showed that in their first year of tertiary study, the participation rate of students who had attended any of the 39 Starpath schools in degree-level study was 19.6%. The second year saw a significant retention rate of 86.9% into the second year of degree-level study. The participation figure was lower than the national participation rate, but the retention data exceeded the national retention rate in 2010, which was 77%. In Starpath schools, females participated in degree-level study at 150% the rate of males. Approximately 10% of Māori and Pacific Island students undertook degree-level study, while between 20% and 30% of

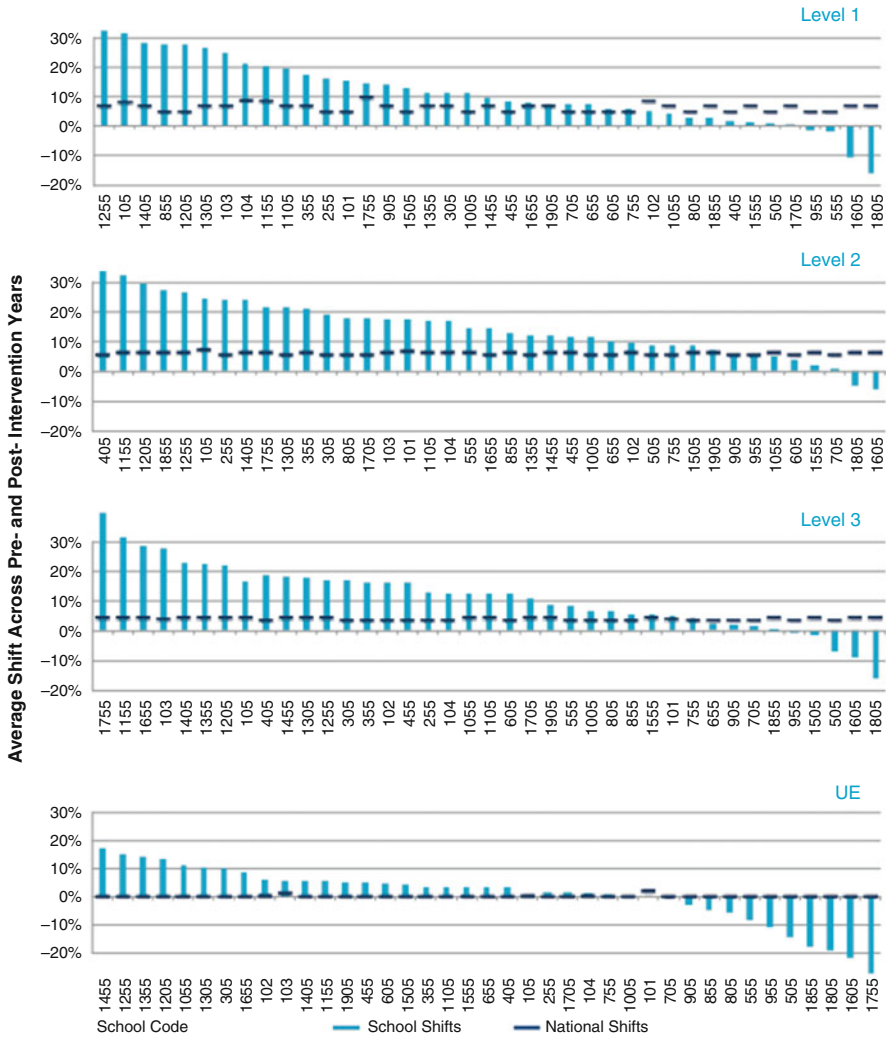


Fig. 1 Average shift across pre- and postintervention years for all 39 Starpath schools by level of NCEA

their NZ European and Asian peers did so. The progression to degree-level study of students from each of the main ethnic groups was parallel to their success rate for university entrance.

Data Work in Schools

An underlying premise to Starpath was the ability of the school and staff to establish, use, and sustain an up-to-date database that was accessible for all staff to use in their

evidence-based conversations with students and families regarding learning progress. While all schools had commercially developed student management systems, none operated in a way that enabled schools to track and monitor learning in real time nor did they enable schools to carry out longitudinal comparisons of cohorts. As noted above, Starpath developed a comprehensive evidential database template (EDB) for the schools to follow and populate. Initially Starpath provided resource to schools, in the form of release time for a staff member, and then ongoing support and professional development from the Starpath facilitators. Again, there were mixed results. Only 21 schools managed to maintain the database over the life of the project, while the other 16 schools struggled to maintain theirs. One other school had their own unique database developed before joining the project, and another rural/remote school was so small and its student cohort so transient, that the EDB was not useful in terms of revealing achievement patterns.

Using data to assist in raising the achievement of different student groups across all year levels was a key issue amongst many schools. Staff reported there was a need to develop effective data utilization along with high expectations approaches. Principals were particularly concerned about the lack of staff capacity to interrogate student achievement data and to use the data to improve classroom practice and student outcomes. Another challenge encountered was that different types of data (quantitative and qualitative, formative and summative) were needed for different purposes and at different levels of the school, and that data were not always fit for purpose. At times Starpath was criticized for not doing enough to assist schools, and many principals believed more professional learning and development opportunities were needed in data utilization to enable leaders and teachers to make evidence-based decisions. However, qualitative interviews with the teachers and school principals found that the Starpath data work undertaken in schools: (1) increased the focus on students, their goals and aspirations, and their achievements across the school community; (2) made student achievement data more visible to everyone (school leaders, teachers, students, and parents/caregivers); (3) resulted in more effective use of achievement data and increased tracking and monitoring of individual students and groups of students; (4) ensured that achievement data became a focus for discussion in academic counseling and parent-teacher-student conferencing; and (5) resulted in greater alignment of in-school activities to support student aspirations and learning (Kiro et al. 2016). Results from the 2016 Starpath evaluation suggested that more focused and intensive collaborative inquiry work is needed with data utilization and its use in New Zealand schools.

Academic Counseling and Parent-Student-Teacher Meetings

It was clear from Phase 2 participant interviews that most teachers, school leaders, and students valued academic counseling and viewed the work as beneficial to school improvement. Eighty-five percent of positive comments within teacher and school leader interviews were related to the value of the Starpath intervention, particularly the academic counseling and parent-student-teacher meetings.

Seventy-four percent of positive comments by students were related to the positive impact of academic counseling. Major positive themes included improvements in student motivation and increased perceptions of support for student academic progress within school communities. Results suggested that:

- Goal setting and academic counseling had positively affected motivation and performance for students.
- Effective academic counselors assisted students' current performance and/or work futures/aspirations.
- Students now had an enduring relationship with a significant adult in their school life (the academic counselor) and a wider and more connected network to support their academic development.
- Students and their families were better informed and better prepared for the academic journey and that this would lead to advanced education and/or employment.

A major pattern to emerge from this analysis was that perceptions of effectiveness were dependent on the quality of relationships and school cultures, the regularity of school tracking and monitoring systems, and structures and the degree to which the academic counseling and parent-student-teacher conferences communicated high expectations, became learner-centered and truly celebrated student diversity. It was found that the *quality of relationships* was key to determining the effectiveness of academic counseling. A common response was that relationships had improved, particularly between students, families, and academic counselors. Teachers were viewed as more responsive to students and families outside of allocated/regular consulting hours. Communication was considered more honest, open, and data-based, and students were generally happy with teachers' knowledge of the national NCEA qualification system and its intricacies. Other positive impacts included teacher and student perceptions of improved school climate, a shared focus on student goals and aspirations as well as celebrating students' academic achievements. The changes were seen to positively impact on student motivation and engendered a school culture of academic success.

Although there were many positive comments about academic counseling, participants were also acutely aware that the quality of counseling varied depending on the skill, knowledge, and attitudes of academic counselors. A common response was that the skills, knowledge, and attitudes of academic counselors often determined the effectiveness of these sessions. Students saw that the quality of relationships evidenced through academic counseling sessions was dependent upon multiple factors including the expectations, expertise, and motivations of teachers; how decisions in academic counseling sessions were reached; students' lack of confidence in goal setting and the degree to which they were helped; as well as whether students could be honest with counselors. Students were most concerned about dispassionate teachers who held low expectations of them (Kiro et al. 2016).

Participants believed that academic counseling was only effective if existing school cultures, systems, and structures were transformed to be more student-

centered. Māori and Pasifika students were most likely to talk about low teacher and community expectations and about the damaging impacts of negative stereotypes associated with being seen as “low achievers” and having “limited potential.” Some believed that teachers had counseled them and/or their peers into less academically challenging courses, and that a form of academic differentiation or profiling was emerging based on inadequate evidence about their abilities.

Through undertaking more focused work, individual school leaders spoke of becoming more aware of *holes* in their school systems, particularly related to tracking and monitoring students through academic counseling sessions. Barriers to improving practice and student outcomes included the need to up-skill academic counselors on how to access student data and use it effectively and having specific resources to record student goals and progress. Ineffective academic counseling also impacted on students’ sense of purpose and their attitudes to learning, according to some teachers. These teachers reported feeling frustrated at the inconsistent approach within their school and the variability of ownership of the program among teachers and school leaders.

School records of family attendances at PST conferences were available from 34 of the 39 Starpath schools during 2007–2014. Analysis of school-reported data, including analyses of family surveys, indicated significant improvements in family engagement and attendance over time. For example, in 2014, 30 Phase 2 schools provided PST attendance data and the median PST attendance percentage was 71.5% which is a substantial improvement (an increase of 48.5%) when compared to the reported traditional parents’ evening attendance of 23% in 2010. Schools that continued to document attendances reported a sustained turn out of families at these meetings, particularly Māori and Pasifika families. The increase in the numbers of parents attending the PST conferences was sizeable, and more in-depth conversations were undertaken because of the longer appointment times. A face-to-face conversation, with an academic counselor for an extended period, also afforded many parents the opportunity to communicate in a culturally appropriate manner (Webber et al. 2016).

Overall, the results showed striking improvements in some focused areas and less success in others. For example, many of the schools continue to operate some form of AC and PST meetings successfully, but most schools struggled with the ability to sustain the up-to-date database. A few schools that had good instructional leadership and cohesion across the program performed consistently well (for more detail see Kiro et al. 2016).

Key Challenges in the Starpath School Reform

The use of the metaphor of the star path in Māori and Polynesian navigation was an appropriate one for this school reform project. As indicated from Phase 1 in the project, in addition to further international research, there are a number of school factors that can have great effect on the achievement of all students. These include the use of data, tracking, instructional leadership, teacher attitudes and beliefs, high quality curriculum, resource allocation, parent and community engagement, student-teacher relationships, and quality teaching (Bishop et al. 2014; Darling-Hammond

2010; Hattie 2009; Robinson 2010; Rubie-Davies et al. 2012; Webber et al. 2016). These factors (among others) have become the “star path.” As a consequence, students have had to learn to navigate their way through schooling to achieve their potential and reach their destination, negotiating a raft of factors that significantly affect their achievement.

While many of the factors are not new, grappling with the complexity of this work is still not well understood by the school improvement research. Juggling the implementation of this reform project, and ensuring all the details were attended to, proved difficult for both the schools and the Starpath team. In the following section, we offer thoughts as to some of the enduring attitudes and beliefs about teaching that impact on the redistribution of opportunity and success. These attitudes and beliefs were shown to be resistant to significant change. Not all of these challenges exist in every school, but we have highlighted those that we identified as being prevalent or longstanding.

The Use of Data

Schools collect a large amount of data about students, but we found that they did not always use it to best, or in some cases, any effect. Substantial professional development was needed in relation to data collection, storage, and use, NCEA qualification criteria, and using the data to facilitate parent-student-teacher conferences and conduct academic counseling. While some schools had staff with strengths in this area, the vast majority of schools needed significant external input and professional development. Attending to school-wide data literacy skills in terms of accessing and using data, and increasing teacher understanding of the value of longitudinal student data with respect to enhancing student performance, was a significant ongoing issue.

We encouraged schools to collect and use a wide range of data as it allowed them to set high goals (targets) for individual students and groups of students, determine the curriculum content (and rigor) the students were getting, monitor student’s progress allowing for timely intervention, and inquire into teacher and school practice. While the Starpath team could assist with developing ambitious targets for individual students and groups of students (school targets), the conversion of the targets into the strategies required to achieve the targets was far more difficult. Schools were excited about being able to set targets and enjoyed demonstrating how they could use their own data to do it. The “teaching” consequences of tracking and monitoring, however, were often not well thought through. In particular, many teachers did not know how to scaffold student learning to reach these targets or design school-wide acceleration programs to lift Māori and Pasifika student achievement. The full benefits of the Starpath program could only be realized if the structural barriers (such as course design) were removed, and the pedagogical practices were made more responsive to identified students’ needs.

In Starpath, diagnostic data were used at an individual student level to inform tailored academic counseling (AC) and parent-student-teacher (PST) conferences.

Data at this level were essential for students, teachers and families to track and monitor individual progress, aligned to student aspirations and career trajectories, and assess progress towards national qualifications. However, the study also indicated that Māori and Pasifika students had the lowest proportions of enrolment in externally assessed standards of any ethnic groups. There are clear implications here for academic counseling within schools and for greater alignment and coherence between school offerings and degree-level study requirements. Data-focused inquiry work must be coupled with high expectations teaching and a thorough examination into whether there are equitable opportunities to learn for culturally diverse students across different socio-economic communities (Rubie-Davies 2015; Wilson et al. 2016).

Parent/Community Engagement and Partnerships

Adult, and especially family engagement with a student's educational progress, has been shown to have a positive influence on students' belief in their ability to succeed in their educational and career choices. Involving family assists them to understand what the student needs to do to succeed (Grubb et al. 2002). A Best Evidence Synthesis conducted by Biddulph et al. (2003) supported the conclusion that parental involvement in school programs enhances their understanding of how to help their child educationally. Furthermore, when schools actively showed respect for the dignity and cultural values of the parents, there was a positive impact on student engagement and achievement.

The AC and PST meetings, and ongoing parental/family engagement, were considered essential pillars for Starpath in terms of supporting the overall aims of student academic achievement. Although many parents/families were better informed and supported, there were also many benefits for the students including taking more responsibility for their learning, developing strategies to lead academic discussions with parents about their learning, and feeling pride in accomplishments and overcoming challenges. All of the schools that introduced PST meetings had enormous success particularly in attracting parents who had not previously attended traditional report evenings and might not have had any contact with the school. Parent surveys in some schools indicated an overwhelming preference for 15–20 min PST conferencing as opposed to traditional five-minute conferences with 5–6 teachers in a row. Improved family attendance subsequently increased the teachers' sense that they could positively influence students' learning. Increased family attendance also challenged teacher preconceptions about parents' interest in their children's education. While this was a great motivation for schools and resulted in parents engaging more, it fell short of developing full partnerships. The Starpath data showed that schools were still very reluctant to genuinely work in partnership with Māori and Pasifika families if it meant authentically changing the school culture, timetables, and/or advocating unapologetically for Māori and Pasifika initiatives to the wider school community.

Leadership

As recognized in the educational research literature, effective school leadership is essential in the success of any school improvement initiatives (Robinson 2010). School leadership is often determined by the personal experiences, strengths, and styles of individual principals. Leadership issues in Starpath schools were complex. The project challenged the status quo (such as current levels of student achievement), called into question established practices (such as data management and use), implied the need for external assistance (where skills in areas such as target setting were missing), and brought expectations of additional work, change, and surveillance. These important issues were not always addressed by school leadership.

The principals needed to be unambiguous in making their view of the importance of the change explicit to the staff, as well as providing a clear rationale for the proposed changes. They needed to have the confidence to deal with the politics of equity issues, focusing on addressing practices and behaviors that perpetuated inequities, and challenging the low expectations, beliefs, and values of staff toward Māori and Pasifika students and their families. They also needed to be able to manage staff relationships, acknowledge staff concerns about workload, be able to conduct difficult conversations, and provide ample opportunities for discussion, feedback, and consensus building. It was very important for the principal to get support or “buy-in” from all participants (i.e., parents/caregivers, students, Boards of Trustees, and teachers). It was particularly important to get positive support from the majority of teachers and to get them to believe in the effectiveness and importance of the proposed changes. One way to achieve this was by embedding the program aims and activities within the school’s strategic planning process so that it was seen as part of the school’s core business and not an “add-on” or optional extra. School leadership teams were critical in terms of articulating and reinforcing the Starpath rationale clearly.

School leaders needed to communicate the importance of data in diagnosing problems and barriers within their schools and provide leadership in finding locally effective solutions. School leaders were familiar with using summative data (e.g., previous year’s results) to place students in particular curriculum pathways (which often had a deleterious effect on Māori students). However, they had less experience in using different forms of data to probe more deeply into school structures and dynamics that contributed to inequities in outcomes, or to find alternative approaches to current school practices. School leaders also needed to act as role models in respect of reflection, critical review, and questioning past practices. This aspect of leadership was particularly important in engendering trust in the teachers who, initially at least, were reluctant to provide “traffic light” expectations of their students’ achievement or have others monitoring academic progress of “their” students.

School leaders needed to actively participate in professional development with staff, not only in terms of communicating the value of the activity to the school, but also in the acquisition of new knowledge and skills needed to lead the change process. For example, although the principals and other school leaders did not

necessarily need to have the skills to analyze student achievement data or handle the school's Student Management System (SMS), it was imperative that they knew what questions to ask, the capacity of the system to provide the answers, and how the information could be used to influence decisions and practices within the school.

Finally, school leaders needed to provide appropriate support to staff engaged in leading the change and to the school as a whole. One of the challenges for key change leaders has been the perception that, like so many projects in the past, Starpath would be a short-term intervention. There was some reluctance to relinquish any of their senior areas of responsibility in order to have more time for the new roles in data management, target setting, or other aspects of the Starpath program.

Staff and Student Transience

There were numerous changes within schools, and in the wider educational context over time, that impacted on the nature of Starpath's partnership work within schools and influenced student achievement. Some of the Starpath schools experienced significant change within their school leadership teams during the time of the project. For example, 16 schools had a change of principal and in 14 schools there was a change in the Student Achievement Manager (SAM), and often this person was also the Deputy Principal. In some cases, the change in leadership resulted in a strengthening of Starpath partnership work within the school, but in others it weakened the Starpath approach. It was helpful when the new person had prior involvement with Starpath from another school.

A challenge for schools in the project, particularly in the smaller, isolated schools, was staff turnover, recruitment, and retention. Project sustainability was a problem in schools with high staff turnover and this meant that these schools needed a constant re-training of staff. A further staffing problem arose in the smaller and rural schools as they struggled to attract and retain subject specialists. At times, a lack of trained specialists affected the range of courses being offered to senior students and the quality of teaching for senior subjects.

Starpath also had to compete for professional development attention in an environment of multiple interventions, some of which were government funded. Many low decile schools took up additional professional learning and development initiatives to address the multiple issues they faced and to gain extra resourcing. Multiple interventions resulted in intervention overload that caused teacher resistance to change as well as presenting considerable challenges in trying to isolate a Starpath effect (Kiro et al. 2016). Most of the other interventions in the Starpath schools were also targeting Māori and Pasifika students, some, even contrary to an evidence-based approach, with advocacy for interventions with limited evidence, with no appreciation to the local contexts, and not related to the particular diagnoses of issues in the school.

There were also many transience issues among the students. Our analysis found one student who had attended seven different Starpath schools, five students that had attended five Starpath schools, 56 students who attended four Starpath schools, and a

further 757 who attended three Starpath schools. Of the 67,729 students in the database for whom we have school data, 6738 had a non-Starpath school listed as their last school attended over the term of the project. Te Kura Pounamu/The Correspondence School was the most common non-Starpath school, attended by 1753 students. It is concerning that significant numbers of students are moving in and out of schools, and it is clear that more investigation is needed to determine the causes of student transience and the impact on student achievement.

Thoughts on Further Research

Starpath was very successful at increasing schools' awareness, and use, of particular types of data well (demographic and student learning data). Many schools also valued learning how to collect, document and analyze information about how school processes (e.g., subject options, timetabling) impacted student achievement, including collecting perception data from students and families. The key was schools being systematic about the collection of this data and committed to using it to support better learning outcomes for students. There is significant research and development work in appreciating the importance of data in promoting more equitable outcomes for all students, including its use for learning conversations with families, students, and the wider community.

While including quality and comprehensive data in learning conversations with all stakeholders is informative, the actual impact on student learning would be worth further exploration. Schools need to understand what families and students are able to bring to the learning endeavor, and what assistance the school itself may be able to provide. All stakeholders need to understand their role in any initiative – what is each stakeholder's responsibility and what is their contribution?

Another significant area of research concerns being able to shift deficit teacher attitudes and dispositions. There was significant variability in the quality of teaching and interpersonal relationships among teachers and across schools (Kiro et al. 2016). However, it was not uncommon to find condescending behaviors, low expectations, and other problematic dispositions among school staff. Changing or shifting such behaviors is still a challenge for us all.

Discussion and Conclusion

School improvement is complex and difficult at the best of times and the deeper the educational issue, such as the redistribution of opportunity and success, the more resistant it appears to be to lasting change. In their recent review, Cohen and Mehta (2017) have argued that most, if not all, school reforms have fallen short of achieving sustained change *in the longer term*. While there are improvement projects that have been successful, they tend to be narrowly targeted reforms that are protected for a specific time through, for example, extra resources being placed at the school's disposal (e.g., more staff, money) or an initial enthusiasm for the work that then

wanes. Probably most importantly, longitudinal research on tracking educational outcomes beyond achievement scores is not particularly evident. In other words, we still tend to measure “success” for students as just achievement. However, Aotearoa New Zealand is slowly working beyond this with measures of Māori student learning including Māori language, and curricula that recognize and include Māori knowledge and culture (Ministry of Education 2013).

Starpath had numerous successes such as improved achievement at NCEA Levels 1, 2, and 3, and school, teacher, and student perceptions of good outcomes from quality academic conversations. Importantly, we also learnt from our failures, which contribute to an informed evidence-based approach to future interventions. We made assumptions about increasing the numbers of Māori and Pāsifika students achieving the University Entrance Award, which were proven wrong. We were simply not clear enough about how important it was that Māori students achieve UE (the next and ultimate level of schooling in the New Zealand context) if they are to progress successfully onto tertiary-level degree study. We also assumed that by working closely in a partnership with schools, maintaining trust and engaging school principals and senior teachers, we could cascade learning to Heads of Departments and classroom teachers. We came to understand that such cascaded PLD learning is inadequate to the task, requiring more intensive work and translation from senior levels to mid-level school leaders and translation into classroom teaching.

Importantly, Starpath did not sufficiently anticipate the impact of policy changes such as requirements for UE at a national level (e.g., regular changes to the approved subjects list for University Entrance) that often results in dramatic drops in student achievement across all groups, but most of all, among Māori and Pasifika students. Part of the coping mechanism for schools is to encourage students into more “do-able” curriculum such as vocational pathways, thereby deepening the division between low and high decile schools and subject pathways that open up or limit career aspirations for Māori, Pasifika, and low-income students. Ongoing questions need to be asked about whether such practices are likely to widen the inequity experienced by these students over time, rather than reduce them.

While many participants believed that the implementation of two-way academic counseling had a positive impact, analysis of interviews indicated that the effectiveness of the intervention was dependent on the quality of relationships embedded within school cultures, systems, and structures. High expectations communicated through effective, connected relationships between teachers, students, and families were considered key to the students, families, and teachers who were interviewed. Positive and genuine relationships were mentioned by students, families, and leaders as one of the most enabling factors to student academic success. It is important that attention to improved relationships goes beyond the student and teacher. Schools should continue to cultivate a climate in which families feel comfortable to initiate involvement in their children’s education, and should provide them with the appropriate opportunities to do so (Webber et al. 2018). Developing effective academic counseling must be seen as one part of an overall improvement thrust that positions teachers, students, and families as learning partners within the transformation process. During three-way conversations, it is important that school processes and

classroom practices add to family practices and not oppose them, that structured and specific home-teaching strategies are shared (rather than just general advice), and that families have opportunities to be involved in their children's education, especially through informal contact (Webber et al. 2018).

There is little doubt that a schooling improvement program could overcome a lifetime of inequality. Hattie (2016) indicates that attending a low SES school amounts to more than a year's difference in academic performance, and many of the Māori and Pasifika students in the Starpath project had attended low SES schools all their lives. Hattie's (2016) evidence suggested that the educational outcomes for these students are at least a function of their unequal access to key educational resources; in that the lower expectations of these students and the lowered challenges within curriculum choices offered to these students lock them into a cycle of poverty of educational offerings. However, the question remains whether the pursuit of educational excellence is fully compatible with the aim of focusing primarily on organizing an equitable education system (Van den Branden et al. 2011). While Aotearoa New Zealand has some research that suggests that Māori students can achieve well in a schooling system designed around Māori culture, language and values (Bishop et al. 2009), similar success in a mainstream schooling system is harder to achieve. Overall, our analysis has revealed mixed results across Starpath, in terms of impact and effectiveness on teacher/school leader practice and student achievement. Our results indicated that while schools valued the partnership with Starpath and its practical focus on improvement efforts, particularly in using data for teaching and learning, much more intensive work remains to be done.

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Always Alert, Always Agile: The Importance of Locally Researching Innovations and Interventions in Indigenous Learning Communities

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Abstract

When interventions that work for the general population negatively affect Indigenous communities, educational research is being misapplied. A case example from Diné (Navajo) school contexts points out how the research-based “best practice” of

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comprehensive school reform (CSR) limited learning for Diné students and teachers. A contrasting example based in Hawai‘i presents another school’s quest to go beyond generalized research and enact locally tested strategies that were culturally compatible. Unexamined use of research-based interventions can lead to unimpressive outcomes for Indigenous learners and, as seen in the Diné case example, may be actively counterproductive by inhibiting achievement and discouraging deeper learning experiences. Indigenous-serving educational programs are encouraged to build their research capacity and to establish an internal values-aligned system for empirical research that will iteratively inform program development and make it possible to locally evaluate outcomes. Innovative strategies and interventions may then be specifically adapted and tailored over time, to increase their effectiveness within each distinctive Indigenous learning context.

Keywords

Indigenous learning · Research-based educational interventions · Case examples · Community-based research · Culture-based education

Introduction

In recent decades, many Indigenous communities have invested in creating youth learning experiences that are deeply aligned with their cultural values, leading to a surge in Indigenous language and cultural education initiatives across the globe. With this increasing level of engagement in culture-based learning, more schools are actively encountering the mismatch at the “edges” where conventional Western educational structures bump up against the modern evolution of traditional cultural forms (based on time-honored values and practices). New approaches to Indigenous education emerge when cultural practitioners, parents, and teachers navigate the challenging waters of Indigenous learning in the twenty-first-century context (Johnson 2013). At the same time, scrutiny by educational establishments has tightened the reins on what is possible for Indigenous learning communities in some nations and states (Jimenez-Silva et al. 2014; Charters and Stavenhagen 2009).

As Indigenous education and culture-based education grow and reinforce the base of evidence and support for these community-directed and values-driven programs, it becomes more and more important to ensure that, across the diversity of approaches, there is room for meaningful learning and valuable performances. At each gathering of the World Indigenous Peoples’ Conference on Education, we hear narratives from tribes and nations using learning programs as pathways for cultural healing and knowledge development. Well-aligned educational programs present opportunities and support for recovery from collective historical trauma, and they serve as a testing ground to understand how to sustain Indigenous knowledge in the global context that technology presents us with daily.

Many Indigenous communities have traditionally assured high quality of learning through an emphasis on personal relationship with the learner (Chun 2011) and by relying upon a deep trust in the natural unfolding process of human development and

learning as part of life itself. Western institutions have ensured quality at high volume through standards and standardization. In the United States, for instance, many departments of education have adopted sweeping reforms based on uniform standards, such as the Common Core State Standards and Next Generation Science Standards. Legislators, business leaders, and accreditation bodies have deemed these standards to be broad enough to accommodate all students and their contexts, fueling massive national-scale curriculum adoptions that suppress local community-level decision-making about how to incorporate locally valued knowledge and competencies.

Interpreting national standards in teaching practice requires that a new base of curriculum and strategic pedagogy be established at every school, integrating community knowledge and values – this takes time, values-alignment, recursive improvement, and strategic reflection on the part of educators, students, and community stakeholders, as they work through the challenges and contradictions that this new politicized atmosphere presents. Developing meaningful learning experiences while balancing all of these expectations means that Indigenous education advocates must actively respond to these mandates to reach newly announced Western standards and utilize scientifically researched practices, as they pursue their long-term goals of cultivating Indigenous knowledge systems that carry on for millennia (Nelson-Barber and Trumbull 2015).

For a long time, coercive institutional systems and Western research conventions have shaped our use of and attitudes toward certain types of practices, creating reluctance within Indigenous communities to conduct even locally directed research using “accepted” methodologies (Smith 2013). We observe in this study how interventions recommended as best practices on the basis of research from other contexts can have inhibitory effects on Indigenous learning because of unique contextual and historical factors. We encourage doing more research on the impact of practices within our own Indigenous communities, even as we recognize that it is not a simple transition to overcome barriers or to find the resources to improve practice in this way. While it takes a higher level of investment to evaluate the impact of new practices, that extra time and the growing community capacity for research provide valuable returns by deepening understanding of what works for today’s learners and making learning experiences better adapted to context – all while increasing community power for self-determination.

Overcoming historical resistance to research is a significant milestone, both in terms of community attitudes and when it comes to building the capacity to design, conduct, analyze, and apply the findings of local research. Much of what goes on in culture-based education is being tried for the first time, having been adapted from other programs or revised and “remixed” to fit the local setting. Indigenous educators can observe patterns and adjust on a case-by-case basis; however the students and the new programs benefit when they can demonstrate to themselves and to the community that the practices in use are furthering the kinds of results their communities value. A new level of self-determination can be reached when communities develop capacity for evaluating educational practices, establish their own meaningful standards of evidence, build familiarity in using data for program improvement,

and gain awareness of the preferred research methodologies that make sense within their own community and heritage culture.

Empirical data and evidence-based findings from the general population may help us identify educational innovations and emerging technologies, and locally conducted research can help us refine them over time to respond to unique community contours and contexts that change from year to year. Typically, the findings of large-scale educational research are interpreted to mean that a particular practice can be generalized to the full matriculating population. The vast variability in the ways that interventions can influence specific populations is illuminated in this chapter's two case examples.

Since 2014, we have collaborated with Diné (Navajo) educators as part of an ongoing project associated with WestEd's West Comprehensive Center and with a university program for teacher professional development. Through that research effort, we saw directly and heard from our participants how scientific research is being applied ineffectively – leading to results for Indigenous learners that were limited in benefit and may have been actively counterproductive by discouraging deeper learning experiences. The case example exemplifies some of the factors, reasons, and situations that can cause research-based findings to be glaringly ineffective and even inhibitory to learner achievement.

The second case example comes from one of the authors' firsthand experiences and describes how a Hawai'i learning community responded to the pressure to use scientific research in Indigenous learning. It explores how broad variations in learner populations demand additional layers of reflection and study before it is possible to know whether a research-based finding will be effective for a specific setting, will be detrimental in that setting, or may be modified in a specific way in order to become effective.

It is critical for educational institutions and governmental organizations to utilize diverse assessment strategies and apply multiple perspectives as they learn to attend more closely to the power of contextual features when forecasting the potential effectiveness of a proposed intervention or innovation for a particular community or set of learners. We hope that this chapter will reinforce Indigenous educators' skepticism of the particular research-based innovations in use at their schools or in their communities and inspire them to undertake local research investigations of those practices.

Background

Why Challenge “Best Practices”?

The move to adopt uniform educational standards across the United States has narrowed prospects for many schools to shape programming that is responsive to many of the distinct contours that influence student needs. Learning communities of all types look to the field of educational research for advice and direction about what is likely to benefit their students; sponsored adoptions like computer-adaptive assessments that promise higher student scores on state tests are popular choices backed by research that shows their effectiveness for many.

Increasing reliance on the scientific study of educational practices has grown since Thorndike's early forays into standardization and was legislatively enshrined in the United States in 2001 with the passage of the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB), which only supported the use of practices that were backed by randomized, controlled scientific trials. The effects of this legislation have been multilayered and strongly negative for Indigenous learners (Balter and Grossman 2009; Castagno and Brayboy 2008; Winstead et al. 2008), yet evidence-based criticism of the national NCLB policy has had little impact on its application in schools. Cultural psychologists have noted that most interventions have considered only the values and norms of the dominant, middle-class, White culture in their investigation of best practice (Niles et al. 2007). In turn, norms of practice and testing are established that do a disservice to both the scientific inquiry process and to non-dominant students who must stretch beyond their cultural repertoires to adapt to such unfamiliar norms (Medin and Bang 2014; Gutiérrez and Rogoff 2003).

Indigenous scholars like Megan Bang, Bryan Brayboy, and Greg Cajete reach farther in their critique, arguing that it is vital to challenge the widespread view that scientific research can truly be objective and discouraging of bias. Medin and Bang (2014) assert that the process of scientific inquiry mirrors and replicates culture-specific beliefs – through the questions it poses and funds – and that this invisible bias is explicitly damaging for Indigenous populations who have diverse reference points for making meaning.

While the trend of reliance on testing and narrow evaluative criteria continues, despite the knowledge that it may harm some learners, there is little agreement among scholars as to whether scientific research can even appropriately be conducted and applied in educational environments. As asserted in the National Academy Press volume *Scientific Research in Education* (Shavelson and Towne 2002, p. 1), “[T]here is long-standing debate among scholars, policy makers, and others about the nature and value of scientific research in education and the extent to which it has produced the kind of cumulative knowledge expected of scientific endeavors.” This professional dispute continues in part, because study and application of variables and interventions in educational settings cannot truly be controlled as there are so many contextual factors and nuances in any ecology of learning (Lee 2008). The newest iteration of US education legislation – the 2015 Every Student Succeeds Act – emphasizes locally controlled data-based decision-making in lieu of scientifically based research in education, yet little has changed in practice. Though questions persist about the validity of tinkering with variables to intervene in educational contexts, the issue of cultural validity is not yet recognized as central in that overall debate outside of Indigenous communities.

On the Value of Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Practices

The question of “what to do” about school is particularly salient for Indigenous community members because they are the bearers of distinctive sets of traditional cultural practices and languages, known as Indigenous knowledge systems

(Barnhardt 2014; Barnhardt and Kawagley 2005; Denzin and Giardina 2016). These systems are vulnerable to disruption in the modern era, largely due to histories of colonization, assimilation, and cultural trauma that complicate the ways that knowledge is passed from generation to generation; educational contexts can stand in the way of or support the transmission of these Indigenous knowledge systems.

Often, when we discuss the sensitive nature of Indigenous education initiatives, people have questions like these: How do we know that Indigenous approaches to learning are valuable? What makes Indigenous knowledge systems so unique? Why should we protect Indigenous communication styles and heritage practices? How is culture-based learning related to cultural perpetuation of these Indigenous knowledge systems? There is a wealth of scholarly writing on these topics, and we want to emphasize three key points regarding the inherent value of Indigenous knowledge, to remind readers of the scope of harm that is done when Indigenous knowledge systems are subducted under the mainstream of scientifically researched best practices:

1. *Knowing and interpreting the world, by offering a distinct set of claims about valid and valuable knowledge as a foundation for worldview and epistemology.*

Indigenous people who participate in their heritage culture as well as the dominant Western culture understand both the similarities and the vast differences between the worldviews and epistemologies that each one holds as true – this involves more than just different ways of speaking, eating, or dancing (Battiste and Henderson 2000). The research base has shown for some time that one's worldview influences how one interprets and ascribes meaning to phenomena, decides what is valid and valuable knowledge, and interacts with others in relationships (Meyer 1998, 2003; Smith 1998, 2013; Whorf 1956). Indigenous knowledge systems also influence the language used in a given moment, and patterns of communication, as well as preferred learning styles within the classroom and in the family (Demmert 2001; Deyhle and Swisher 1997; Labov 1972; Lomawaima and McCarty 2006; Nelson-Barber and Trumbull 2015).

2. *Communicating and constructing language that reflects land, relationships, and personal identity.*

The legacy of assimilative education has decreased the number of speakers of most heritage languages, endangering the fine-grained conceptual understandings, relationships, and implicit patterns that are embedded in the metaphoric structure of language. Independent of the words spoken, it has long been understood that Indigenous learners have distinctive interactive styles in their cultural repertoire that can be called upon as bridges to learning (Cazden et al. 1972; Delpit 1995). Often in school, those styles are pushed to the margins in favor of more broadly accepted styles that teachers are encouraged to use or more comfortable with (Ladson-Billings 2014a; Phillips 1983). Understanding how students communicate at home, in the family, and in informal interactive environments brings insights on how communication can be organized in small

groups, how teachers facilitate discourse, how youth respond to teachers, and so forth (Nelson-Barber and Dull 1998; Scollon and Scollon 1981; Aronson and Laughter 2016).

3. *Making sense of the unfamiliar through familiar protocols for listening and learning and through interactional patterns that are common in their home environments.*

Using Indigenous knowledge systems, learners develop repertoires of practice that help them function effectively as they make sense of real-world experiences like calculating the size of a rack for drying salmon based on the catch size, predicting a sudden weather change, or solving a technical problem on a canoe with the materials available while on the water. Knowledgeable teachers can successfully use cultural patterns in teaching when Indigenous styles are recognized and accounted for. Building on Indigenous ways of knowing and doing connects prior funds of knowledge (González et al. 2005), boosts cultural identity (Purdie et al. 2000), and makes a positive difference on conventional measures of achievement for Indigenous students across different types of schools (Kana'iaupuni et al. 2010, 2017; Lipka et al. 1998; Lipka and Adams 2004; Solano-Flores and Nelson-Barber 2001).

Indigenous knowledge systems prime young people for learning through distinctive types of experience, and it is essential that educational programs not deny them access to their principal means of sense-making in school. There are well-known ways that schools can sustain Indigenous knowledge systems when conducting culture-based education, offering experiences that evoke the prior knowledge that learners are primed with through their repertoires of practice in Indigenous community. These ways are widely used among culture-based educational programs and include methods like the following:

- (a) Use of culture-based ways of interacting and communicating, such as peer-regulated participation in a discussion (Eriks-Brophy and Crago 2003; McAlpine and Taylor 1993)
- (b) Use of culture-based ways of learning, such as observation and side-by-side modeling rather than face-to-face telling (Lipka et al. 1998; Lipka et al. 2007; Swisher and Dehyle 1987)
- (c) Use of culture-based ways of representing knowledge or organizing information, such as through visual means and relationally or holistically (Tharp 1989; Kirmayer et al. 2011)
- (d) Use of strategies that allow for flexibility and student choice, such as thematic and project-based instruction (Lipka and Adams 2004)
- (e) Use of culturally compatible ways of assessing learning, such as through demonstration or group performance (Bailey and Carroll 2015; Nelson-Barber and Estrin 1995; Swisher and Deyhle 1987; Trumbull et al. 2015)
- (f) Incorporation of the ethical dimensions of mathematics and science and their historical origins (Ernest 2009; Mukhopadhyay et al. 2009)

When strategies like these are not present in formal learning environments, the transmission of cultural patterns and Indigenous knowledge systems is disrupted. Rather than supplanting culturally compatible experiences with scientifically research-based interventions, these strategies can be used for the benefit of student achievement, without degrading the values and practices embedded within an Indigenous knowledge system. Use of the strategies described here supports the kinds of culturally sustaining and culturally revitalizing pedagogy that McCarty and Lee (2014) deem essential for movement toward Indigenous education sovereignty (see also Paris 2012; McCarty 2002).

Case Examples

In the section that follows, we present two contrasting case examples of communities responding to the pressure to use scientifically based research for formal education in Indigenous contexts; the first case comes from Diné (Navajo Nation) public schools in Arizona and is based on conventional qualitative research methodology. The second case comes from a Hawaiian (Kanaka Maoli) place-based charter school in Hawai'i and is structured as an informal narrative relating the personal experience and reflections of one of the authors. The case examples differ not only in terms of method but also in school approach. Schools in the Diné case example generally had very little flexibility in curriculum selection; in the Hawai'i case, the school exercised its self-determination, electing not to rely on outside research and pursuing a path that fulfilled community aims beyond simple achievement on tests.

Context for the Diné Case Example

The stakes are very high for Indigenous communities like those of the Navajo Nation when it comes to improving educational outcomes. As seen close-up through the eyes of teachers in this case, language shift away from the heritage language has fundamentally changed the texture of Diné communities in a very short time. *Diné Bizaad*, the Navajo language, is much less widespread than just one generation ago, due to schooling, assimilation, language shift, and limited intergenerational interactions (House 2005; Fish 2017).

Conventional education programs have been a key leverage point in disrupting cultural patterns, by chipping away at the strong complex of Diné language, interactions, and practices and replacing them with experiences that interrupt natural learning processes and familial relationships, as well as discouraging future growth because learning is equated with negative school experiences.

The Diné culture and language teachers in this study have been fashioning curricula and pedagogical processes to be compatible with their linguistic contexts, and over several years we have observed them successfully implementing culture-specific modifications, as well as how their desired practices are constrained by

school mandates regarding factors like language use, scheduling, and travel in the community.

As researchers, we sought to understand which aspects of culture-based education and Indigenous knowledge development were clearly working to further academic achievement among American Indian students. Initially, we selected STEM education as the focus of our exploration because we know that many Navajo children experience culturally embedded, community-based mathematics and science education from an early age that builds their awareness of the distinctive place-based Indigenous knowledge system. Due to the value that Diné give to observation of their natural environment and spiritual connection to the land, children engage with distinctive *ethnomathematics* and *ethnoscience* knowledge directly through community practices (processing plants for medicinal purposes, managing livestock and farming, storytelling about constellations and origins, etc.). While our initial research aim was to identify the kinds of pedagogical practices that teachers found effective for Navajo learners in STEM education, our use of Indigenous research methodology (Kovach 2010; Smith 2013) led us to revise our inquiry to focus on the Diné teachers' central question: How can we begin to understand and address the institutional-level constraints and "best practices" that interfere with the cultural integration that we know benefits students?

We interviewed 30 teachers and administrators (in individual and focus group settings) from 18 schools in Diné communities. During the course of these interviews, we noted that teachers did not separate specific ethnomathematical and ethnoscientific practices (that might commonly be labeled as STEM learning) from the comprehensive domain of "culture teaching" as they referred to it. Due to this pattern in their way of thinking that did not draw a disciplinary separation, we decided to expand our inquiry to focus on the locally defined practices that they felt were most important for Navajo learners' success. We applied qualitative analytical methods to the large body of data gathered through classroom observations, interviews, and the use of a talk-aloud protocol for prioritizing practices identified by the group.

Throughout the process, we heard the teachers share numerous examples of how schools were failing their Indigenous student populations – even though teachers were adhering to required research-based solutions promoted by the state and the district (DeGroat et al. 2015). Attempts to follow externally mandated policies were not reliably helping Indigenous learners to thrive in formal schooling environments, and the Diné educators in this study wanted their voices and views to be heard, with the aim of improving their community's success. Historically, research has been viewed as extractive in Navajo communities (Kelley et al. 2013; Gaudry 2011), yet these teachers contributed openly, explaining their desire to inspire changes and to contribute to a broader understanding of what excellent teaching and learning may look like across the domains of multilingual and multicultural settings.

We selected the case example that follows to show some of the ways that these scientifically tested, government-recommended strategies are not serving Indigenous students as effectively as the research suggests. This two-part case highlights the interwoven effects of these patterns and how "best practices" can negatively affect learners as individuals and also the teachers who strive to adopt school reform.

Diné Students and the “Best Practice” of Comprehensive School Reform

In the United States, the adoption of comprehensive school reform (CSR) programs accelerated from the early 1980s through the early 2000s, boosted in the mid-2000s under the No Child Left Behind Act’s pressure to raise test scores with research-based practices. These schoolwide programs aim to increase student achievement on specific summative assessments and typically include precisely scheduled curriculum materials, along with formative assessment tools and a suite of scientifically based research strategies and practices – all targeted to help learners reach state standards for performance.

However, research results regarding the positive effects of CSRs on student achievement are uneven (Vernez et al. 2006; Slavin 2007). A 2002 meta-analysis revealed that only 3 of 232 studies of CSR programs showed strong evidence of student improvement on conventional measures (Borman et al. 2003). Still, they have emerged “as a policy instrument supporting improvement in American schools” (Rowan et al. 2004, p. 2) – one that is part of the US educational lexicon and here to stay. Nationally, schools and administrators continue to adopt and utilize CSR programs, but scholars are still debating whether CSRs are in fact effective for diverse populations.

Many decision-makers in education believe that highly structured instructional approaches like those in CSR programming are the best medicine for “at-risk” children (Ede 2006) or those in high-poverty schools (Aladjem and Borman 2006). These students are thought to require more structure and “basic skills,” compared to the “expansive curricula and innovative pedagogical strategies” often available to elite students (Ladson-Billings 2014b, p. 7). Statistics show that linguistically diverse, culturally diverse, and low-SES students who are “at risk” for educational underperformance are more likely to attend schools with CSRs (Aladjem and Borman 2006; Fixsen et al. 2013); still, the research is not clear that these programs increase achievement among diverse students.

Independent of the quality of CSR implementation, there are easily identified reasons why Navajo students may be less likely to benefit from the “best practices” in this type of reform than the general population. The approaches of Nizhóni and Janelle, two Diné teachers in high-performing upper elementary classrooms, illustrate some of the relevant factors at play. The first teacher, Nizhóni, follows a CSR program in which she controls the pace and tone of all activity. Student desks are arranged neatly in rows. The walls on all four sides of the room are filled with prepackaged materials on “place value” or “parts of speech,” each linked with the textbooks and worksheets assigned to learners. During instruction, students are quietly attentive to Nizhóni and focus on the spelling and vocabulary word lists she presents; for the most part, the classroom is silent, with the exception of the directives of the teacher’s cues and the students’ choral responses. Nizhóni’s seven- and eight-year-old students are making excellent strides in test performance, yet classroom activities are so regimented that they must master a passive approach to learning if they are to attain success.

According to Giroux and Penna (1979), the quintessential virtue learned by students under these conditions is patience (i.e., not a patience rooted in mediated restraint, but one that is rooted in an unwarranted submission to authority). “They must also, to some extent, learn to suffer in silence. They are expected to bear with equanimity, in other words, the continued delay, denial and interruption of their personal wishes and desires” (Jackson 1968, p. 18).

At another school, the classroom of the second teacher, Janelle, is abuzz with activity among her eight- and nine-year-olds. Students cluster around group tables and beanbags doing small group and individual work based on their needs and personal workflows. Periodically, Janelle calls learners together for a whole group focus, projecting maps and images on a digital screen and asking questions that build to progressively higher levels of cognitive complexity on a geography topic. Students return to their independent and small group tasks, and slowly the volume in the room rises; about 10 min later they are called together once more by the teacher who uses hand signals to facilitate a transition to the next activity. Using only gestural feedback, and aided by the props of a yellow circle and a green square cut out of cardboard, the students follow a spontaneously unfolding routine as they move around the room, demonstrating their knowledge of the Navajo language in flexible ways. Each one of the visual prompts and gestures provided by the teacher invites students’ extemporaneous oral responses in *Diné Bizaad*. They use the hand signals Janelle introduced, and after several minutes she steps away, allowing an impressive orchestration of movement, language, and color to unfold as students enact their knowledge.

As Janelle’s students engage in independent activity and produce authentic work products and performances to exhibit their learnings, they are developing communication, flexibility, self-regulation, metacognition, executive function, creativity, critical thinking, and other twenty-first-century learning skills (Partnership for Twenty-First Century Learning 2015; Jenkins et al. 2009; Marulis 2014). Honing these abilities sets them on an educative path toward future understanding that promotes future learning and growth as creators of knowledge (Dewey 1938/2007).

The pattern of learning set by Nizhóni in the CSR classroom primes students to absorb information in response to explicit visual and aural cues that tell them directly which information is important and what they do not need to attend to. Rather than learning to discern what is most relevant for the task at hand, they learn to pay attention to whatever content the teacher directs them to focus on. One result is Nizhóni’s observation that students in her schools’ CSR classrooms tend to perform well on tests that immediately follow the associated scripted and repetitious activities, but fall short on tests requiring long-term memory of the same material. In both Janelle and Nizhóni’s classes, we see high scores and relative score increases over the year, yet because of bias within the state assessment system used at both schools (which prioritizes shorter-term test results over longer-term applied outcomes), the two sets of students appear similar, even though the capacities they are building differ substantially.

This fundamental contrast between the patterns of learning in Nizhóni and Janelle’s classrooms is part of the contested nature of schooling in Indigenous

lands. The CSR program may indeed benefit Diné students' test scores, but can it justly be considered as a "best practice" when it is so mismatched with the repertoires of practice understood by Indigenous learners and expected within their own homes and communities.

The Diné culture and language teachers in this study explained repeatedly, in numerous ways, that learning in the Navajo way promotes autonomy, observation, demonstration of knowledge, and shared responsibility and emphasizes longer-term values and character over shorter-term results. Young learners develop knowledge and skill through repertoires of practice that give them the right (and ample encouragement) to test what they know in practice – and making repeated attempts to show mastery in independent performances. Such opportunities form important resources for cultural and economic survival, yet the research-based "best practice" model in Nizhóni's CSR class forecloses on the learner's ability to develop this kind of valued knowledge through school-based experiences. The cultural way of learning goes uncultivated in such a classroom, and students learn that the qualities of personal vigilance and discernment that are so important at home can be considered a distraction or liability in the teacher-regulated class. If conditions are right within the school, student test scores may go up with adoption of a CSR, yet this cultural difference in ways of learning was never considered as a relevant variable in the gold-standard controlled research trials that inspired the adoption of the CSR as a "best practice."

As Janelle demonstrates through her students' independent proficiency, school can be a lively place of restorative learning when "best practices" are locally examined and adapted to discourage what Dewey (1938/2007) calls "mis-educative" learning. He asserts that external regulation and overuse of drill-like methods causes learners to become "callous to ideas;" they lose "the impetus to learn because of the way in which learning was experienced by them" and become limited "in their power to act intelligently in new situations" (p. 25).

Diné ways of acquiring knowledge are reflected much more in Janelle's approach which flows between learner-directed and teacher-guided modes. Even when teacher-guided, the style Janelle uses is compatible with students' existing repertoires for communicating and interacting with others – she extends their capacities, inviting them to use their social-emotional learning proficiencies to propel further collaboration and knowledge production in applied ways.

Giving youth opportunities to make decisions about how they delegate their attention is a key to literacy in the modern digital age as well as in the cultural contexts of Navajo life. The self-regulation and discernment skills that students practice in Janelle's class contribute to each learner's basic foundation for personal self-determination and their construction of personal agency in the process of collective self-determination.

This difference between Diné ways of acquiring knowledge and the embedded "best practices" of the CSR approach is particularly salient in places where generations are recovering from colonization, genocidal histories, and personal trauma. For the majority of Indigenous peoples, exercising the right to self-determination is at the core of critical issues in language revitalization, cultural vibrancy, and collective and personal survival (Kirkness and Barnhardt 1991, 2001).

Students who learn through the research-based “best practices” of comprehensive school reform programs internalize a “hidden curriculum” (Bain 1985; Giroux and Penna 1979; Jackson 1968) that predisposes them to passivity rather than providing them with tools for self-efficacy to counteract the social and historical forces at hand. While district leaders and administrators at Nizhóni’s school believe that adoption of the CSRs is in alignment with “best practices,” this case shows clearly that, even if test scores rise, CSRs are not well fit for learners in Indigenous communities. The legacies of genocide, dislocation, resource extraction, and aggressive assimilationist policy require young Native students to cultivate practical skills for personal and collaborative self-determination if their heritage is to thrive now and continue into the future.

Diné Teachers and Comprehensive School Reform

In recent decades, there has been a push to promote teachers’ “fidelity” in the implementation of curricula and programs, as a best practice in support of student learning. In 2018, the national conversation in the United States still frames teachers as technicians who are charged with delivering prepackaged information (Ingersoll and Perda 2008; Crosland and Gutiérrez 2003; Labaree 2004), far more than as adaptive professionals, like doctors or psychologists (Shulman 1986a, b, 1987, 1992), who make decisions about what, how, and when to teach, based on a host of nuanced factors. Technician-like teachers make a diagnosis and deliver a corresponding solution – unlike professional practitioners who are daily called upon to demonstrate “cognitive flexibility in ill-structured domains” (Shulman 1986a, p. 24) as they generate pedagogically diverse supports for students.

One result of the narrowing definition of effective teaching and deprofessionalization of teachers (Crosland and Gutiérrez 2003; Darling-Hammond and Bransford 2007; Gordon et al. 2006) has been a shift of focus onto curricula and programs that, in the short term, increase student test scores when implemented consistently; this pressure disproportionately impacts schools with low test scores and low SES (Gorski and Zenkov 2014). A substantial body of research urges teachers’ strict adherence to specific guidelines to achieve “fidelity of implementation” in curriculum and programs, as a way of assuring impacts on student learning that approximate the measured gains shown in research trials (O’Donnell 2007, 2008; Lynch and O’Donnell 2005; Mowbray et al. 2003; Rowan et al. 2004).

As Vernez et al. (2006) observe, “very few schools have fully implemented their reform model... At the current level of implementation, comprehensive school reform is likely to have little effect on student achievement” (p. 1). The presence of strategies to assure fidelity is thought to be able to tip the balance, helping the heavy reform investments made by schools lead to greater returns in learner achievement.

School administrators across the United States and in the Navajo Nation strive to focus on fidelity of implementation, yet in Navajo communities, we observed Diné educators coming together around a wholly different set of solutions and questions in

their quest to make a positive difference in the urgent life circumstances of their students. Rather than investing in the school's CSR programming more deeply, the Navajo teachers in this study are looking to address what they identify as the root of the problem:

We're coming up with a plan: What should we do to help Native students? Why is it that every year professional teachers, highly qualified, get credentialed, come to the reservation – but what's happening? Students are labeled ESL or ELL; does that mean that they're dysfunctional [and] they can't learn? Or, do we need to revamp our curriculum? [No, it's]. . . because our students already are in that trauma. They're living that historical trauma all over again, but it's [happening this time] through mandated standards and assessment.

While the research on the impacts of cultural trauma on educational outcomes is somewhat limited, there is substantial agreement among scholars and educators with cross-cultural knowledge of Indigenous community histories that cultural trauma does indeed play a key role in inhibiting learner success (Brown-Rice 2013; Gray and Beresford 2008; Battiste et al. 2002; Kirkness 1995; Benham and Heck 1998). All but one of the 30 Navajo educators in this study expressed an explicit critique of today's increasingly standardized innovations and unyielding curricula, pointing out that whatever "best practice" that is currently in vogue, from the comprehensive school reform model to the literature circle, may be beneficial – yet something fundamentally stands in the way of Navajo learners' progress: cultural trauma.

Loss of language, loss of land, loss of family structure and kinship relations, and loss of personal and group self-determination together form a fundamental wound for members of many Indigenous communities, interrupting pathways to well-being and to educational access (Kirkness 1995; McCubbin and Marsella 2009; McCubbin et al. 2008; Salzman 2001; Stamm et al. 2004). As noted by Brown-Rice, a leader in the counseling field, "The primary feature of historical trauma is that the trauma is transferred to subsequent generations through biological, psychological, environmental, and social means, resulting in a cross-generational cycle of trauma. The theory of historical trauma has been considered clinically applicable to Native American individuals" (Brown-Rice 2013, p. 117; Sotero 2006; Brave Heart et al. 2011).

This fact is reflected in elementary teacher Luella's articulation of how cultural trauma isn't just something from the past; it continues to affect the youth in her community:

It's already happening now. A lot of our students right now, they don't have that self-identity because...they chose to, or they didn't really have a choice; they were forced, maybe through [economics] – their parents moved to the city – and they had to move away from the actual home structure, and so there they're addressing the pain from the loss of language, loss of tradition, culture, identity. . .

Diné students who continue to experience the weight of historical and current cultural trauma will remain unable to benefit from even the most promising educational practices. The encompassing pain of intergenerational cultural trauma is a rarely addressed and

profound obstacle standing in the way of learner success. Diné study participants strongly articulated the view that a new kind of colonialism is being visited upon the students through the control of externally directed education programs that fail to account for and accommodate cultural differences and community-specific needs within the student population (Brown-Rice 2013; Kirkness 1995). Twenty-nine of 30 participants identified *cultural integration* as an essential strategy required to reduce the effect of cultural trauma as a barrier to learning.

These Navajo educators are suggesting that schools and teachers that focus on “fidelity of implementation” as a central best practice (in response to external expectations, language policies, and pressures to reach test score benchmarks) are missing a key opportunity to reach Diné learners through the integration of culture, which has been shown to contribute to personal and community healing from historical cultural trauma (Goodman and West-Olatunji 2010; Fast and Collin-Vézina 2010; Evans-Campbell 2008; Salzman and Halloran 2004; Brave Heart and DeBruyn 1998). Well-being researchers McCubbin and Marsella (2009) affirm Indigenous cultural integration as a strategy for healing from cultural trauma, noting a direct relationship: “How well these Indigenous populations negotiate their way through the dominance of the Western culture is determined, in a large part, by an understanding and revitalization of Indigenous knowledge and its application and integration into research and clinical practice” (p. 386). These researchers have high confidence in the power of using Indigenous knowledge explicitly to promote psychological and physical healing in their domain; why not explore its use within educational contexts? In Navajo communities where many teachers have a deep understanding of culture and language traditions, learners lose out on the power of cultural integration when educators are pushed to maintain fidelity to externally driven programs that leave no place for heritage practices.

Teachers who understand the language, Indigenous knowledge systems, and traditional ecology can provide valuable connections that help bring learners’ fluency in local traditions together with globally valued literacies. Yet teachers’ adaptation to the context (Johnson 2013) is broadly constrained when the “best practice” of fidelity in implementation is held as a central school goal. Whether through aggressive content controls, time constraints, or explicit censure, teachers with cultural knowledge are often prevented from using what they know to reduce the barriers to learning that cultural trauma presents. Many Indigenous teachers interpret and adapt externally prescribed “best practices” in ways that are highly context-sensitive – they incorporate students’ worldviews, build new concepts on learners’ prior experiences the past season, and actively make use of influencing factors like familial or clan relationships (Kana’iaupuni and Kawai’ae’a 2008; Roppolo and Crow 2007).

In their study of teacher practices in Native Hawaiian culture-based education schools, (Kana’iaupuni & Ledward 2013) find:

The evidence indicates what may translate into a “double win” for children in culture-based environments. Specifically, the data suggest that in culture-rich environments, *teachers go above and beyond conventional best practice to achieve relevance, relationships, and rigor,*

delivering highly relevant education via culture-based strategies *in addition to* the body of teaching strategies known as best practice. (p. 154)

Given professional freedom and community support, the Indigenous teachers in the Hawai'i culture-based learning achieved outcomes better than the "best practices," by interpreting content and pedagogy in context-adaptive ways.

One difference between those settings and the Diné schools we observed is that most of the schools in the 2013 report are community-based public charters or independent schools – settings where teachers have the freedom to make pedagogical choices that are culturally aligned, to change schedules for travel to place-based cultural events, and to adapt content in ways that are appropriate for their local community. Diné teachers in this study were rarely supported with such pedagogical and structural freedom, and, as interviewees frequently reported, many are banned or discouraged from using Navajo language in classes (other than culture class) and among themselves.

Kee, a middle school culture teacher, is an exception; he has worked with his principal to secure permission to take students outside the classroom to local areas where family ethnoscience practices are conducted, as well as farther out to *Dinetah*, the birthplace of the Navajo people, where cultural sites serve as a foundational bridge to science learning. While Kee's community connections and cultural expertise make these journeys opportunities for deep learning, these are neither "field trips" nor simply extracurricular activities. *Place-based learning* is a means of relationship development and identity construction; youth are socialized into the practices, stories, timing, skills of observation, ceremonies, and prayers – all associated with key activities, seasons, and significant places (Basso 1996; Maryboy and Begay 2010). Within any Indigenous worldview, the acquisition of practices, language, and understandings through lived experiential activity is fundamental to forming and linking deep interconnections over a lifetime. Immersion in meaningful relationships and purposeful activity create knowledgeable participants who grow up to value and perpetuate Diné culture over the long term. Kee uses place-based teaching and traditional Navajo learning strategies (like letting students practice independently before sharing) in his science classes because he recognizes that science becomes more meaningful to students when they can make clear connections between the subject matter, their cultural understandings, and their lived experiences.

Marvin, an elementary-level Diné educator, faces a different set of circumstances: he holds his language classes in a hooghan (an eight-sided traditional Navajo dwelling facing east) on his campus. He highly values the teaching of language and culture, yet Marvin finds himself constrained by a class period system which allows about 20 min to interact with developing learners aged four through 10. Despite the fact that language learning has a positive "connecting" impact for learners across all content areas (Tibbetts et al. 2007; Kana'iaupuni et al. 2010; Balter and Grossman 2009), and Marvin asserts this virtue at every opportunity, he is still locked into a rigid class schedule that cycles students through with far too little time for cultural activity and relationship building. This arrangement forces him to

select a bare minimum of language content and rules out opportunities for him to infuse pedagogies that are orchestrated in a culturally sustaining way. In his words, he feels “trapped” in the healing place of the hooghan, where he is coerced into teaching in ways that run contrary to the heritage practices that he knows will best foster well-being and extend learning for his community.

The school’s choice to prioritize fidelity in implementation of their schoolwide program means there is very little space for him to activate his vast expertise, incorporate the language he is so passionate to share with students, and accomplish the cultural integration that he knows will help them face cultural trauma with resilience. Incorporating these Diné educators’ expertise into school programs is a critical step in beginning to address the legacy of colonialism and cultural trauma that shadows the lives of today’s learners. Shifting school priorities toward adaptive cultural integration and away from fidelity in implementation does not herald the end of collecting data on student learning or ongoing program monitoring/evaluation activities. Rather, it creates opportunities for teachers with solid grounding in an Indigenous knowledge system to step forward and lead as context-adaptive professionals – addressing imminent challenges by making use of iterative tools like action research to make sense of local context and to persist in selecting the strategies that are truly effective at addressing learner needs for each point in time.

Prioritizing teacher voice for cultural integration (and, where possible, flexible allocation of resources for things like transportation) may require significant restructuring of leadership models and schoolwide expectations; such changes are likely to be profoundly fruitful when conducted in alignment with local community values and existing cultural models. Drawing forth the expertise latent within cultural, community, and family institutions fills a critical void in the educational system by informing and directing school efforts to literally *bring in* a broader range of the knowledges and relationships that matter for learners (González et al. 2005). Whether local communities face historical cultural trauma or other challenges like economic vulnerability and resource extraction, each place has unique contours that influence learners’ needs; these must be considered through adaptive use of evidence-based inquiry to inform the selection, adoption, and interpretation of best practices with locally proven effectiveness.

Diné Case Summary

This case example illustrates how the “best practice” of comprehensive school reform was not a good fit for students and teachers in the Diné context, because the CSR model stood in the way of the practices and strategies that the Indigenous community and culture teachers find to be most essential in addressing cultural trauma and developing student capacity for agency and self-determination. Diné teachers prioritized balanced integration of Navajo cultural experiences, opportunities for heritage language use, and purposeful learning – yet the research-based CSR program model yielded little room for their innovation or application of these known strategies.

Building capacity to locally research the effectiveness of new strategies for attaining outcomes that are valued by the community is one step that could help in proving the need to transition away from externally defined best practices. With a process for selecting and testing new strategies that may appear to have beneficial potential for their students, Diné teachers can begin to identify and measure practices that are truly impactful and effective, rather than simply adopting and implementing strategies that work for others, without exploration of how they function locally.

Hawai'i Case Example

The following case example shares a story of how teachers at a new Indigenous culture-based school chose their first literacy curriculum; it is a first-person account, told from the viewpoint of one of the authors, as she experienced it.

My community in Hawai'i was extremely dissatisfied with the educational outcomes for Hawaiians (Kānaka Maoli) that were normal for graduates from the public school system in our area. Working at a hotel or store, doing construction, serving food at a restaurant, and becoming a mechanic weren't the only range of jobs we wanted the five-year-olds around us to aspire to. We envisioned a learning community that would give life to the culture and language among this new generation, transmit a relational Hawaiian worldview, and nurture both traditional practices and the kind of cultural dexterity that would give learners options for choosing their own life path in the world.

We worked together to found and develop "Kamaika'i School," a culture-based education program for K-12 students that continues through the present day. The program we created brought many community stakeholders together around Native Hawaiian culture, and it changed the texture of our community by infusing cultural values into learning from the beginning. Looking back, it hardly seems like a radical proposition to teach students in the ways that their Indigenous community expects them to behave, but given the background of colonial literacy and education in Hawai'i (Benham and Heck 1998), what we achieved was unprecedented in many respects.

In our small town setting, public school had long functioned as a sort of holding pen for students to move through until they were old enough to work on the sugar plantation or in the tourist industry; it seemed almost fanciful to now expect students to learn innovation and other twenty-first-century skills – many didn't even get basic sex education. The historically entrenched boundaries of racism and disinheritance had long been replicated and normalized in the context of school, which now deployed standardized testing as a primary tool to explain social stratification in the present day. As a group, the students who were descendants of the original inhabitants of the Hawaiian Islands (before contact with Westerners in 1776) had the lowest attendance in the state and a disproportionate rate of identification with learning disabilities – not because they couldn't learn, but because schools provided them with so little of interest or purpose and expectations were unbelievably low.

One compelling reason that our community moved from dissatisfaction into action was that ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i preschool programs had expanded; students now had opportunities to attend school in the Hawaiian language through grade 5 (ages 10 and 11), before transitioning to the English-medium public schools run by the state. These schools were taking in students whose performance and communication ability was clearly high, but who received low scores on placement tests they took because they had no prior experience with reading and writing in the English language; all their communication had been in ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i. High IQ scores and low performance on placement tests doomed almost every student whose family had prioritized learning Indigenous language; most were eventually saddled with the classification of “special education” – a designation which, at the time, often stood primarily as an excuse to explain away low performance. Rather than a signal to assist, a student’s designation as being in need of special education caused some teachers to actually pay *less* attention to improving these learners’ performance. Our school mattered because our success reversed the expectation that Hawaiians wouldn’t achieve – one aspect of our mission for cultural revitalization in our community was to provide bilingual education from preschool onward while providing a family-like structure of meaningful supports for students who needed them and putting the purposeful perpetuation of heritage traditions and cultural identities at the heart of a land-based curriculum.

Our school became a success by any measure, but it was birthed in a hostile environment. The single statewide school district in Hawai‘i seemed to take offense at the fact that our Indigenous students had the highest rate of attendance to be found and that our program was garnering the attention of other communities that were curious what culture-based education might be able to do for their localities. We fought state bureaucracy and mandatory testing and sought limited English proficiency designation for students who were transitioning to learning English for the first time. We resisted federal pressures to meet national standards for “highly qualified” teacher licensure because our teachers were largely qualified as cultural practitioners, actively learning the craft of teaching. We were required to meet state standards for growth year after year or else face the consequence of having the school “reconstituted” (meaning all the teachers and staff members whose vision had given birth to the school would be fired).

One challenge we refused to back down from was the question of what we would do for literacy education (Keehne et al. [in press](#)). We faced a persistent, though genuinely false, stereotype of Hawaiians being “disadvantaged” or “remedial” and needing to make up some kind of language deficit – a view that existed among the Indigenous community as well as within the educational system at large. Our students were expected to fail, and it was assumed that they would need remediation programs. Before the school opened, we were encouraged by the school district, some parents, and some teachers to use a literacy program that had been researched and shown specifically to improve the scores of Hawaiian students. DISTAR (Direct Instruction System for Teaching Arithmetic and Reading) offered a reading program based on the methods of Direct Instruction, which has been shown over the last 50 years to be very effective at getting most children to learn to read (Baker et al.

2008; Dunn 2014; Good III et al. 2001). Hawaiian researcher Edward Kameʻenui demonstrated the power of the method to improve achievement test scores among populations of Native Hawaiian students who were struggling readers (Kameʻenui and Carnine 1998). Direct Instruction is research-based, but also highly structured and scripted – with a Pavlov-worthy vocabulary of gestures, snaps, and “cues” for call and response between student and teacher. The structure is predictable and effective at increasing test scores, yet often discourages young learners from developing enjoyment from literacy activity or building positive identity association as a reader and writer (Delpit 1988, 1995; Nasir et al. 2012). Indigenous communities often face challenges with the value of oracy vs. literacy, due to the role of literacy in colonization and aggressive assimilation, and its wake of cultural trauma; the risk of potentially reinforcing resistance to literacy among our youth was one we would not take.

We looked at DISTAR and saw a program that, at its most basic level, taught students to wait for commands and snaps, rather than inviting their contributions to the collective story fire and helping them discern when and how to use their voices for themselves and their community. Teachers would have to learn how to control the action with sounds and snaps, and our teachers judged it as fundamentally inconsistent with the kinds of familial relationships we wanted to cultivate at the school. Understanding the appropriate time and place to express themselves was part of the values-based curriculum; we couldn’t imagine a highly teacher-directed program like DISTAR furthering the kinds of relationships we wanted students to model, even though they were likely also to learn to decode language in its written form.

The pressure to adopt a scientifically tested best practice that had been validated with a population of Native Hawaiian learners was real and puts us under a high-stakes trial of our own. Some teachers asked: “Isn’t starting a school a big enough project already? Can we afford to saddle ourselves with even more uncertainty about “how to teach reading today?” at a time when our classrooms popped out of trunks or unfolded from portable plastic boxes at whichever outdoor learning location was our students’ site for the day. Others wondered: “What will it take to pull this off?” A few cautioned: “Is it realistic to try to ferry around language teaching materials, student journals, writers’ notebooks, literature circles and sandwich-bagged sets of leveled readers to promote development in both languages?”

At that early stage, we researched many models including conventional reading programs and the obvious “perfect” gold-standard solution that everyone recommended for Hawaiians: DISTAR. The more we teachers reflected on the aims of our school, the more we wondered how we could raise youth with a passion for personal and cultural self-determination and the power to use their *naʻau* (gut feeling or intuition) for guidance if every day we asked them to practice the opposite: habitual receptivity to explicit instruction in the classroom. We wanted to raise a generation who, following after Freire, were critically awake to their circumstances and knew how to use their own power to stand up and be heard or choose to wait vigilantly until the time was right for a debate. Voice, story, and self-efficacy were central outcomes we sought, and a literacy program could propel or strangle those. Everyone had heard of the Kamehameha Early Education Program and its success

with preschool students – they’d taken up strategies that were culturally coherent and built upon the children’s own culture of discourse – we wondered: Why couldn’t we find success by doing something similar at higher grade levels?

We ignored the weight of the research and the voices of critics who thought DISTAR was our answer, knowing that they didn’t share our vision of a graduate who was fluent in both languages and a true lover of literacy and the oral tradition alike. We began researching literacy development methods that could cultivate student agency and voice while allowing children to flow between the three languages spoken at our school: Standard Hawaiian (a.k.a. “university” Hawaiian), Hawaiian Creole English (Hawaiian Pidgin), and Standard English. We also knew that language was not enough: understanding both the English and Hawaiian cultural milieu and choosing when and how to move between them with an easy-thought-intentional cultural dexterity (Paris and Johnson, 2004, Personal Communication) was one of the goals we had for our students.

The search for a program seemed fruitless until we reached out across the Pacific and found a Māori expert on balanced literacy who had been a significant player in the movement in Aotearoa/New Zealand for increasing the use of Māori language in schools (Smith 1996, 2012). Our school’s commitment to bilingualism meant that we had to teach both languages skillfully, and we were eager to learn strategies that could help students make sense of the uneven terrain. The decision was up to us as a faculty, and our instructional leader encouraged us to dive in and think of ourselves as researchers – that for students like ours, the job of teacher necessarily included the role of researcher. We were going to have to apprentice ourselves to the context and learn from our students, learn from the community, and learn from the methods themselves about what an ideal program would look like for that particular place, purpose, and group (Johnson 2013). As a faculty, we weighed the pros and cons that we were able to anticipate at the time and decided to use the balanced literacy approach developed in Māori medium schools that encouraged students and their teachers to explore both languages using parallel strategies and techniques. We didn’t have bilingual materials at the scale they did, and we knew we’d have to invest more in producing culturally sustaining learning materials for use in Hawai‘i.

Following our initiation with the Māori expert, the teaching staff worked together for days at an open-air beach pavilion, planning how to teach literacy across the curriculum, and aware that there were only a few weeks before the inaugural quarter of school. There was much to research, including Kaupapa Māori, bilingualism, the learner-directed Reader’s Workshop and Writer’s Workshop methods used for older children, and the essential strategies for questioning and critical thinking. We set out to map our new program, develop culturally relevant materials in the form of bilingual leveled readers (funded by two grants), create our own teacher professional development sequence, and iteratively improvise on the practices that had been shared with us, rather than following a known path.

One example of an adapted strategy that helped us was the use of visual signaling to clarify which language was in use – as spoken in the room or written on the board. To clarify for students the difference between words in different languages, we made an effort to consistently use the same colors for writing on the whiteboard: green for

Hawaiian, red for English; this helped to clarify distinctions between words that looked the same, but meant very things depending on which language they were contextualized by, for example, *puke* (pronounced “POO-kay” and meaning “book” in ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i) versus *puke* (pronounced “pyouk” and meaning “to be sick” in English). Without that guidance from the Māori context, it might have taken us years to realize that emerging readers were being confused by the use of two written languages and even longer to come up with a solution that worked as effectively as this convention. In this way as in many others, we benefitted from experimenting with the innovations that were shared with us, even though our practices often took a different shape.

The teaching staff at Kamaika‘i School received significant support in making the program a reality – we had a full-time professional development staff person who doubled as an assessment coordinator, and the instructional leader did everything possible to push our research initiative forward. The school made a huge investment in teacher professional development and collaborative course planning, to which we dedicated 1 day per week, meeting as a faculty while selected community members taught their knowledge and shared their gifts with our students in a special program. Every member of the faculty had “essential questions” relevant to their specific role at the school, and we conducted our own ongoing action research about small questions we had, testing our theories with tiny experiments.

Once we’d elected to chart our own path, we faced a steady stream of challenges in the search for a method that could propel our students to the kind of shining success in academics that would parallel the brilliant Indigenous intelligence we witnessed in them across so many other contexts (Chun 2011; Gardner 2011; Puku‘i et al. 1972). Doing the work of literacy program adaptation and refinement forced us to make difficult decisions and weigh competing priorities on a weekly basis, yet we knew it was the right choice. When we began, it was the only program that we could be sure would enhance the four central values of our school and the larger matrix of Hawaiian culture and language that we sought to cultivate within the next generation. The research we had done contributed to the schoolwide decision a few years later to switch to a more structured, computer-based literacy program – in order to meet the nationally mandated demand for students at each grade level to obtain higher scores than the previous year’s group of students in that grade. While the context changed, our experiences confirmed that building our own program was a strongly beneficial choice, setting direction for the school, galvanizing the teachers as researchers, and creating a coherent environment for young learners by aligning with a set of principles that were meaningful both to our community and for our students’ repertoires of practice (Gutierrez and Rogoff 2003).

As a faculty, we started as researchers and never stopped trying to “make sense” of the process we were engaged in; we were curious and vigilant, adaptable, and alert to the students and the community, as well as to the changing politics of the education environment that enveloped us. Had we followed the voices encouraging us to adopt a Western research-based program, the effects on our students would likely have reached a point of diminishing returns, as many anticipated. Most certainly we wouldn’t have developed formative experiences with the professional

habits of reflection in action (Argyris and Schon 1974) and the conduct of action research to the degree that we did.

We began with habits of inquiry, informal data gathering, iterative tinkering, reflection, and vigilance; thus, as the atmosphere of the school changed, we were able to respond with agility and alignment, transitioning to meet the changing needs of students as they gained new language proficiency and as the program itself navigated the process of maturing to accreditation.

Summary of Hawai'i Case Example

Despite the intense pressures of the US high-stakes testing environment and the increased district scrutiny faced by charter schools, faculty at the newly opened Kamaika'i School chose to forego use of the Direct Instruction literacy program that they were encouraged to adopt and to dive into the process of developing their own balanced literacy program – cultivating bilingualism in a way that was consistent with their cultural values. While the early reading program was eventually replaced with technology-based tools, teachers developed a new repertoire of skills in action research and iterative program development that crossed into other domains and influenced their professional trajectory. The experience of putting together a literacy program gave teachers experience with thinking critically and anticipating which practices and protocols were going to be consistent with the cultural values of the school, as well as the chance to test and confirm on a daily basis whether their mental models of the learning context were effective enough to help them support and sustain student learning (Johnson 2017).

Discussion

With global recognition of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2006) and other declarations like the Coolangatta Statement (1999), which assert Indigenous peoples' rights to define their own systems of education, increasing numbers of Indigenous peoples are formally incorporating local heritage wisdom, intergenerational voices, and cultural patterns as part of their schools; they are building values-based systems of community standards for practice, research, evaluation, and self-governance. Despite broad international understanding of Indigenous rights to self-determination, many Indigenous-serving schools and learning programs are still under pressure from government entities to adopt national curricula or comply with mandates for research-based interventions.

Efforts toward educational self-determination by Indigenous peoples in the United States have been hampered by educational policies pushing narrow definitions of achievement and restricting transdisciplinary approaches in learning and teaching (Meyer, 2017, Personal Communication). The modern American educational establishment assumes that the findings of randomized scientific trials are

infallible and what works for the general population is appropriate for all populations – a conclusion directly challenged by the case examples given above.

Any new practice introduced into the ecology of an Indigenous community school will have multilayered effects. Before adopting, adapting, or reinterpreting it, teachers and other program leaders must critically reflect on whether use of the new practice is aligned with its values, priorities, resources, and desired outcomes. Developing capacity for the type of self-directed research that can inform critical reflection is a key strategy in building values-aligned Indigenous educational systems, because it provides short-cycle feedback about what truly helps local learners reach and surpass the goals the community has set for them. Local research is a powerful way for a learning community to evaluate the benefit to their students of practices with positive potential, like these, for example: building intergenerational out-of-school connections, interpreting community patterns of social hierarchy, employing shared demonstrations of knowledge in ceremony or performance, visualizing community ideas through protocols for shared reflection and representation, facilitating apprenticeships in making or using cultural artifacts, and integrating knowledge through student-selected summative projects to show how each one has personally applied their learning for a real-world purpose, among many other potential practices. Regardless of the Indigenous, Western, scientific research, or other origins of the practice being considered, self-focused research on programs (conducted in accordance with community norms) can help schools anticipate and assess the effects that ripple outward when schools use new practices or seek to refine those that are longstanding.

Insights on Adapting Innovations and Interventions

Indigenous communities are extremely diverse, and when the distinctive features of each culture, language, and learning context are acknowledged, it is not difficult to see why some practices that are outstandingly effective for one Indigenous or multicultural context fall flat in another. The Diné case example reinforces the idea that generalized interventions are not easily transported into cultural contexts, and the Hawai‘i case reveals how Māori bilingual balanced literacy practices could not be directly transmitted even from one Indigenous community to another. The story of how the Kamehameha Early Education Program in Hawai‘i was tested as an innovation in the Navajo Nation is well known as an example of the need for attention to adaptation, even with its widely successful innovation.

The Kamehameha Early Education Program (KEEP) used a “talk story” method to engage young Kanaka Maoli learners in literacy development by utilizing a discourse strategy and interpersonal roles that were already common in their Hawaiian community (Au 1980; Tharp 1982). Hawai‘i teachers researching the “talk story” method began to debate among themselves whether KEEP’s innovations were a culturally specific modification or whether these were simply better teaching methods – the group sought a collaboration with teachers at the Rough Rock

Demonstration School in the Navajo Nation to explore this question. Across the board, the Diné teachers found that the KEEP strategies needed modification:

For Hawaiian children, groups of four to five students of mixed sex and ability produced manageable and useful patterns of peer interaction and assistance at centers. At Rough Rock, this arrangement made for discomfort and often wiped out academically useful interaction. After experimenting with a number of conditions, the best guess of the team at that point was that Navajo children would better help and interact in small groups of two to three students of the same sex, working at the same task; and before the end of the semester the team moved to begin reorganizing the classroom on that basis. (Jordan 1995, p. 95–96)

In this situation, a successful strategy from the Hawai'i context required significant modification to work effectively in Navajo settings, and yet the central strategy stayed the same: change classroom culture to make it compatible with the children's own culture. It would have been easy for Rough Rock teachers to conclude that KEEP, as an innovation, simply was not working for their students, but they persisted in looking more deeply – at the level of the core intention of the practice itself – and then creatively interpreting how to access that same meaning through their Diné cultural lens. They stayed focused on student-directed interactions, even though the interactions themselves looked significantly different in the Navajo context. The Diné teachers addressed every feature of the program in this way, looking at its core innovation and finding the cross-cultural analogue or parallel principle reflecting a similar cultural intent.

In KEEP classrooms, just as in the bilingual balanced literacy program chosen by Kamaika'i School above, teachers specifically avoided decontextualizing literacy learning. At every turn, they encouraged meaningful communication motivated by authentic relationships and purposes – consistently using strategies that functioned effectively both in school contexts and the cultural and family milieu beyond. The only pedagogical practices enacted were those that promoted patterns of behavior among individuals and within the group that *reflected* and sustained Indigenous cultural patterns – rather than suppressing them (Paris 2012; McCarty and Lee 2014). The form of such practices may vary widely across Indigenous groups, but finding a culturally coherent match between values and actions is essential.

Roland Tharp, one of the leaders of the KEEP team, continued to conduct research across the United States with diverse cultural and linguistic groups at the Center for Research on Education, Diversity, and Excellence (CREDE). They developed a set of “Standards for Effective Pedagogy” which, while not universal, can help guide local research initiatives seeking cultural coherence and practices for Indigenous education that are culturally sustaining and revitalizing (see www.crede.berkeley.edu). Since these Standards for Effective Pedagogy were developed and validated in diverse Indigenous communities, learning programs that are seeking to engage in local research initiatives to support student learning may find them beneficial.

The way that KEEP's narrative-based method functioned so differently in Indigenous communities in Hawai'i and Navajo settings reminds us that the effects of even the most promising interventions need to be examined closely and interrogated

with care. Though generalizing research is a common practice, in truth, it is an unreasonable expectation to transplant a set of understandings grounded in one cultural community to another, with the assumption that they will be effective – especially in Indigenous contexts.

The Power of Local Research and Assessment

There are abundant signs that the tide is turning when it comes to the credibility of local Indigenous research initiatives, as seen in the examples that follow. Professional organizations like the American Evaluation Association (AEA) have shown growing interest in culturally responsive assessment; AEA has issued a statement on Cultural Competence in Evaluation recommending that its members have substantive understanding of the influences of cultural context and diversity in processes of evaluation (American Evaluation Association 2011; Hood et al. 2015). In 2012, the Center for Culturally Responsive Evaluation and Assessment (CREA) was established to address the need for evaluation professionals to employ a multicultural lens as they interpret fundamentals of assessment and evaluation to obtain valid and actionable results (Hood 2014). A successful Māori effort to produce 500 PhDs in 5 years (Villegas 2010) inspired parallel efforts to build a critical mass of scholars and thus increase Indigenous community research capacity in First Nations of Canada and in Hawai'i. Awareness of the need for holistic and analytical attention to evaluation has broadened, and models like the praxis-based Kaupapa Māori and tools like Indigenous Evaluation Frameworks are in high demand (Cram et al. 2015; LaFrance et al. 2015; LaFrance and Nichols 2009, 2010). The trend seen across these initiatives has sparked interest widely and is only likely to grow, due to its power to enhance the fit between innovative practices and interventions for Indigenous learning programs.

Research Methodologies to Explore

The vetting of practices through locally based research initiatives requires the selection and use of research methodologies that are appropriate for each Indigenous community that employs them. In selecting an approach, communities need to know what best aligns with their values, the current capacity of the program or initiative, and the level time and other resources available to dedicate to the process (Kawakami et al. 2008; Kara 2015). There are many Indigenous research methodologies available (Denzin et al. 2008; Kovach 2010; Smith 2013), and below is a sample list that includes a few of those, as well as other general methodologies that have been applied effectively in Indigenous contexts:

1. Close observation – in your cultural style (Kanahele 1992; Lipka et al. 1998; Puku'i et al. 1972; Charlot 2005 p. 177–182)
2. Action research (Putman and Rock 2017; Mertler 2017; Robertson 2000)

3. Participatory action research (James et al. 2008; Privitera and Ahlgrim-Delzell 2018)
4. Place-based Indigenous action research – Indigenous heuristics (Baker et al. 2015; Kahakalau 2002, 2004; Smith 2013)
5. OODA loop – “Observe, Orient, Design, Act” (Angerman 2004; de Banter 2017)
6. Design process methodology – human-centered design for learning (Dubberly 2008; Stanford D.school and Both 2018) and design process for teacher learning (Johnson 2017)
7. Appreciative inquiry (Whitney and Cooperrider 2011; Cooperrider and Srivastva 1987)
8. Empowerment evaluation (Fetterman and Wandersman 2007)
9. Participatory evaluation (Brunner and Guzman 1989)
10. Developmental evaluation (Gamble 2008; Patton 1994, 2011)
11. Collective impact (Kania et al. 2014a, b; Henig et al. 2015)

Many success stories come from Indigenous communities who have used diverse methodologies to create their own genealogy of knowledge development in the domain of culture-based learning and teaching (see chapters in this volume, e.g.: ► Chaps. 56, “Raven’s Story About Indigenous Teacher Education”; ► 39, “Yachayninchis (Our Knowledge): Environment, Cultural Practices, and Human Rights Education in the Peruvian Andes”; and ► 60, “Indigenous Knowledge(s) and the Sciences in Global Contexts: Bringing Worlds Together” Rigney & Bignall). Extending this development to research, these groups have had to build internal capacity so that the rising tide for understanding the basic concepts of assessment and evaluation filters through an Indigenous lens rather than an external Western one. This means elders, community members, educators, and evaluators who have deep knowledge about the character and influence of culture and context can collectively build assessment tools and identify measures based on their shared values and cultural foundation.

Community-specific cultural evaluation initiatives like Kaupapa Māori (Baker et al. 2015) and the Hawai‘i studies of culture-based education effectiveness (Kana‘iaupuni et al. 2005; Nā Lau Lama Community Report 2006) have established their own internal validity and are models to review when planning a multi-year push to build capacity for evaluation and research-based testing. Parallel development of measures for assessment and evaluation of one’s own initiatives goes hand in hand with such research, so that processes for continued growth and improvement stay in focused alignment with the core values and outcomes that each community sets forth in its aims. Without a direction for self-determination, it is impossible to know whether the results achieved are furthering the significant aspirations for our communities.

Ongoing self-assessment is an essential tool in the effort to incorporate the Indigenous knowledge carried by youth into formal learning experiences. Values-aligned, self-reflective practice is a powerful method because it requires initiatives and interventions to build an evidence-based model of precisely what advances their stated goals, in their particular community. Testing and iterative improvement of practices based on real evidence can gain real traction when the following principles are in practice:

1. *Have a clear vision for the community.* Articulated values are the foundation that makes it possible to determine whether the impact of an innovation or intervention (new practice) is having the *desired* result. Maintaining integrity to Indigenous standards and values is far more likely when the infrastructure exists to support self-correction and recursive refinement in whatever program is being tried and tested.
2. *Have multiple feedback streams.* Feedback must cross differing time scales and diverse perspectives (stakeholder groups, various types of outcomes, etc.). Whether the intervention is general and research-based, or a method or innovation that has been beneficial for another Indigenous community, or even if your neighbors have tried it in a nearby community that shares your language, it will be worth the time and energy invested to gather data across several streams of feedback, in order to really understand how it is functioning in *your* context.
3. *Plan for contextualized/decontextualized assessments, as well as assessments of learning and assessments for learning.* This may mean developing capacity for assessment practices and data analysis within your school or district community.
4. *Create a study group or a research group of individuals who are dedicated to building this kind of expertise* and who can support one another. Every learning community that is serious about doing the best they can for their learners needs to build this capacity if they want to continue Indigenous education year after year as the community itself changes and as local-, state-, and national-level policies shift.

Building capacity in assessment and evaluation is part of what makes it possible to carry out this kind of community-level testing; but, the reverse is also true. Learning communities must begin to test innovations and work with that data to become familiar with ways in which these big ideas translate into action. Learning can progress in both directions.

To advance your capacity for local research, consider focusing your resources on steps like these:

- Build capacity across the community for action research and the recursive use of data; teach other people what you know.
- Cultivate adaptive expertise among educators in the community to increase innovation/efficiency in the use of program data (Athanases et al. 2015; Crawford 2007; Schwartz et al. 2005).
- Use data to map relevant relationships and model salient variables in past shifts.
- Anticipate impacts of the proposed intervention by thinking through detailed questions (e.g., “How might this new practice of literature circles shape our cultural interactions around storytelling?”)
- Envision and test adaptations (e.g., “Sequencing events in our cultural way is different than in the Western way. How can we modify the role of the “Summarizer” in the conventional literature circle?”)
- Gather baseline snapshots of performances, for comparison with later trials.
- Develop a heuristic set of questions around community priorities that can help guide and broaden reflection when considering adoption of novel or external

practices (e.g., “How does this new literature circle practice support and/or detract from the skills needed to reach our community goals of self-determination? How does it support and/or take away from Indigenous learners’ language fluency? What is already working in the school that shares its features with this innovation we are considering?”)

- Utilize an Indigenous research heuristic to guide your inquiry, as described in the principles Kahakalau sets forth (2002, 2004).

Focused efforts in these areas will help build a dynamic picture of the kinds of impacts that the introduction of a new practice is having in the situated context of a learning community, providing multiple streams of data that inform future research cycles, shape educator decision-making, and support shifts toward effective learning aligned with local values.

Conclusion and Future Directions

Even the most well-researched educational interventions can have negative effects when applied across diverse communities in a monolithic fashion. Types of adverse impacts to watch for when considering and implementing new research-based practices include (but are not limited to) the following:

- Suppressing use of Indigenous or heritage languages
- Subducting Indigenous worldviews under the dominant worldview (e.g., as represented in externally developed curricular materials)
- Imposing constructs about well-being that contradict or dismiss Indigenous understandings of individual, collective, and spiritual interdependence
- Transgressing interactional norms based on kinship, status, age, etc.
- Enforcing nonverbal signals or contextual cues that initiate and regulate interactions in uncomfortable ways (such as sustained eye contact or verbal back-channeling)
- Shifting focus toward values and content that are wholly external to learners’ lived experiences
- Supplanting community patterns of questioning, discussion, decision-making or conflict management processes, etc.
- Minimizing Indigenous values and locally valued knowledge in favor of widespread dominant values and/or globally valued knowledge

These types of negative effects can make even the most rigorously tested innovation limited in benefit for Indigenous and other diverse learners. More generative and culturally sustaining adaptations of promising practices may emerge over time when schools, administrators, and teachers begin to iteratively apply locally gathered evidence and action research methods to modify and select strategies that are well tailored for the context.

Studies conducted by developmental evaluation researcher Michael Patton (1994, 2011) and situation awareness researcher Mica Endsley (1995, 2000; Endsley et al. 2003) provide models that point to the critical importance of looking within any system for indicators that can provide ongoing feedback. Identifying these key factors and attending to them with vigilance creates significant leverage and gives power to positively influence the system as a whole. Applying these models to schools as complex, interdependent (and sometimes ill-structured) systems, it becomes clear that educators serving Indigenous communities have a challenging task: they must learn to pay attention to both figure and ground, toggling back and forth between the micro-repercussions of interventions, and the community-wide ripple effects that impact generations to come.

To accomplish this, learning communities need resources and structural support to conduct their own locally driven action research; school districts must become responsive to the multiple feedback streams that come from formative data, in addition to summative test data. Even the US government recognizes the need for intensive supports in certain underserved geographic areas, offering supplemental resources to reduce inequity through special programs like contract schools, Title I funding, and the Johnson-O'Malley Act. Yet the energy that government agencies put into addressing the distinctive needs of children from various cultures and languages is often overpowered by the sheer momentum of more widespread models. Rather than waiting for the USDOE and the federal government to become more nimble and responsive, schools in Indian Country can dedicate resources to learning, applying, and adapting the methods needed to become fluent in locally producing research, assessments, and data – allowing learning communities to attend to the needs at hand with ongoing precision and a greater degree of self-determination.

As Indigenous educators, we must take to heart the fact that “the specific propositions derived from general theories of learning can be viewed only as hypotheses. They may be true, but it is quite possible that they are false. Until they have been subjected to empirical test they must be viewed as unproved” (Averch et al. 1972, p. 21). Putting this view into practice is of vital importance for Indigenous communities and for diverse learners in contexts where historical and contemporary factors add unpredicted complexity to the ways that scientifically tested interventions operate. To optimize the benefits of strategies and innovations and truly enhance learning for Indigenous communities, a higher standard of context-adaptive, iterative, and empirical testing must be applied – a standard that calls for locally driven research that is responsive to multiple contexts and to uniquely situated communities like those of the Kānaka Maoli and Diné.

Cross-References

- ▶ [Indigenous Knowledge\(s\) and the Sciences in Global Contexts: Bringing Worlds Together](#)
- ▶ [Ngarrindjeri *Yannarumi*: Educating for Transformation and Indigenous Nation \(Re\)building](#)

- ▶ [Raven's Story About Indigenous Teacher Education](#)
- ▶ [Yachayninchis \(Our Knowledge\): Environment, Cultural Practices, and Human Rights Education in the Peruvian Andes](#)

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