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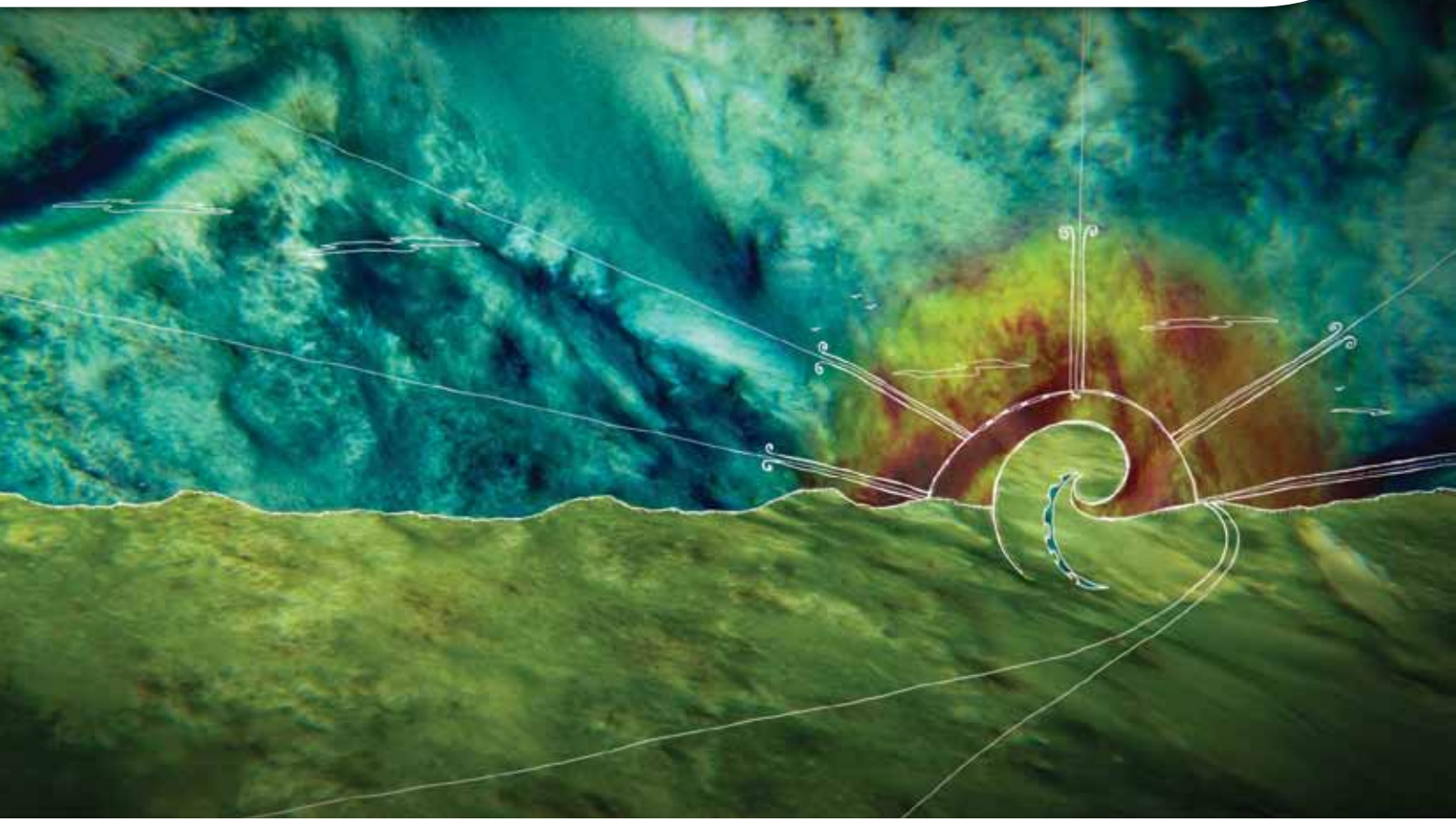

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MIHI

"E kai o mata …"

Tēnā rā tātau katoa kua uru nei tātau ki te wāhanga o Tāne-o-te-Wānanga me ōna āhuatanga katoa.

Heoi anō, ka tangi tonu ki te hunga kua rūpeke atu ki a Hinenuitepō, kia waiho mai ko tātau ki te hāpai ake i ngā mahi i whakarērea mai rā e rātau mā.

Ka nui tō mātau harikoa ki te whakarewa ake i tēnei pukapuka, te kohikohinga ake o ngā tuhituhinga ā ngā pūwānanga i tuku mai ai i ngā korero, i whakapuakina ake rā e rātau i te wā i tū ai tā tātau wānanga whakawhitiwhiti mātauranga nui, i te tau kua tahā ake nei. Tēnā ra koutou ngā kaituhituhi i whakapau kaha ki te āta wānanga, otirā ki te whakatakoto ake i ō koutou whakaaro ki rō pukapuka hei pānuitanga mā te tini me te mano i Aotearoa nei me te ao whānui.

Me mihi hoki ki te hunga ka pānui nei i ngā tuhituhinga nei. Me kore ake koutou, kua kore he take o te tā pukapuka pēnei me ngā momo korero e pā ana ki a tātau ngā iwi taketake o te ao, tae anō hoki ki ngā tauiwi o te ao. Kāre e kore, he painga tonū mō tātau, he painga hoki mō rātau hoki kei roto i ēnei tuhituhinga.

Nāreira, ka horahia ake nei ēnei kai rekareka hei whāngai ake i ngā mata, otirā, i te hinengaro o te tangata.

Nā te Poari Etita o te IIDRC

"Feast your eyes …"

Greetings one and all, as we enter the domain of Tane-the-Philosopher and all things that pertain to him in this role.

Meanwhile we mourn still for those who have passed over into the domain of the Goddess of Death, leaving us to carry forth the tasks left incomplete by them.

We are very pleased to launch this publication, a collection of the writings submitted to us by researchers on their presentations delivered by them at our research conference held last year. We thank these authors for their tireless efforts in thinking through and writing up their findings and thoughts for publication and for the reading pleasure of audiences both at home in Aotearoa and the wider world.

We also greet the potential readers of these writings. Without you, there would be no point in creating a publication such as this, complete with the range of topics emanating from and pertaining to the Indigenous world and indeed to wider society. Undoubtedly, there are some gems of wisdom for both the Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous peoples in these writings.

Therefore we spread this feast of sweet offerings as nourishment for both the eyes and the soul of the person.

From the IIDRC Editorial Board

WHĀNAU ORA

Reflecting on results from action research

*Heather Gifford**

Amohia Boulton†

Abstract

Following the 2008 general election in New Zealand, Whānau Ora was adopted as a key strategy of New Zealand social policy development and intent and in 2009, a Whānau Ora Taskforce developed the policy framework for government and Māori service providers to work together to meet whānau (family) needs. In 2010, 25 Whānau Ora collectives from around the country were selected to develop whānau-centred services. There are now 34 collectives representing more than 180 providers implementing Whānau Ora in their respective areas. Whānau Ora action researchers worked with providers to implement an action research plan. The broad aim of the Whānau Ora action research was to gather evidence of whānau-centred service delivery and whānau development occurring as a result of Whānau Ora. This paper discusses the results from the action research as well as providing a brief background to the policy context of the approach. Results are discussed under four key themes: a growing confidence in a collective approach; navigation driving organisational change; a developing workforce combining inherent skills with professional practice; and whānau planning as a change tool for whānau.

Keywords

Whānau Ora, action research, health services, evaluation

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Background

It is important in understanding the development of Whānau Ora to locate the approach in a broader policy and health services context.

From the mid-1980s onwards New Zealand embarked on a number of reforms to improve the performance of the State sector, firstly by removing the functions that were no longer considered to be the business of the State, and secondly, by ensuring the agencies that were responsible for the remaining functions were structured in such a way that they were able to deliver services efficiently and effectively. As a result of the reform agenda the New Zealand health sector changed completely, enabling the emergence of kaupapa Māori (Māori ideology) services (Boulton, Tamehana, & Brannelly, 2013).

These services are based on Māori cultural values and beliefs; they tend to operate from a holistic model of health and wellbeing, use Māori cultural practices and are usually delivered by Māori staff. Since the early 1990s the number of kaupapa Māori health service providers has increased from around 20, in 1993, to somewhere in the order of 250–300 today.

However, it was not until a further series of health reforms was introduced in 2000, with the passing of the New Zealand Public Health and Disability Act, that the overarching policy environment to support Māori health service provision was created, and the Māori concept of whānau ora was introduced into the health sector (Boulton, Simonsen, Walker, Cunningham, & Cumming, 2004).

The act introduced the use of strategies to establish national priorities and provide overall guidance for the health sector. Three strategies in particular set the scene for Māori health: the New Zealand Health Strategy, the New Zealand Disability Strategy, and most importantly the Māori Health Strategy He Korowai Oranga, which created a new direction in Māori health policy with a focus on whānau ora (family wellbeing).

Following the 2008 general election, Whānau Ora was adopted as a key strategy of New Zealand social policy development and intent and in 2009, a Whānau Ora Taskforce made up of five Māori leaders was appointed to develop the policy framework for government and Māori service providers to work together to meet whānau (family) needs. This resulted in the whānau-centred framework outlined in "Whānau Ora: Report of the Taskforce on Whānau-Centred Initiatives" (Taskforce on Whānau-Centred Initiatives, 2010).

In 2010, 25 Whānau Ora collectives representing more than 150 health and social service providers from around the country were selected to develop whānau-centred services. In the 2011 Budget, a further allocation of funding allowed the Whānau Ora model to be extended in key areas. Consequently a further eight additional collectives representing 30 providers were given approval to develop whānau-centred services in 2012. There are now 34 collectives representing more than 180 providers implementing Whānau Ora in their respective areas.

Concept of whānau ora

The term whānau ora has evolved over a period of time. Initially the term simply referred to a long-term health goal: family wellbeing. As it is written in the taskforce report, it now refers to a philosophy (which focuses on the health of the whole whānau, not just the health of the individual), a distinct model of practice (embracing the health and social service sectors) and an outcome.

The key principles outlined here have been distilled by the authors as a result of working closely with a number of Whānau Ora providers and informed by the literature. Whānau Ora is about working with whānau as a collective; it is a shift away from focusing on individuals presenting to services and more about a focus on life-course and intergenerational determinants. It is also about self-determination

and empowerment; there is a strong expectation that whānau will be the drivers of their own destiny not only determining the short-, medium- and long-term aspirations collectively but also deciding on the set of resources they require to realise the aspirations. Whānau Ora is about building on the capacity and capability of whānau using Māori cultural values and norms to achieve change and lastly about coherent and competent service delivery. This final point relates to seamless services that better meet the needs of whānau and recognising the need for skilled practitioners able to contribute to whānau empowerment and positive outcomes. Importantly Whānau Ora is about a cross-sector approach to service delivery, expecting that whānau outcomes will only be met if a holistic or cross-sector joined-up approach is taken to addressing the complex issues that face whānau. The most important demonstration of this integrated approach to service delivery was the expectation from the start that Māori providers would work as collectives to achieve the goals of Whānau Ora. There is also an expectation by the funders of outcomes, representing a significant shift in the performance monitoring, reporting and accountability mindset.

The challenge for providers is significant and means a shift in thinking and practice. The list in Table 1 has been informed by Nancy Tuaine, a member of the taskforce and CEO of one of the Whānau Ora providers. We present this list to summarise how Whānau Ora is different from business as usual for the providers working with the Whānau Ora approach.

TABLE 1 Whānau Ora principles

Business as usual	Whānau Ora
Individuals	Whānau
Transaction	Transforming
Advocating	Empowering
Issue focus	Solution focus
Output	Outcome
Funder driven	Whānau driven

In addition to the principles highlighted above, which are largely to do with implementing the approach, the framework (Taskforce on Whānau-Centred Initiatives, 2010) identified the following outcome goals for whānau-centred provision: whānau are self-managing; leading and living healthy lifestyles; participating fully in society and in Te Ao Māori (the Māori World); economically secure and successfully involved in wealth creation; and cohesive, resilient and nurturing. In addition to these whānau-level outcomes the taskforce identified three broader outcomes for Whānau Ora: whānau are self-managing and empowered; providers are effective in delivering Whānau Ora; and government agencies are effective in designing and implementing Whānau Ora.

With such a significant shift in the expectations of providers and government agencies and the concomitant expectation on whānau to take control back and plan and achieve collective aspirations, it was essential to measure changes resulting under a Whānau Ora approach.

Methods

Whakauae Research for Māori Health and Development worked alongside three separate Whānau Ora collectives to gather evidence of whānau-centred service delivery and whānau development occurring as a result of Whānau Ora.

Evaluation of complex interventions is inherently challenging as these often involve dynamic learning initiatives. The goals for Whānau Ora are long-term, the interventions are multifaceted and the context in which intervention occurs is subject to rapid change. The overall approach to the research design was therefore responsive to this complexity.

Two research approaches were utilised: realistic evaluation (Pawson & Tilley, 1997) and action research. Realistic evaluation methodology argues that in complex social systems, instead of asking if an initiative works, it is

more appropriate to develop an understanding of why a programme works, for whom and in what circumstances.

Closely related to realistic evaluation is the action research approach to understanding service implementation. Action research is based on the premise that research should do more than understand the world: it should try to help change it (Hill & Capper, 1999). As an approach, action research embraces principles of participation, reflection and empowerment.

The research design employed a kaupapa Māori framework, which Whakauae interprets as meaning a primary concern with "by Māori for Māori" approaches; Māori worldviews being the basis for understanding; research for the benefit of Māori and focused on Māori concerns for advancement; and placing Māori at the centre of research activity so that a degree of control lies in their hands.

Whakauae and the authors worked with the providers on a series of data collection, reflection, and feedback and change cycles over a three-year period with at least two cycles each year. Data collection across all cycles focused on addressing questions developed under the key areas of change prioritised by the providers. These questions were addressed systematically, building on cumulative cycles. Key informants in all action research cycles were recruited from three main sources: frontline staff, management and governance; external agencies involved in intersectoral collaboration with the providers; and whānau enrolled in the services.

Data collection methods included face-to-face individual and paired interviews, focus groups, an online survey of staff and review of key organisational documents and Whānau Ora policy documents. Detailed methods, including the limitations of the research, are outlined in technical reports available from the authors.

Themes from Whānau Ora action research

As discussed previously the broad aim of the Whānau Ora action research programme was to gather evidence of whānau-centred service delivery and whānau development occurring as a result of Whānau Ora (Taskforce on Whānau-Centred Initiatives, 2010).

To discuss the changes occurring under Whānau Ora the authors carried out a synthesis of two separate data sources—combined data from the three Whānau Ora sites (technical reports including primary data available from author) and high level analysis of action research results carried out by Te Puni Kōkiri (2012, 2014)—and then compared these with both the whānau level and broader set of goals for Whānau Ora identified in the taskforce report (Taskforce on Whānau-Centred Initiatives, 2010).

There have been a number of significant changes and ongoing challenges highlighted as a result of Whānau Ora and they can be summed up under the following themes: a growing confidence in a collective approach; navigation driving organisational change; a developing workforce combining inherent skills with professional practice; and whānau planning as a change tool for whānau. We will expand briefly on these key themes.

The collective approach

Bringing providers together under collectives has been a key feature of Whānau Ora. Despite the challenges, single-provider organisations are working together. Some of the challenges have been lack of trust, amalgamation of providers with different values and ideas for operating, time needed to establish relationships, and changes required in governance and operational systems to operate as a collective entity. Providers are seeing the strengths of working collectively and have started to develop ways of working together, such as common referral and

assessment systems. Providers have increased confidence in referring whānau to other services in the collective and are collaborating to work more strategically in mutually beneficial ways.

Navigation

Whānau Ora demands a shift in practice for staff to think "longer term with whānau" as well as more broadly across a range of sectors in addressing needs. Navigators are a key part of the approach; however, they are more likely than other staff to work with whānau who present with complex and multiple issues and are often in crisis. The importance of getting the right person for the navigator role has been highlighted. Key components of a successful navigator are having strong relationship management skills and whakapapa (kinship) connections as well as local knowledge of the community and available services. The navigator role appears to be the key "driver of change" across provider collectives, sectors and regions. A broad picture of a navigational role is emerging as supporting whānau through crises and matching needs with appropriate services; assisting whānau to develop a plan with realistic and aspirational goals; brokering services and negotiating with organisations and agencies to ensure the most appropriate response to meet broader whānau needs; reinforcing the need for organisations to work together on addressing whānau needs in an inter-sectoral way rather than separately responding to each issue in isolation (working towards a holistic approach); helping whānau to develop a step-by-step approach to achieving their goals; and working towards developing a level of support for the required amount of time that allows whānau to take ownership of their responsibilities to achieve.

Workforce development

Preparing the workforce to be proficient in applying Whānau Ora is an ongoing challenge for provider collectives; the changes required under Whānau Ora demand high levels of skills and knowledge across the workforce. Many collectives have engaged in existing training options and some have developed their own training packages. There has been a key focus on cultural competency, Results Based Accountability training and training in the use of various planning tools. Current training approaches are also seen as opportunities for staff to review their practice, specifically the application of skills and competencies.

Resourcing Whānau Ora

A recurring theme in the research is that provider collectives are working in a competitive contracting environment. The provider collectives also refer to the difficulty of multi-reporting requirements often seen as "duplication of information" and stress the need for single reporting across sectors.

In addition, the simultaneous rollout of other government initiatives that are similar to Whānau Ora places considerable burden on providers to report separately on related initiatives and also creates a degree of confusion in the sector and in the community with comments such as "Which Whānau Ora are we talking about?" This also makes attribution of change difficult in any evaluation.

It was noted that government contracting processes are slow and this impacted on the timeliness of implementation and reporting. Also noted was the mismatch of contract deliverables with additional work being carried out beyond the contract expectations. Examples of staff "working beyond the contract" and "being there 24/7" were reported by a number of the Whānau Ora action research teams.

Whānau planning

The aim of whānau planning is centred on supporting whānau to develop a plan that sets out aspirational goals beyond their immediate needs. The plan is seen as a "starting point"

for some who are interested in a broader view to address issues and achieve goals. Plans are also seen as useful "change" tools for whānau containing actions as a pathway for achieving goals.

Common goals identified in plans included financial planning and stability; connections to whānau and mokopuna (grandchildren); building on cultural knowledge; healthy lifestyles; greater confidence in developing effective parenting; engaging in community life; and coping with grief and loss.

Whānau ownership of the plan is critical and the role of the provider is to support the development of goals and to work with the whānau to provide direction towards achieving them. Critical to the support role by staff is working with whānau towards "self-sustainability" and not about completing actions on behalf of the whānau. It was also noted that all whānau members should be involved in the planning process.

Whānau need to be in the right frame of mind and in the right place to engage in planning. Those whānau who present with an immediate need will not be focused on planning until that need has been addressed. It is only then that whānau will consider planning for broader purposes.

To summarise, the authors wish to draw on the three major outcomes identified for Whānau Ora and reflect on progress to date. Three major outcomes were identified for Whānau Ora (alongside the detailed whānau-level outcomes): whānau are self-managing and empowered; providers are effective in delivering Whānau Ora; and government agencies are effective in designing and implementing Whānau Ora.

Whānau are self-managing and empowered

We are still working towards this goal and have mechanisms in place for this to be achieved. The challenge to turn things around for some Māori whānau is significant and will not be achieved solely by Whānau Ora. However, if resourced appropriately and implemented according to the intent of the approach, Whānau Ora will be a major influence on whānau wellbeing.

Providers are effective in delivering Whānau Ora

There has been a significant amount of change in the provider sector over the last three years and the sector is reasonably prepared for the next phase of Whānau Ora. The authors consider Whānau Ora has provided the impetus and resource for providers to self-reflect and learn from these reflections and change how they do business; this has been a major outcome of Whānau Ora.

Government agencies are effective in designing and implementing Whānau Ora

There has not been significant progress with this outcome and the wider environment has not changed sufficiently to meet the challenges of Whānau Ora. This has been disappointing, especially as there was cross-government buy-in to the process. Without broader structural change it will be difficult for Whānau Ora to realise its full potential.

Recommendations

There are a number of challenges we will need to overcome if we are to realise the lofty goals of Whānau Ora. A continued focus on building workforce capacity, continued commitment by government, and the need for structural changes that can support Whānau Ora will be required. Changes will also need to build on the achievements of the last two to three years and be clearly communicated to all stakeholders. It will be necessary to embed emergent changes that have already occurred for the collectives.

Finally, we need whānau and communities who are ready to embrace the opportunities being provided under Whānau Ora.

Glossary

kaupapa Māori	Māori ideology
mokopuna	grandchildren
Te Ao Māori	the Māori World
whakapapa	kinship
whānau ora	family wellbeing
whānau	family

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CONCEPTUALISING RESEARCH AND CONSULTATION WITHIN A CREATIVE DOCTORATE

*Jason De Santolo**

Abstract

This paper shares insights into formulating a Doctorate of Creative Arts study within an emergent Indigenous communication paradigm. I assert that long-term consultation processes are a necessary precursor to accurately framing context for communication of Indigenous knowledge within an academic construct. By embedding sustainable communication practices within the consultation process I believe we manifest a more meaningful conceptualisation of research meaning. This resonates with our youth and a new generation of activism and scholarship. It speaks to the importance of seeking to harmonise knowledge pathways with localised lores, protocols and big-picture principles for research media.

Keywords

consultation, conceptualisation, multimodality, Karrwa, Yanyuwa, Indigenous communication

Introduction

> Jungku ngambala ngarrur ngarrumba yarkijina yurrngumba.
>
> We all sit peacefully in our lands forever. (Elder Nancy McDinny)

This Doctorate of Creative Arts (DCA) study looks towards understanding the renewal of ancient Karrwa and Yanyuwa song traditions through Indigenous participatory video practices. Karrwa and Yanyuwa territories lie in the South West Gulf of Carpentaria in the Northern

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Territory of Australia.* Although many people now live in the local town of Borroloola, the tribes are still inextricably bound together through creation stories, kinship, lore, shared histories and ceremonies. Survival of ancient traditions in the Gulf region is remarkable considering the harsh impacts of colonisation throughout Australia. These song traditions are "discourses of the land" and the process of renewal does not simply involve engaging with new modes of communication. Renewal evokes sophisticated mediation around lore, kinship, provenance and the powerful aesthetics of an ancient culture. Consultations for the DCA took place over two years with Elders and musicians in the local Sandridge Band. This paper focuses discussion on this two-year consultation and specifically the deep learning cycle involved in developing one of the song tradition case studies. Consultation became even more significant when preliminary research unearthed evidence that Karrwa and Yanyuwa territories were under serious threat from multinational mining developments. This informed a shift in the proposal and inspired a compelling new contextual strand. At a methodological level it holds exciting potential for being tactically responsive to grassroots aspirations in the rediscovery of power and in the framing of new research agendas (Jackson, 2012; Moreton-Robinson, 2006).

The Sandridge Band has been working with Elders in renewing song traditions through their distinct bush rock reggae style. This repertoire includes exciting new formats, where ancient song traditions are composed into modern music. Ngabaya is a powerful example of this and generally refers to human-like spirit beings or spirit people; they are also ancestral beings and a dreaming (Bradley, 2010). Originally a Karrwa song, it has been "touched up" in Yanyuwa by the Elders. Some songs evoke deeply embodied notions of creation, guardianship and place, while others speak of social justice or reveal a funny moment in history (Bradley, 2010; Kearney, 2009). In a distribution context Ngabaya has already manifested as a modern music track within the *Brolga Dreaming* album and has been performed and shared on stage and broadcast in part on National Indigenous Television (Sandridge Band, 2012; Stories from Sandridge, 2013). It holds public and sacred aspects to its song and dance performance and like most song traditions there are specific groups and individuals who hold authority for this song and dance. Areas of land attributed to Ngabaya are under direct threat from mining exploration and development activities right now. Elders selected Ngabaya as one of the participatory music video case studies because of its importance and its powerful social, cultural and historical contexts for renewal within a music video domain (Van Leeuwen, 2005).

Harmonising creativity and research

Creative doctorates are becoming more of a common pathway for undertaking research from within the academy. When we communicate creatively we are freed up in some way, we can strive to understand the power of communicating knowledge without defining it—and potentially without drastically recontextualising it. Indigenous storytelling is significantly hard to define. It is ancient and ever present, fluid and embodied, emancipatory and strategic (Behrendt, 2013; Clague, 2013; Wortham, 2013). It holds an elusive ability to connect us to the land's natural cycles, to forge and reinforce relationships, to manifest as many tools in the process of "becoming" relevant (Standley, Bidwell, George, Steffensen, & Gothe, 2009). Communicating this knowledge can be a complex scenario to navigate, a liminal line between sacred and the mundane, between Western and Indigenous knowledge systems, ancient

* Project Elders have requested that Karrwa spelling be explored in this way and within this project context, noting that this is part of an ongoing conversation and that it is written and documented in numerous ways including Garawa, Karawa and Garrwa.

practices and lores. The National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC) has pointed out the serious reasons for taking a careful approach: "Working with difference in a research context takes time, care, patience and the building of robust relationships" (NHMRC, 2003, p. 3). Indigenous peoples have unique worldviews, lores and protocols. These lores are often shaped around the way things are communicated; who has the right to communicate that knowledge; and how, when, where and with whom it can be shared. This has been widely discussed in the making of the landmark documentary *Two Laws* (1981) by the Borroloola community in collaboration with filmmakers Cavadini and Strachan (Davis & Moreton, 2011; Syron & Kearney, 2008).

What is the purpose for communicating knowledge and what is the most appropriate process for this? There is already a significant body of work posing these complex questions across various disciplines (Bradley, 2010; Christie, 2005; Gubula, Corn, & Mant, 2009; Radoll, 2010). In terms of Indigenous video practices, Latin American experiences provide deep insights into the power of communication as a key strategy for self-determination. I was lucky enough to participate in the Coordinadora Latinoamericana de Cine y Comunicación de los Pueblos Indígenas (CLACPI), a touring Indigenous film festival which was in Bogota, Colombia, in 2012. This was a defining moment for me in terms of understanding the importance of communication and process in filmmaking. These fearless filmmakers regularly risked their lives in sharing their stories and fighting for their lands. In the CLACPI space we all shared our work through USB drives and there was no red carpet in sight. I developed a deeper appreciation for what Salazar and Cordova have termed as "the poetics of Indigenous media"—the process of making culture visible (Salazar & Cordova, 2008). Not only were we experiencing similar challenges with mining companies and oppressive governments but also with colonial representations that counter our visual sovereignty and the continual denial of our right to teach and communicate in our own languages (Raheja, 2007).

So in initiating a serious discussion about communicating Karrwa and Yanyuwa knowledge, I began by acknowledging the need for understanding how we can assert our visual sovereignty. The consultation discussions were determined by Elders who understood and were connected with the community and not specifically by institutions in this instance. These relational matters are important for brokering understandings as they reinforce worldviews, local protocols and lore. The researcher treads lightly and with conscious (not theoretical) "Spirit and Integrity" (NHMRC, 2005, p. 8). But it is common sense to speak to the right people, in the right place, in the right way.

The real challenge seems to lie in harmonising this consultative process with relevant, proven communication strategies—so that each iteration and encounter has meaning and builds upon an understanding of the conceptual ideas emerging from the discussion. This takes shape in different ways and often within the parameters of a specific discipline. In this case we explored what research can be, and what has been done by other prominent academics in this area like Dr Elizabeth Mackinlay and Dr John Bradley (Bradley & Mackinlay, 2000) on song traditions in animation (Monash University, 2014) and Tony Roberts through histories of frontier violence (Roberts, 2005). I showed how video works and we explored the different roles for designing, producing and distributing video pieces. We saw painted histories unfold with Elders. We listened to our youth reflect on their media, music and dance. We travelled through our territories, revisiting some of the celebrated places of resistance. We honoured the pathway of our ancestors who fought for the lands and for future generations. We went into the archives and rediscovered some of our oral histories and imagery. We practised working as a family in front of and behind the camera. We shared skills and laughed together.

We hunted, fished and shared food and fire. I sat and listened to Elders and Band members sing and perform. Karrwa and Yanyuwa stories and songs on country were experienced through different seasonal and ceremonial cycles. In essence we built trust and forged a spirit of intent based on what had come to be meaningful in the context of understanding how these song traditions were communicated. Enlightening and uplifting. This process forged relationships and a deeper connection with the discourses of the land as they manifest in bush, outstation, town and city.

Conceptualising research meaning in practice

Broad ethical principles guided the consultation in the foundational stages yet there was no firm agenda or timeframe. We were simply being together. There were still major complexities involved in understanding how to approach the formulation of this DCA concept but there was a clear desire for this collaboration. This reflective language helps discuss potentially complex notions in a relevant way back to the Elders and collaborators in the community. The consultation process realigned new methodological objectives and informed a shift from collaborative video production towards an analytical investigation into Karrwa and Yanyuwa modes of design, production and distribution within the music video domain.

In this instance consultation engaged with and correlated key consultation phase guidelines and principles from within two key protocol realms—Indigenous research ethics (Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, 2012; Janke, 2009b; NHMRC, 2005, 2007) and media filmmaking principles and protocols (Australia Council for the Arts, 2007; Bostok, 1997; Janke, 2009a; Johnson, 2001; Mackinolty & Duffy, 1987).

Consultation for a certain song tradition had to involve the right custodians for the land of which this song belonged. It also meant speaking to both the correct traditional owners and managers for that song and country. Speaking rights had to align with Karrwa and Yanyuwa lore. The Elders guided the sharing of song and dance on the land in different contexts and different seasons. It allowed for a deeper understanding of the full tradition, and allowed greater reflection on the participatory video options available around conceptual design, place, production and distribution.

Aboriginal filmmaker Lester Bostok has highlighted his concern that often the benefit of information "flows to the researcher rather than the subject, and the use of the information largely serves to maintain and institutionalise a dependency power relationship" (Bostok, 1997, p. 19). While Indigenous researchers strive to do meaningful work we are often tempered by institutional rules and boundaries. During consultation the Elders have ensured that Ngabaya song tradition has been communicated to me as it relates to the land and our people. By openly positioning myself within this kinship structure I have determined a rightful orientation to this knowledge and according to Karrwa and Yanyuwa lore and protocols. It necessarily involved understanding the responsibilities of holding this knowledge. This understanding is shared with other Indigenous peoples. Tewa scholar Gregory Cayete says, "Rightful orientation to the natural world is the primary message and intent of the mythic perception symbolized by the sacred directions among American Indians" (Cayete, 1994, p. 37).

Privileging Karrwa and Yanyuwa lore and protocols has greatly enhanced the DCA. We ensure that the influence of Elders and custodians is actively communicated and maintained throughout the study. Indigenous participatory video practice also provides a critical communicative means for mitigating the effects of theorising and commodifying culture outside of Karrwa and Yanyuwa epistemologies. Through ongoing reflection and a dedicated archival strategy we aim to stop the power of the raw

material from being taken off-country (Bostok, 1997, p. 19).

Through this deep consultation we came to an understanding that the study needs to examine how the song traditions change context when made into music videos. Elders also wanted to know more about why existing Western systems fail to adequately interpret Karrwa and Yanyuwa worldviews (Van Leeuwen, 1999). Why was Karrwa and Yanyuwa lore not recognised in the same light as the Western legal tradition underpinning Australian society? What will an Indigenous jurisprudential understanding bring to a reflection on the song tradition in music video contexts? I described the work of Māori lawyer Moana Jackson and how he presented this process as a "re-discovery of our own rights, law and sovereign authority" and "that as indigenous peoples we re-open the ancient discourses of our ancestors and explore again how we might redefine and reclaim what our rights and authority mean" [and in the sight of future generations] "give substance once more to the spirit of our power" (Jackson, 2012, p. 3). We are very privileged to hold kujika as an example of an ancient discourse, described by Dr John Bradley as being

> like scriptures, the texts of the Law, concerning super vital, concealing myriad meanings, which cannot be contained by ordinary everyday words. Kujika require the special language of the Dreamings—the language of the plants, fish, dugong, birds, rainbow serpents and all other human and non-human entities in the embrace of country. (Bradley, 2010, p. 251)

To understand the dynamic role of song as tradition then we will be looking at the full embodiment of the song-making process and the relationships it reinforces across lore and kinship, land and dreamings. On returning to the academy I was able to frame the proposal so that the creative practice in this DCA (that is, Indigenous participatory video) was activated as an empowering communicative tool for this song tradition case study ensuring that the outcomes of the process (music videos) are interrogated through Karrwa and Yanyuwa perspectives and multimodal discourse analysis.

Concluding remarks

This is a non-exhaustive attempt to offer up insights at an early stage of study. It is clearly not presented as a refined and tested consultation model, method or protocol. Rather, it is presented as tactical reflection on deep consultation processes. Through sustainable communication practices we have evoked a healthy conceptualisation of research meaning and an understanding of the spirit and integrity underpinning this DCA study.

Glossary

Karrwa (also spelt Garrwa/Garawa/Karawa)	tribe in the South West Gulf of Carpentaria, Northern Territory
kujika	an ancient song tradition that maps creation, like scriptures
Ngabaya	spirit being, ancestral being, a song cycle and dreaming
Yanyuwa	tribe in the South West Gulf of Carpentaria, Northern Territory

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TIKANGA MĀORI

Animal cadavers used for teaching animal euthanasia

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Abstract

The importance Māori place on the environment and animals in particular is evidenced in Māori oral narratives and proverbial sayings. Understanding Māori knowledge and the cultural norms associated with animals is beneficial to animal welfare inspectors and building stronger relationships with Māori communities. One of the core functions of being an animal welfare inspector is to mitigate animal suffering, pain and distress, a common method of which is emergency euthanasia of the animal(s). Māori report a level of anxiety performing euthanasia on live animals, which highlights the importance for natural sciences to provide Māori-centred support and culturally relevant teaching. Animal euthanasia, taught using ethically sourced animal cadavers, is a difficult, sensitive and culturally complex subject to teach students. The cultural safety of staff and students is paramount. We have implemented a number of tikanga Māori (Māori customs) strategies, and feedback on these mātauranga Māori (Māori traditional knowledge) initiatives has been very positive: increasing cultural awareness, providing culturally relevant support for Māori students

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and increasing Māori cultural competency of staff. This article explores the relationship Māori had, and continue to have, with animals and discusses the use of tikanga Māori employed to aid and enhance the current euthanasia methods used by animal welfare inspectors.

Keywords

mātauranga Māori, tikanga, animal euthanasia, cultural safety, animal welfare

Introduction

Mātauranga Māori (Māori traditional knowledge) is enshrined in New Zealand culture and legislation through the Treaty of Waitangi. Māori values form the basis for explaining te ao Māori (the Māori worldview), and provide the concepts, principles and lore regarding responsibilities and interactions with the natural and spiritual environments. The importance Māori place on the environment, and native flora and fauna in particular, is shown in Māori oral narratives and proverbial sayings. Many of the traditional concepts and terms now form a modern Māori perspective, or worldview, along with a range of modern expanded definitions and interpretations (Harmsworth, 2002; Tipene-Matua et al., 2009). Understanding Māori knowledge and cultural norms is essential for science practitioners in New Zealand if they are to build effective teaching and working relationships with Māori communities.

Mātauranga Māori in the curriculum

Embedding mātauranga Māori within the curriculum can be challenging, particularly when there is not a great tradition of Māori participation in disciplines such as animal welfare. The conversations that ensue are often focused on relevance to the discipline and the availability of resources to embed mātauranga Māori content. How relevant is mātauranga Māori to the discipline of animal welfare? Addressing the question of relevance is a pertinent step towards the acceptance and normalisation of mātauranga Māori within a discipline like animal welfare and so the development of resources becomes a priority to ensure that both staff and students are able to successfully embed and incorporate mātauranga Māori in their teaching, learning and assessments.

Understanding Māori relationships with animals

Evidence of the relationship Māori have with animals is contained within Māori genealogy, oral narratives, songs and proverbial sayings (Orbell & McLean, 2002; White, 1887). Māori would often liken themselves to animals of their environment, believe that their ancestors possessed the power to transform themselves into animals, and considered animals to be messengers, guides, guardians and friends. Māori often composed waiata (songs) and haka (dances) to celebrate animals and their deeds. This illustrates that the relationship Māori had and continue to have with animals is an important one; so important in fact, that the relationship between both is etched into the carvings that adorn our meeting-houses or repositories of knowledge (W. Simon, personal communication, 27 September 2014).

Māori representation in the sciences

Māori concepts of spirituality and how the New Zealand science education system encompasses and communicates the Māori worldview in practical science classes is an important area of study. Māori and Pacific people are

underrepresented within the sciences (Ratima et al., 2008), and as a result, within the field of animal welfare science. It is important that this is rectified and corrected (Wikaire & Ratima, 2011). The lack of Māori in science may be in part due to the criticism that science includes practices that are reductionist, and that it is disdainful of whakapapa (genealogy), mauri (life force) and wairua (spirit) (Mika, 2007). Science programmes have also been criticised for the absence of integration of Māori tikanga (customs) and Māori processes, and that the courses do not fully address Māori worldviews (Wikaire & Ratima, 2011). Tikanga affords the opportunity for successful integration of mātauranga with science to produce appropriate, meaningful and positive outcomes for Māori and non-Māori alike (Hikuroa, Slade, & Gravley, 2011).

In this paper we report on a number of tikanga Māori strategies that have recently been incorporated in animal euthanasia science teaching to ensure Māori-centred support is provided and teaching is culturally relevant. Feedback on these mātauranga Māori initiatives has been very positive in acknowledging the value and integrity of Māori knowledge and practice, evidencing a commitment to Māoritanga (Māori culture), developing effective student–teacher relationships, and unlocking the science and innovation potential of Māori people and resources to the benefit of all New Zealand. In addition, incorporating mātauranga Maori into our teaching has led to increasing cultural awareness and competency of staff and students, and providing culturally safe support for Māori students.

The Māori concept of wairua

According to Benland (1988), Māori have well-established concepts of both the taha wairua (spiritual side of life) and a person's individual wairua. As part of a holistic system, trying to separate the idea of wairua from other fundamental principles such as mana (prestige), mauri, and distinctions between tapu (sacred) and noa (harmless) is not only impossible, but to do so would also miss the point that these concepts are part of an interrelated whole that must be viewed together. The nature of a person's wairua is in many ways similar to the Christian concept of a soul or spirit, which is indeed how the word is usually translated. However, wairua is not confined to humans, as all aspects of the environment are understood as having wairua and mauri (Jenkins, 1988; Mead, 2003). For example, the belief that all objects in the environment have both mauri and mana imbued within them means all things must be treated with respect and that humans are not more important than their environment (Patterson, 1992). We acknowledge that these spiritual views may not be held by all Māori, and may fluctuate in terms of importance at different stages of life; they constitute a living tradition (Lewis & Pickering, 2003).

Māori tikanga around death

It is important to be aware that death in the broader European sense does not equate well with Māori (Rameka & Te Pania, 1990). Mead (2003) argues that a greater regard for the spiritual component of the body after death is in danger of being disregarded and that the wairua is still alive in a "Māori" sense. In fact, the wairua is believed to wander at will, leaving and returning to the body for three to five days (Tipene-Leach, 1994). Lewis and Pickering (2003) discuss the movement between the realm of the living and the dead and considerations of customary rules and observances in reference to cadaveric donation involving removal of organs from the dead person as soon after death as possible.

Tikanga Māori when around cadavers

Ancient tikanga protocols passed down through the generations ensures the cultural safety and comfort of all participants. Tikanga processes ensure that all those who want to have their say are given the space to do so, and whilst these processes will not suit all people or situations, these processes have proven to be successful within Māori communities. Whether non-Māori benefit from or embrace these traditions has not been ascertained. As New Zealand increases its cultural confidence and maturity, and as Māori culture becomes more visible, especially in tertiary science education, the protocols introduced in this paper may become second nature in this country in the future (Mead, 2003; Tipene-Matua et al., 2009).

Sullivan (2012) elaborates in detail of whakanoa (ritual to cleanse) practices by Māori who work with tūpāpaku (corpses) both in a professional and non-professional capacity. In particular, Sullivan highlights the importance of carrying out karakia (chants/prayers) and whakanoa, such as sprinkling yourself with water, as it is believed that anything that came into contact with tūpāpaku became laden with tapu and hence, that item was unable to be safely used until that tapu had been removed. Whakanoa serves to render things "usable" again.

Tertiary academic programmes that use cadavers have been criticised because Māori students are not able to incorporate their own beliefs and values within programmes, and there is significant pressure to ignore or suppress Māori values and priorities in learning and practice (Wikaire & Ratima, 2011). These authors cite examples including the use of cadavers without appropriate Māori process such as karakia, and requirements to partially undress for mixed male and female class activities when practising physiotherapy techniques, which compromised some Māori students' cultural values (Wikaire & Ratima, 2011).

Teaching emergency animal euthanasia

The Certificate in Animal Welfare Investigations at Unitec is a vocational training programme run in partnership with the Royal New Zealand Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals and the Ministry for Primary Industries, which aims to teach students to become animal welfare inspectors. Traditionally, this programme has the highest number of Māori students within the Department of Natural Sciences, despite being significantly lower than students who identify as non-Māori; consequently, embedding mātauranga Māori is of fundamental importance.

One of the core functions of being an animal welfare inspector is to mitigate animal suffering, pain and distress, a common method of which may be through emergency euthanasia of the animal(s). Euthanasia refers to a Greek term meaning "good death" ("euthanasia", n.d.). Animal euthanasia is a difficult and sensitive subject to teach students. In order to prepare students emotionally for this task, we first teach the theory of how to carry out humane animal euthanasia on a range of species, followed by a practical session where students can practise the techniques on ethically sourced animal cadavers. It is crucial that the principles taught are based on the best scientific principles to ensure that the most humane practices are employed. It is imperative that animal euthanasia is taught constructively and appropriately, as research shows that performing euthanasia on animals triggers feelings of guilt, remorse and grief (Coughlan, 2008).

Respect for the cadavers has always been taught to all our students; however, in the last two years we have become much more cognisant of the culturally complex issues of working with cadavers—in particular, considering cadavers tapu, and being aware of the mauri of the animals from a traditional Māori perspective. The sacredness of human cadavers in Māori belief and practice has been discussed in detail

by many authors, such as Mead (2003), Mika (2007) and Sullivan (2012). The spirituality aspects accentuate the importance of valuing people and cultural perspectives by placing at the forefront the guiding principle of ensuring the dignity and mana of those engaging in the euthanasia component of the course. It has also been well documented that it is difficult for Māori students to work with human cadavers (for example, Lamdin, Weller, & Kerse, 2012; Sullivan, 2012).

Tikanga Māori strategies implemented to teach emergency animal euthanasia

The implementation of a number of tikanga Māori strategies around cadaver use has been guided and supported by Māori kaumātua (elders) in order to appropriately acknowledge these beliefs, and in particular by Major John Marsh from Te Arawa. The tikanga included are a karakia and a waiata to acknowledge the lives of the animals and to give thanks to the animals for their use, prior to them being handled by the students; banning food and drinks; and washing their hands on entering and leaving the euthanasia sessions as part of the process of whakanoa (tapu removal procedures). Whakanoa is observed to give the students and staff psychological and cultural safety.

Student feedback on the tikanga Māori strategies implemented

Previous research has indicated that Māori report a level of anxiety performing euthanasia on live animals (Walker & Dale, 2009), highlighting the importance for the provision of Māori-centred support and culturally relevant teaching. Following the incorporation of the previously described tikanga Māori strategies within our animal euthanasia teaching, we gathered feedback from our 2014 cohort of Animal Welfare Investigations students. This feedback was obtained as part of a larger survey investigating the use of cadavers as a practical tool to teach methods of animal euthanasia. This questionnaire contained a total of 71 questions, of which 7 directly related to the tikanga Māori strategies our students engaged with. These questions included requesting the students to share their feelings on the Unitec kaumātua's acknowledgement of the lives of the animals; whether they felt the strategies were worthwhile; whether they felt more comfortable working with the cadavers after observing the strategies and processes; whether they understood why the teaching staff had engaged these strategies and processes; and whether they felt there was any way this process could be improved. There was a 100% response rate. No students self-identified as being Māori.

The individual feedback provided by all 26 students regarding their experience and engagement in the tikanga Māori strategies in the animal euthanasia practical was overwhelmingly positive. Sixty-six percent of the students felt the tikanga was worthwhile and 96% indicated they understood why these strategies had been initiated. Whilst 66% were indifferent or did not feel the Unitec kaumātua's acknowledgement of the lives of the animals made working with cadavers easier, the great majority (85%) felt comfortable during the session and provided written comments recognising the importance of appreciating the lives of animals given to science and teaching. A sample of these follows:

> He [Unitec kaumātua] spoke in both Maori and English and made it easy to understand what he was doing.

> It's good to know that they dealt with spirits of the animals in a respectful way on behalf of others.

> Animals have lives too and it is important to acknowledge this. As well as clarifying

> different cultures that may be averse to handling dead animals as they are sacred.
>
> I thought this was really beneficial, it is a great form of cultural communication that I believe an AWI [animal welfare inspector] needs to be aware compassionate of/to.

These findings suggest that regardless of cultural identity the implementation of tikanga Māori strategies within emergency animal euthanasia teaching is of great benefit to all students, encouraging cultural acknowledgement and awareness, as well as increasing respect for the sacrifice of animal lives used for teaching purposes. We feel strongly that our programme has been greatly improved by their implementation, as well as providing culturally relevant support for Māori students. In addition, it upholds the principles of the second article of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Treaty of Waitangi).

We also hope that the integration of Māori content into the curriculum will enhance the cultural competence of all our graduates, and be beneficial by increasing the Māori cultural competency of staff within the Department of Natural Sciences. This is particularly important as we have a very multicultural staffed department with less than 50% of the current staff originating from New Zealand.

Conclusion

We are hopeful that the tikanga Māori initiatives we have integrated within the animal euthanasia curriculum will encourage Māori to study in the animal welfare sciences. These mātauranga Māori initiatives have also increased the respect for and acknowledgement of the animal life being used and sacrificed, and the ceremony surrounding cadaver usage. We are confident that this will impact positively on Māori student success and retention, and will hopefully encourage future Māori students to study science in tertiary education.

Glossary

haka	dance
karakia	chant, prayer
kaumātua	elder
mana	prestige
Māoritanga	Māori culture
mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge
mauri	life force
noa	being free from tapu; harmless
taha wairua	the spiritual side of life
tapu	sacred
te ao Māori	the Māori worldview
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	the Treaty of Waitangi
tikanga Māori	Māori customs
tūpāpaku	corpse
waiata	song
wairua	spirit
whakanoa	ritual to cleanse; tapu removal procedures
whakapapa	genealogy

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RECOMMENDATIONS FOR AN INTERCULTURAL APPROACH IN RURAL WATER AND SANITATION PROJECTS WITH INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

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Abstract

Indigenous peoples are overrepresented among the rural poor and disproportionately affected by lack of water and sanitation services. Their unequal access to these services cannot be explained solely by economic or geographical disadvantages; sociocultural marginalisation creates barriers that prevent indigenous peoples from leading healthy and dignified lives. Based on a literature review and field research in Nicaragua, recommendations for the implementation of an intercultural approach in rural water and sanitation projects are presented. To overcome sociocultural barriers that undermine indigenous peoples' sustainable access, the authors propose that projects should be guided by the principles of mutual trust and respect, dialogue, flexibility and inclusion, and establishing long-term supportive relations.

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Keywords

sustainable development, indigenous authorities, sociocultural barriers, dialogue, Latin America, the Caribbean

Introduction

The International Labour Organization (ILO) convention No 169 and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples both stress indigenous peoples' right to equal access to services and resources (ILO, 1989; United Nations, 2007). Still, indigenous peoples represent 15% of people living in poverty, while only constituting 5% of the global population (International Fund for Agricultural Development [IFAD], 2009); they suffer disproportionately from the multi-dimensional factors of poverty, such as under-nutrition and other health-related problems (Eversole, 2005); and they have lower access to water and sanitation services than non-indigenous peoples (United Nations Development Programme [UNDP], 2006). In addition, indigenous peoples generally benefit less from national development as a result of their political marginalisation and lack of representation (Carling, 2001; Mikkelsen, 2001).

Many indigenous peoples have strong and close relationships with nature and natural resources in their territories (Peña, 2004). These are often closely connected to the peoples' overarching worldview and intrinsically linked to the cultural, economic, social and spiritual well-being of the peoples (Anderson et al., 2011; Finn & Jackson, 2011; Mooney & Tan, 2012; Singh, 2006; Toussaint, 2008). Water generally has one or several spirits and is a sentient being; a perspective that fundamentally diverges from the Westernised view of water as an economic good (Campos & Zamora, 2009; Groenfeldt, 2006).

Background and methodology

Selection of technology and organisation of services management requires additional attention in indigenous communities as a result of indigenous peoples' struggles to maintain their worldviews, social structures and lifestyles in the face of historical processes of marginalisation and assimilation (Fenelon & Hall, 2008). The greater complexity stems partly from the lack of recognition of indigenous peoples' authorities and perspectives, and governmental agencies' overall lack of continuous interest and presence in development endeavours. Effects encountered in the field studies in Nicaragua included non-functioning, unsafe or abandoned water and sanitation solutions (Tinoco, Cortobius, Doughty Grajales, & Kjellén, 2014).

One particularly problematic issue in the organisation of services relates to tariff systems. Here the principles of cost recovery for services clash with resistance to what is perceived as a commodification of water resources and a general lack of financial resources in rural indigenous communities (Huertas Diaz, 2007; Lockwood, Medrano Morales, & Olmedo Altamirano, 2001; Pearce, Willis, & Jenkin, 2007).

The application of an intercultural approach is seen as a promising way to overcome barriers that indigenous peoples face in their access to sustainable water and sanitation services. The review by Jiménez, Cortobius, & Kjellén (2014a) showed, however, that most projects are based on a standard approach to provision of rural water and sanitation services, with limited consideration of local conditions and customs of indigenous peoples. Even if many development actors commit to applying an intercultural approach, few describe

how it should be, or has been, carried out in practice.

The intercultural approach goes far beyond the translation of manuals or training people in their own language, but involves creating spaces enabling cultures to truly meet (Organización Panamericana de la Salud [OPS] & Cooperación Alemana al Desarrollo [GTZ], 2006). The creation of such spaces takes time, and requires changes to standardised procedures and flexibility in implementation approaches (Jiménez et al., 2014a). Hence, rather than following checklists attached to existing plans and procedures, it is recommended that project cooperation is guided by a set of core values or principles:

- mutual trust and respect,
- dialogue,
- flexibility and inclusion, and
- long-term supportive relations.

More detailed descriptions of activities that can be used to operationalise these values, such as Free Prior Informed Consent and community contracting and monitoring, can found in Jiménez et al. (2014b).

Mutual trust and respect

Several development actors recognise that lacking respect of and responsiveness to local contexts has resulted in the imposition of unsuitable and unsustainable technical and management solutions (Land and Water Bolivia Ltda, 2006; OPS & GTZ, 2006; Whiteford, Laspina, & Torres, 1996). Disrespect for culture, traditions and worldviews was the foremost reoccurring complaint voiced by communities participating in the research partnership (Tinoco et al., 2014).

Understanding how indigenous peoples' relationships and worldviews affect the desirability of different water and sanitation solutions is of key importance. The acceptance of solutions in relation to sanitation in particular—for example, pit latrines, water-flushed systems or open defecation—depends heavily on perceptions of cleanliness, disease transmission and appropriate interferences in nature (Land and Water Bolivia Ltda, 2006; Programa de Agua y Saneamiento, 2000; World Bank, 2012).

Indigenous peoples have long-standing relations with particular territories and more or less developed traditions of organisation and self-government; for example, with consensus-based decision-making. Some of the fundamental rules and norms of these institutions tend to diverge from those of governmental agencies and development actors, which often guide the priority setting in projects. The recognition and respect for indigenous peoples' interests, aspirations, and established authorities and decision-making mechanisms as legitimate is fundamental for governmental agencies and development actors to gain trust and to enable a horizontal dialogue. If the different institutions and norms are not integrated and respected, the projects' sustainability will be at great risk (Lockwood, 2002; Lockwood et al., 2001; OPS & GTZ, 2006; Tinoco et al., 2014).

Dialogue

The Committee of Experts of the ILO Convention No. 169 asserts that a "permanent dialogue at all levels, as required by the Convention, contributes to preventing conflict and building an inclusive model of development" (ILO, 2009, p. 38). A continuous dialogue based on mutual respect between stakeholders is the key mechanism to develop holistic solutions suitable to the local social, cultural and environmental context as it enables an epistemological encounter between the knowledge of indigenous peoples, governmental agencies, development actors, and researchers (Servicio Nacional para la Sostenibilidad de Servicios en Saneamiento Básico [SENASBA], 2011).

It is important to respect and utilise communication channels and spokespersons recognised by indigenous peoples and communities throughout projects, but in particular to

open up the dialogue and to agree on terms of collaboration.

A fruitful intercultural dialogue as equals requires substantial time. It needs to allow customary decision-making processes to come to their term and must engage all their relevant authorities. At the same time, projects need to carefully ensure that the voices of all groups are heard, not just those of the most outspoken or easily accessible members of a community or a group.

As in all communication, the use of appropriate language is fundamental. Knowledge about traditions related to knowledge transfer also gives insight into appropriate communication methods, including audio-visual techniques (SENASBA, 2011). Unfortunately, language and communication barriers are regularly overlooked by governmental agencies and development actors, restraining the participation of women and elderly people in particular. Local facilitators have functioned as important linguistic and cultural bridges for improved communication (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean [CEPAL] et al., 2013; Tinoco et al., 2014).

Flexibility and inclusion

Flexibility of governmental agencies and development actors to adapt project scope, goals and implementation approaches is essential for an effective and appropriate application of an intercultural approach. Empowerment of indigenous peoples and communities by involving them throughout the project cycle—formulation, implementation and monitoring—is essential for the sustainability of water and sanitation services (Tournée & van Esch, 2001). This helps to adapt systems to the local context, develop technical and management capacities in the communities, and generate project "ownership".

In practice, however, timetables, goals and outputs of development projects tend to be defined long before consultation with indigenous peoples and communities, thus providing space only for minor adjustments. This may result in communities accepting water and sanitation investments—if at all asked—even if they know the solution does not fit their needs and context. As described by a Garifuna woman from Orinoco, participatory exercises then become mechanisms for information rather than opportunities to jointly develop projects and processes:

> When they come they just say, "We have a project and it's so and so, and if you want it you take it, if you don't want it just say it, because we back off with it right now." They don't let the community decide for itself. They just come in with the project and set it up, and sometimes we don't know how anything runs. (University of the Autonomous Regions of the Nicaraguan Caribbean Coast [URACCAN], 2013)

Thus, the development of flexible and open-ended projects would mean a fundamental break with current practices of most governmental agencies and development actors.

In the dialogues and processes, the participation of disadvantaged groups, including women, youth and persons with disabilities, may need specific attention to allow them to influence decisions and solutions. Therefore governmental agencies and development actors need to identify and understand local power dynamics, as indigenous institutions may be struggling with internal conflicts and being challenged by inter-generational differences in perspectives and priorities (Tinoco et al., 2014).

For projects there is no easy balance between ensuring inclusiveness, representativeness and responsiveness to individuals' rights, and the trust in indigenous peoples' established decision-making mechanisms when these values are not honoured. In several of the communities strong criticism towards their own authorities was raised due to political rivalry, nepotism, volatility in representation and lack of transparency

(Tinoco et al., 2014). Inclusive processes reduce the risk of projects coming to reinforce internal systems of power abuse or corruption.

Long-term supportive relations

Continuous backstopping beyond the construction has proven to be vital for well-functioning community water management. By supporting the establishment of long-term supportive relations between communities and responsible governmental agencies (often municipalities or province governments), projects contribute to the prevention of post-project abandonment and strengthen the sustainability of water and sanitation services (Lockwood & Smits, 2011).

Because of indigenous peoples' historical socio-political marginalisation, their relationship with governmental institutions is often weak and fraught with mutual mistrust regarding intentions and capacities (Tinoco et al., 2014). Therefore the effective involvement of responsible governmental agencies in the project and services maintenance; the development of indigenous peoples' capacities regarding citizens' rights and state obligations and administrative structures; and the establishment of permanent platforms for dialogue between government and communities are central elements to foster.

Long-term engagement by development actors, such as international donor and United Nations agencies and international non-governmental organisations, with specific countries and regions is, in general, favourable for appropriate and sustainable investments as it builds knowledge and understanding of the local conditions between the involved actors at the local, national and international levels. Yet, it is not reasonable to expect development actors to assume governmental agencies' responsibility to give continuous backstopping, support and investments. The research found, however, that other actors such as churches have an important role and continuing presence at the local level, which may make them a suitable alternative partner institution for long-term support relations.

Final reflections

The critical significance of water for cultural and physical well-being of indigenous peoples requires a better integration of an intercultural approach in water and sanitation projects and in the collaboration between indigenous peoples, governmental agencies and development actors. This article outlines a set of recommendations regarding how to generate an effective intercultural approach by focusing on four core principles: mutual trust and respect, dialogue, flexibility and inclusion, and long-term supportive relations.

Evidently, these principles are applicable to water and sanitation interventions in rural areas not inhabited by indigenous peoples. Yet, national governments and other actors' historical disengagement and marginalisation of indigenous peoples' lifestyles, worldviews and authorities make these simple but powerful principles even more critical in an intercultural context. The disenfranchisement of indigenous peoples and the development of sustainable services cannot be achieved without mutual respect and trust, generated by open and responsive dialogues that enable the actors to meet across cultural and epistemological barriers.

The multifaceted challenges faced by indigenous peoples in access to water and sanitation can, however, be addressed comprehensively only if the links with broader development and governance issues that lie outside the influence of the water sector, such as land and resource rights, are recognised and understood. It is therefore necessary to undertake a thorough analysis of the root causes of indigenous peoples' problems accessing water and sanitation services, and define holistic strategies that explicitly identify opportunities for and limitations to addressing these issues.

Advancing water and sanitation services

is an important tool for creating and sustaining more dignified lives for indigenous peoples—and hopefully for catalysing progress in many other interconnected processes such as increased school attendance and improved health outcomes.

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TIWI ISLAND SKIN GROUP CULTURE STANDING ITS GROUND

The collective power to make change in a Western-influenced environment

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Abstract

Young people on the Tiwi Islands can see the need for strong cultural leaders in the future but they do not necessarily see themselves filling those big shoes. Young people need to be inspired to be leaders but lack of education and employment opportunities added to alcohol and drug use restricts and distracts. The Tiwi Elders have been striving to have their voices heard about the critical role that Tiwi culture plays in the development of young leaders. The project discussed in this paper is an Elder-directed initiative aimed at finding ways to develop young cultural leaders. It was found that a number of projects were underway with common threads of youth, culture

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and leadership. To realise the hopes and aspirations of the Tiwi Elders it is necessary to drive the collective momentum of these projects to enable young people to develop understanding of both Tiwi culture and Western knowledge systems. The Elder vision is in sight and their voices are gradually being heard.

Keywords

Indigenous youth leadership, culture, youth justice

Introduction

Despite Western influences, Aboriginal people have retained cultural knowledge, language and customs, which is a testament to their resilience and belief in their traditional culture (Nakata, 2007). Tiwi Island Elders connect the continuation of culture to health, wellbeing, stability and sustainability in communities. The Tiwi way of doing things is the preferred way, although Elders acknowledge that the Western way continues to have a major influence on their people and community; in particular, young people who are distracted from engaging in their traditional culture.

The Tiwi Islands is a group of islands located where the Arafura Sea meets the Timor Sea, around 80 kilometres north of Darwin in the Northern Territory of Australia. The people of these islands are Aboriginal Australians; they speak the Tiwi language and are referred to as Tiwi Islanders or Tiwi people.

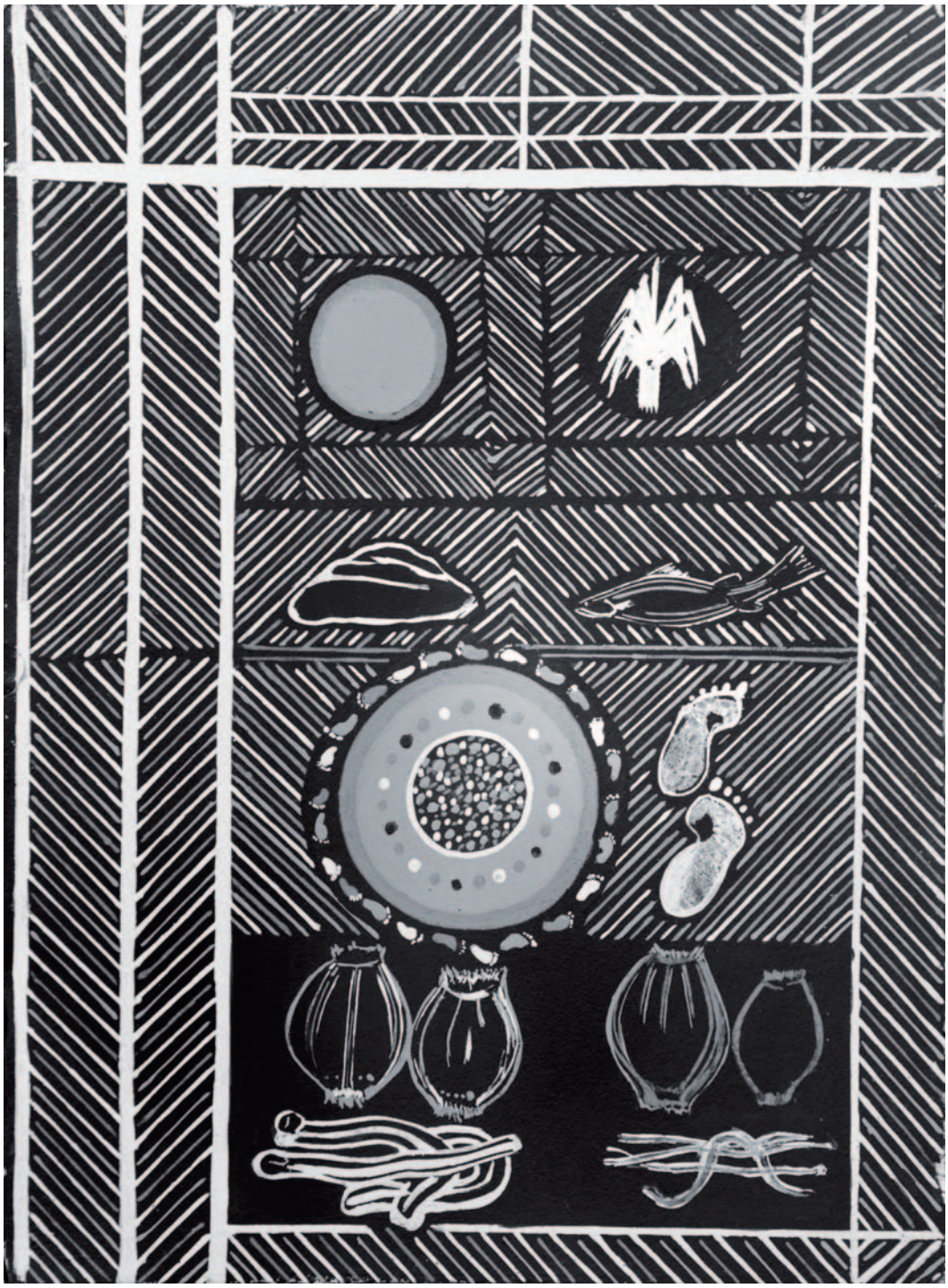
This study and the importance of the Tiwi skin group system (Yiminga)

This study represents the vision of Tiwi Island Elders from Bathurst Island, Northern Territory, to overcome the diminishing level of respect that young people have for Tiwi culture. This study is guided by Tiwi Elders and is participatory and collaborative. I worked closely with these Elders throughout this project.

In Tiwi culture the skin group system is matrilineal and represents important foundations for Tiwi life. Stemming from the marriage line the skin groups provide the "line of life" incorporating totem, songs, dance, dreaming place, ceremony and relationships (Ward, 1990). The cultural elements are taught from birth so children grow up understanding their avoidance, familial and obligation relationships, which are fundamental to Tiwi culture. The four skin groups (Sun, Rock, Pandanas and Mullet) have specific relationships to one another whereby the marriage lines and avoidance relationships are known. Even though the traditional systems are strongly supported and practised by senior Tiwi people, the culture suffers continual break down. A more recent influence has been the use of mobile phones and Facebook amongst young people allowing easy access to poison relationships between brothers and sisters. These cultural relationship boundaries have become more vulnerable to wrongdoing, which is referred to as "jealousy" issues, causing conflicts between families.

A painting was created as a model for this project, which was negotiated between the co-researchers and the artist who is an Elder. I also worked closely with the artist and Elders to affirm that important messages conveyed in the painting would be understood by young people. Due to skin group relationships the artist was unable to communicate directly with some of the female Elders. I became the intermediary so all parties had input and an opportunity to approve the concepts for the painting (see Figure 1).

Ngawurranungurumagi nginingawula Tiwi ngini ngapangiraga
(Hold On To Our Culture—Keep It Really Strong)



Ngawurramangi nginingawula ngirramini amintiya ngirimpi awunganuwanga ngawurrayamangi nginingawula murrakupuni
(Keep Your Tiwi Values Strong)

(This model was painted by Alan Kerinaiua—a renowned Tiwi Island artist)

FIGURE 1 A poster of the leadership model premised on Tiwi skin group culture.

The vulnerability of young Indigenous people

Tiwi leaders often talk about how young people need to be schooled in the Western system but still maintain strong links with culture. Tiwi leaders feel that there are many factors affecting young people that prevent them from completing school and pursuing training options linked to employment. These leaders are concerned about the number of young people falling foul of the law. The following statistics reported by Richards and Lyneham (2010), Cunningham (2007) and the Northern Territory Office of Crime Prevention (2005) demonstrate the vulnerability of young Indigenous people in the Northern Territory.

- Forty-five percent of Indigenous offenders aged 18–24 reoffend.
- Indigenous juveniles are 24 times more likely to be in detention than non-Indigenous juveniles.
- From 1994 to 2008, 34 Indigenous juveniles aged 10–14 were in detention compared to 8 non-Indigenous juveniles.
- From 1994 to 2008, 191 Indigenous juveniles aged 15–17 were in detention compared to 45 non-Indigenous juveniles.
- Indigenous juvenile males who underwent "a diversion" were 44% less likely to reoffend compared to those who went to court.

There were over 550 offences committed in the Tiwi Islands by 10–17-year-olds in 2008 to 2011. The community believes that young people are making bad choices and need stronger direction from Elders and other role models.

According to Williams (2009) the causes of family and community conflict in the Tiwi Islands tend to be:

- relationship/jealousy issues (skin group breaches),
- alcohol and drug abuse,
- financial issues (including gambling debts),
- teasing and staring (bullying), and
- poor and crowded housing.

Issues recognised at community level

A public forum was held in 2012 (11th Assembly of the Select Committee on Youth Suicides, 2012). In attendance were three members of the Legislative Assembly of the Northern Territory and representatives of the Tiwi Island Shire Council. Some of the issues raised include the following:

- Bullying was a concern (inter-clan).
- Police estimate 80% of the Tiwi Islands population are addicted to marijuana.
- Young people threaten parents to get money to buy marijuana.
- Suicide attempts and violence increase when marijuana runs out.
- Up to 150 young people roam the streets late into the night/morning.
- Young people are breaking and entering to find marijuana or stealing food after taking marijuana.
- Parents are up all night smoking marijuana and gambling.
- Young people are not being sent to school.
- Mental health and other programmes for young people in schools are hit and miss.
- There is a lack of youth programmes.
- Young people are exposed to family violence (physical and sexual abuse).

During this public meeting it was also reported that funding programmes for young people were often short lived or non-existent despite many agencies located on the Tiwi Islands having funding under the "youth" umbrella. There was little evidence of any organised youth activities, and programmes tend to be developed and

implemented from the "white" person's perspective with a lack of respect and connection with the context of young people and their families.

Findings from this study corroborated the above issues indicating that agencies providing youth services work to their own needs and not necessarily the community's needs. In essence these services should be cohesive and synergistic involving direct input from Tiwi people to incorporate and adopt the Tiwi way.

Youth justice literature and reports

The policing role in communities is focused on enforcement and punitive approaches without consideration of cultural notions or protocols. Tiwi Elders believe that the Tiwi way of supporting young people will prioritise their traditional systems of mediation, governance and leadership. These leaders understand that the strengths and synergies of Western systems need to be incorporated but not at the expense of diminishing the importance of cultural foundations.

In a submission to the Youth Justice Review Panel, the North Australian Aboriginal Justice Agency (NAAJA, 2011) appeals for Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory to have diversionary programmes operated by local people who understand the local socio-cultural fabric so that effective diversion occurs that offers young people a pathway out of crime. Their report refers to the distrustful or hostile relationships that currently exist between police and young people rather than being the crucial intersection of the youth justice system. NAAJA seeks a genuine and imaginative commitment to diversion to challenge young people in a way that the court does not. Some of the NAAJA (2011, p. 5–12) recommendations are as follows:

- Reject punitive approaches in favour of rehabilitative and therapeutic approaches.
- Youth offending should be dealt with differently to adult offending.
- Primary focus for rehabilitation of young offenders is required.
- A specialist and independent youth court should be established.
- Youth justice policy should embrace appropriate jurisprudence and restorative justice techniques.
- Cultural considerations should be embedded at all youth justice stages.

Bishop (2009) refers to the need to work with the four Tiwi skin groups in a cooperative and problem-solving manner utilising traditional and contemporary practice with appropriate communication that observes cultural obligations, social protocols, kinship structures and ceremonies.

Aboriginal people need to shape their own solutions to have culturally effective outcomes that build genuine trust so they can build confidence in the legal system. Communities need to have increased participation in the sentencing process to ensure culturally appropriate outcomes. This process needs a rehabilitative approach whereby the offender will have the opportunity to make amends to the community (Marchetti & Daly, 2007).

Ponki mediation

The Tiwi people developed a mediation course as part of a collaborative project with the support of the Northern Territory Community Justice Centre in 2010. The course teaches "rules for mediation" from a both-ways perspective. Some of the rules of Ponki (peace maker) mediation are presented below:

- Keep it quiet (Narrajali).
- Don't take sides—stay in the middle (Nganuku Karl wu Ngawani nuwa).
- Be a peaceful role model (Kuluwurta).
- Help the families reach peace (Ngawa

ngarikirimi ngawulamiya ponki ngini Papuaranjuwi ngarimi).
- Listen to both sides (Ngaripirtinaya ngininuwula ngirramini).
- No rocks (Karlu warrunga).
- No sticks (Karlu mantanga).
- The whole mob (Ngirramini).
- What is the story (Kamini Awarra Ngirramini)?

A Ponki Junior Mediation course was run for the first time in 2014. Young people undertaking this course will become stronger leaders who are equipped to resolve conflict within their families and skin groups and assist the communities to better maintain peace and harmony.

Tiwi Youth Diversion Unit (TYDU)

The TYDU services the majority of the mediation and counselling needs across the Tiwi Islands concerning young people. This community-based organisation has been recognised as a successful and effective service on the Tiwi Islands due to its ability to respond and resolve family and community disputes according to the Tiwi way, adopting care and sensitivity to maintain cultural values. Presently, the TYDU conducts the following services:

- diversionary programmes arising from formal referrals from police,
- interventions to address conflicts,
- family mediation,
- facilitation of community work orders through correctional services,
- court referrals,
- community bush camps for young people,
- attending schools to bring about awareness, and
- community safety planning.

A dispute often starts as a result of jealousy between two young people. The families then become involved, which exacerbates the situation and arguments and violence may occur. When police become involved they take control of the situation, often leading to criminal charges and incarceration, which does not resolve the underlying cultural issue and doesn't allow for alternative measures or diversionary actions. The TYDU, where possible, will ask the police to allow them to resolve the conflict in the Tiwi way and speak with the families through a mediation process that allows everyone to listen to one another, giving everyone an opportunity to tell their story about why they are upset. Usually the interventions result in resolution with families hugging each other and apologising to one another and moving on. If there is violence involved, the TYDU and the cultural leaders assisting will allow the police to handle the case but work in conjunction with them to carry out mediation, counselling, work orders or other diversionary procedures.

Reaffirming the importance of skin groups

Elders are concerned that they will pass on without strong leaders to continue their cultural work in the future if the skin group foundations are not taught and practised. It is therefore critical that Elders are listened to and respected so they may continue their life's work in reinforcing culture. Elders are ready and willing to embrace the need for converging the Tiwi skin group system with other positive processes (Western) to enhance and strengthen the community.

Figure 1 depicts the Tiwi leadership model. The painting is essentially in three sections. The upper section contains the four skin groups to remind young people who they are and what skin group they belong to. The inner circle with dots represents the Tiwi people working together to keep skin group culture strong and transferring their knowledge to their young ones. The next layer of the circle has more dots representing

Tiwi leaders who promote strong culture to the Tiwi people and continue the teachings on behalf of the community. The feet dotted around the circle represent all people including non-Tiwi people and organisations involved in the community working collaboratively to keep skin group culture strong and supporting the young ones to make right choices—"all the people walking together to strengthen culture and strengthen the community". The footprints on the right-hand side represent the guidance from ancestors and Elders resulting from dancing, ceremony and walking on country—"ngawurrayapunyangimi ngini ngawampi pirimani parlingarri. Amintiya ngini parlingarri pirripangurlimayi murrakupuni" (follow the old people—the Tiwi way—our land and our culture).

The next section of the poster conveys the choices that young people need to make—"right way" or "wrong way". The "pinyama" (good apple) on the left represents the right way—it is good for you. The "pinyawini" (bad apple) on the right represents the wrong way—it tastes bitter. The "yuwurli" (mangrove worm) on the left represents the right way—it is fat and juicy and is good for you, but the "wakijapa" (mangrove worm) on the right represents the wrong way and burns your throat if you eat it raw. The Elders believe that the poster will serve as a reminder for young people to follow skin group rules to keep culture strong and grow strong and healthy to be good leaders.

Tiwi skin group model

The success of the model and concepts arising from this project very much depends on the ability of the community to engage youth leaders to understand and promote culture to other young people. It is proposed that the youth leaders commence their leadership journey by being mentored by Tiwi cultural leaders, then they become the mentors for other young people. It is paramount that youth leaders are also trained in Ponki mediation and Western law and justice so that they can convey to other young people the consequences of certain behaviour as well as provide advice and guidance. This will assist in informing young people with a balanced view of what behaviour is acceptable in their community and what behaviour is unacceptable. This model takes the approach of understanding the role for Western-based practices but at the same time strengthening Tiwi culture so that it empowers young people to do the right thing by the community and keep their cultural knowledge strong. From discussions with some of the Wangatunga Strong Women's group they believe young people need to understand the non-violent options to resolving issues in the community, particularly concerning "jealousy". These strong women convey the following message:

> Listen together, talk together, say sorry to one another, and look after each other.

Collective strength of various projects with common threads

Over the period of this study, meetings and discussions have been held with a number of organisations regarding other projects that have a common thread with this project. Some of these projects are listed below:

- training linked to employment for young people to be strong leaders,
- strengthening culture to improve community wellbeing,
- sharing cultural history and background with non-Tiwi people (cross-cultural training and mentoring),
- embedding cultural foundations into community-based government processes,
- Japalinga (star) leadership programme in schools to reduce the likelihood of youth crime,
- youth justice systems to be community

based and therapeutic—not punitive programmes,
- managing the impact of alcohol and rehabilitating and reconnecting Tiwi people,
- promoting skin group culture as the Tiwi governance and leadership model, and
- employment of a Skin Group Leader to offer support to Elders and provide training and employment options for young people.

The findings of this study found that many youth-based projects operate in isolation of each other. The projects and services are designed to help young people but such isolation and fragmentation only serves to perpetuate the mounting issues that Elders are constantly attempting to resolve. This project in conjunction with the common threads of projects listed above provide an opportunity for the community and its services to work together to achieve a greater impact and offer young people leadership and employment opportunities as a holistic package incorporating cultural foundations and guidance to support the Elders in their quest for strong leadership in the future.

Glossary

Japalinga	star
pinyama	good apple
pinyawini	bad apple
Ponki	peace maker, one who stops people fighting
wakijapa	mangrove worm
yuwurli	mangrove worm
Yiminga	Tiwi skin group system

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THE HEALTH AND ILLNESS OF MĀORI WHĀNAU USING INDIGENOUS PHOTO METHODOLOGY

*Glenis Mark**

Abstract

This research explored Māori perspectives of health and illness to consider how their health behaviours are influenced by their collective and collaborative worldviews. Thirty-three Māori participants completed two semi-structured interviews, and took a set of photographs that represented their perspectives on health and illness. Māori theoretical frameworks were used to include a photo-storytelling component to allow Māori participants to document and communicate their concepts of health and illness. Data were analysed using inductive thematic analysis where themes were elicited from each interview and collated to provide a group of overall themes. Findings indicate Māori cultural concepts of health and illness are understood within the dynamics of the extended family system. Maintaining health involved activities such as families going to the beach to gather seafood together. Coping with illness involved family leaving their homes and work to support extended family members or demanding attention from doctors for extended family member patients. Implications of whānau (family) based cultural concepts of health and illness are discussed showing that traditional knowledge and culture contribute to health at an individual, whānau and community level.

Keywords

Māori health, illness, health treatment, Māori-voice

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Introduction to Māori health and whānau

Māori health has been described as a holistic set of components that contribute to the wellbeing of Māori (Durie, 2001). The Whare Tapa Whā Māori model of health demonstrates health as the four walls of a house representing the hinengaro (mind), tinana (body), wairua (spirit) and whānau (family) as essential elements of health for Māori (Durie, 2001). The Māori view of health and wellbeing involves both internal and external worlds where health involves a physical, psychological, spiritual and family wellbeing and a balance among individuals, their environment such as land and natural resources, and those around them. Many Māori cultural values such as tūpuna (ancestors) and whakapapa (genealogy) play an important role in creating a healthy environment (Jansen & Jansen, 2013).

One of the important aspects of health focuses on the social interactions between whānau. Whānau is the basic unit of Māori society, which focuses on the collective rather than the individual. There are different types of whānau—some are based on whakapapa through blood descent and some are groups of people who gather together based on similar interests (Metge, 1995). The values inherent within Māori whānau values are based on connectedness; cultural identity; interactions with whānau, hapū (subtribe) and marae (meeting place); a source of identity, enablement and resources; and reciprocal relationships. Connectedness is about relationships between people within whānau that create a sense of connection and belonging. Whānau contribute to cultural identity by the way cultural beliefs are instilled into whānau members. Interactions with the wider tribe members include greater collections of different sets of whānau and this means that the whānau also becomes a source of support and resources, connected by the many different types of relationships between whānau members (Cunningham, Stevenson, & Tassell, 2005).

The importance of whānau to Māori health and the collective nature of whānau led to considerations of how whānau could influence Māori ways of being within health and illness.

This research aimed to understand Māori perspectives of health and illness within the context of the whānau system and to consider how Māori health behaviours are influenced by their collective and collaborative worldviews.

Research methodology

This research is based on a three-year study undertaken as part of a Health Research Council postdoctoral fellowship investigating Māori views on rongoā Māori (Māori medicine) and primary health. Two groups of 33 participants were recruited utilising kanohi-ki-te-kanohi (face-to-face) and networking methods. One group, which contained 19 participants, comprised Māori who have experienced primary health treatment. The second group, which contained 14 participants, comprised Māori who have experienced rongoā Māori healing alongside primary health treatment. Participants were recruited from Northland, Auckland and Waikato.

Participants took part in two semi-structured interviews, held several weeks apart, with some photo-taking between interviews. The first interview focused on exploring participants' perspectives of health and illness. Participants were then asked to take photos representing their ideas about health and illness, which were discussed at the second interview. The second interview focused on their photos and associated meanings, and their views on the integration of primary health treatment and rongoā Māori.

Māori theoretical frameworks were used to conceptualise the photo methodology to allow Māori participants to document and communicate their concepts of health and illness. Three Māori cultural adaptations to the research methodology were titled "Māori-voice" or the

voice of Māori through photos and comprised whakataukī (proverbs), mahi whakaahua (photographing) and pūrākau (making meaning of the photographs).

In the first interview, Māori participants are asked to share their thoughts and ideas about their concepts of health, illness and health treatment, which gave them the power to create and define their own stories and opinions. The first cultural adaptation of whakataukī provided a Māori cultural meaning to the photo methodology.

The second cultural adaptation was the photo-taking aspect of the research. At the end of the first interview, the process for the photo-taking aspect of the research was explained to participants. They were asked to take 8–10 photos of their ideas on health, illness and health treatment, and provide a story describing the meaning of each photo. This process aimed to promote Māori as the experts of their own perceptions and opinions. This second underlying Māori cultural theoretical adaptation was named mahi whakaahua to denote the photo-taking aspect of this research, which included the process of telling stories through pictures.

The third cultural adaptation involved participants expressing their ideas about their photos in story form. This cultural adaptation was named pūrākau, which has recently been used by Māori researchers to describe a narrative approach to data collection (Lee, 2009). This part of the methodology describes Māori ways of talking about the stories contained within their photos. Participants maintain the power and control over the photo-taking as well as the photo meaning-making process.

Data were analysed using inductive thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) where themes were elicited from each interview and collated to provide a group of overall themes. The analysis of the data focused on research results around whānau perspectives of health, illness and treatment.

Results

The data showed that responsibility for Māori health was found to be a collective process where health involved group activities. During times of illness, whānau would provide support, and health treatment meant that whānau would take responsibility to get elderly the treatment they needed.

Whānau perspectives of health

Exercise and keeping active were frequently mentioned by many participants when asked about their understanding of health. Participants often talked about whanau activities as noted by this participant:

TABLE 1 Māori-voice: The voice of Māori through photos

Theoretical Framework	Methodology
Whakataukī:	Interview One:
Ko te kai a te rangatira he kōrero (speech is the food of chiefs)	Participants tell their stories about health, illness and health treatment.
Mahi Whakaahua:	Photo-taking:
Ko te kōrero mā ngā pikitia (storytelling through photographs)	Participants receive a training manual and digital camera and take photos representing their ideas about health, illness and health treatment. They are then contacted with feedback from the first interview.
Pūrākau:	Interview Two:
Ko te kōrero o ngā pikitia (making meaning of the photographs)	Participants share the stories of their photos as a meaning-making process.

> Whānau activity such as beach walks, bush walks, hunting, ruku kaimoana [diving for seafood], kohukohu kaimoana [gathering seafood], swimming, cycling are excellent … for … promoting exercise for our koroua [elderly males] and kuia [elderly females], tamariki [children] and mokopuna [grandchildren] … Whānau ora is the key to stability and a true path for our young generation.

For Māori health, there was a strong focus on the collective nature of whānau that take responsibility for each other, rather than for themselves only. One participant stated that

> all the people … are your responsibility, you know? To keep healthy, to keep safe … everybody who walks through our door is sacred, you know? And they're beloved, not just of God and their ancestors, but their families. And so it's our responsibility to treat them with that respect and then it'll be like … aroha mai, aroha atu [giving and receiving love] … that respect for each other, your own families, as well as other people and their families, is another pathway to health.

Other participants made similar statements saying that the health of all the people is each individual's responsibility. The values noted by this participant included love and respect and also illustrated the concept of social and collective responsibility.

Whānau perspectives of illness

When members of the whānau become sick, whānau often rallied together to provide support for each other. Participants often shared stories of whānau who would just pack up and leave their entire lives in order to assist other whānau members, as noted by this participant:

> Even my sisters from Whanganui [which is about a seven-hour drive away], two of them came up as soon as they heard … they all came up with their families, you know, to look after the house and make sure … our daughter was alright and, you know, just to see how things were going. Took them a week but they had to arrange things first and … they came up … they just wanted to be here to support.

Again, this shows the value of collective responsibility where whānau support is provided regardless of the monetary or work costs.

In addition, one participant shared the story of how she had a career as a journalist, and her grandmother became ill with dementia. She left her career and life to move home with her mother to help to look after her grandmother, which contributed to her own health as well, which she states here:

> And that makes me healthy when Nanna's smiling, you know? 'Cause her joy is my joy and … that shows me for the last seven years, leaving my mahi [work] as a writer … and just looking after Nanna at home with mum … gives me health. 'Cause Nanna helped looked after me when I was little, changed my nappies and things like that. So why can't I change hers when she's at this stage in her life?

It was a common trait amongst participants to leave work and other commitments, even if only for a short while, in order to support and take care of their whānau members who became ill.

Whānau perspectives on health treatment

When it came to seeking health treatment, many elderly Māori would often cope with the pain for as long as possible and avoid going to see the doctor, until it became unmanageable. One participant believed that it was important to advocate that whānau strongly encourage elderly people to attend the doctor:

> The reason why a lot of old people don't come in is because they think they're a bother … many kuia and kaumātua (elderly people) … unless they're mortally sick they won't come in and then it's too late. They've left it too late. So … what needs to happen is young generation need to be forceful and say oh … you have to go and I'm taking you in. It has to be like that 'cause they won't do it for them, on their own accord.

There were instances where whānau were instrumental in insisting that whānau members who were sick did seek treatment because when elderly patients did attend health treatment, they would often be content to sit and wait to be seen. Many times, other whānau members would intervene on their behalf in order to gain more immediate health treatment attention, and this is one example of assistance that one participant received:

> But she's been a lot of help to us … especially when he had his hip operation. She was with us right till he was better … And she took him to all his appointments … Oh, and she got those nurses and doctors going … Oh, she'll scream and swear at them … She'll go down to the surgery and blow up the receptionist and then the doctor will come out … You got attention straight away … Otherwise you won't get it so in a way it was good on her.

However, on their own as individuals, many Māori would not seek health treatment on their own, because they did not want to be a bother. Therefore, collective responsibility of the whānau would ensure that the elderly received treatment, in a timely manner.

Discussion

The results found that collective responsibility was shared amongst the whānau. It then became important to understand how to utilise the information gathered in this research to use the influence and impact of the whānau to manage the health and illness of Māori whānau more effectively. These whānau-based cultural concepts of health and illness show that traditional knowledge and culture contribute to health at an individual, whānau and community level.

There is an implication that health behaviours that focus on whānau group activities would be more successful than advocating individual responsibility for health. Many participants were not motivated to keep themselves healthy unless they were encouraged by other whānau members. This whānau encouragement could be used to motivate health promotion and activity, such as whānau health screening, whānau sport and movement activity, and utilising whānau networks to promote healthy messages. Connections with the wider population groups of tribes and sub-tribes would assist in advocating a similar collective message about health at the wider community level and creating community health activities.

The whānau unit could assist in instilling healthy food into cultural identity by promoting healthy beliefs, values and norms into children when they are young. For example, this could include turning traditional fatty dishes into healthier options and teaching their children these healthier recipes, and aiming to make being healthy a societal norm by enculturating healthy ways of being into Māori whānau through the children.

It is important to acknowledge the importance of support for those whānau members who are sick, and not only allowing, but encouraging the presence and support of other whānau at doctor's visits or in hospitals. This may continue to encourage the elderly to receive much needed health treatment if whānau are present.

By nurturing the relationship between Māori patients and their whānau during times of illness, as well as encouraging relationships between doctors and the individual's whānau

members, this may provide extra support for whānau members who are sick, and may even advocate on behalf of the sick whānau individual who may be incapacitated.

Conclusion

The influence of the whānau has a huge impact on the health and illness of Māori people, particularly the concept of collective responsibility for the health of all whānau members. This may encourage healthy whānau activity, health promotion, collective health messages, health food and more immediate health treatment, which can be negotiated through whānau relationships. It is extremely important to acknowledge that it is the whānau, as the basic unit of Māori society, with which the health treatment system will need to communicate and negotiate the treatment of Māori individuals. In future, it is hoped that whānau values will be incorporated into Māori health, illness and health treatment as a culturally appropriate form of encouragement and support for Māori.

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Glossary

aroha mai, aroha atu	giving and receiving love
hapū	sub-tribe
hinengaro	mind
kanohi-ki-te-kanohi	face-to-face
kaumātua	elderly people
ko te kai a te rangatira he kōrero	speech is the food of chiefs
ko te kōrero mā ngā pikitia	storytelling through photographs
ko te kōrero o ngā pikitia	making meaning of the photographs
kohukohu kaimoana	gathering seafood
koroua	elderly males
kuia	elderly females
mahi	work
mahi whakaahua	photographing
marae	meeting place
mokopuna	grandchildren
pūrākau	making meaning of the photographs
rongoā Māori	Māori medicine
ruku kaimoana	diving for seafood
tamariki	children
tinana	body
tūpuna	ancestors
wairua	spirit
whakapapa	genealogy
whakataukī	proverbs
whānau	family, basic unit of Māori society, based on descent or similar interests
Whare Tapa Whā	Māori model of health based on four walls of a house

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THE 2014 MĀORI LANGUAGE STRATEGY

Language targets

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Janine Wright†

Abstract

The 2011 review of the New Zealand Māori Language Strategy proposed a national language target of 80% of Māori speaking Māori language by 2050. In 2014, the new Māori Language Strategy has dropped the 80% target and replaced it with "headline indicators". We believe that language planners considering mandating language targets or indicators should pose the question: What activities would need to occur to reach a language target within a stated timeframe? Statistical modelling has gained international prominence over recent years as an attempt to tease out the effects of various strategies on such minority languages. Using the 2011 review proposed target as an exemplar, we argue that language modelling should be a key research tool for language planners to measure progress towards a desired language policy outcome.

Keywords

Māori language, statistical language modelling, language planning, language policy

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Introduction

In 2011 there were two major reports with implications for Māori language—one from the Treaty of Waitangi Tribunal and a second from Te Paepae Motuhake. As a result of these reports and the demographic trend showing declining numbers of Māori-language speakers, a new strategy has been developed. There has been much debate about the strategy's new administrative process, including an Electoral College called Te Mātāwai (see COMET Auckland, 2014; Jackson, 2014). However, this paper focuses on the strategy's implementation and the "headline indicators" that will monitor its success; in particular, "the number of Māori whānau [families] and other New Zealanders who can speak Māori language" (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2014, p. 3).

Prior to the strategy's release, the then Minister of Māori Affairs stated that the "ultimate target" of the strategy was for "80 per cent of Māori speaking the language" (Fox, 2013, para. 8). Statistical modelling lends some weight to 80% as a desirable language target (see Fernando, Valijārvi, & Goldstein, 2010; Minett & Wang, 2008). Such modelling has gained popularity internationally over the last 10 years, although it is not used to any great extent in New Zealand (see Grin & Vaillancourt, 1998).

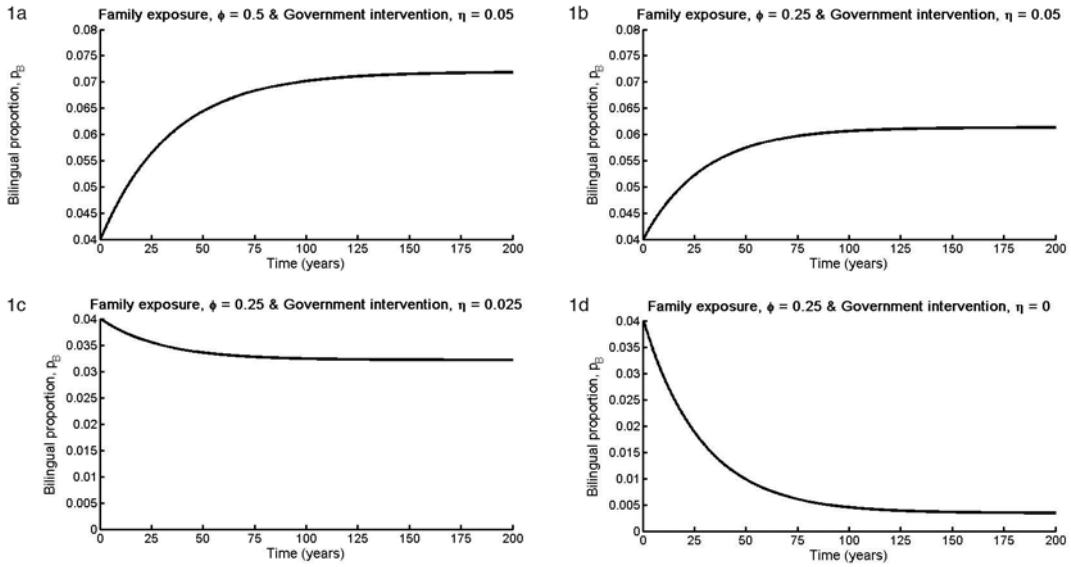
Whatever the merits of the administrative changes, Te Mātāwai will be charged with developing targets and indicators to account for "what actors attempt to influence what behaviors, of which people, for what ends, under what conditions, by what means, through what decision making process, with what effect" (Eggington, 2010, p. 367). The next part of this paper attempts to answer Eggington's questions by modelling the target of 80% of Māori speaking Māori language by 2050 as an exemplar to tease out the variables involved in reaching such a target.

The model's assumptions

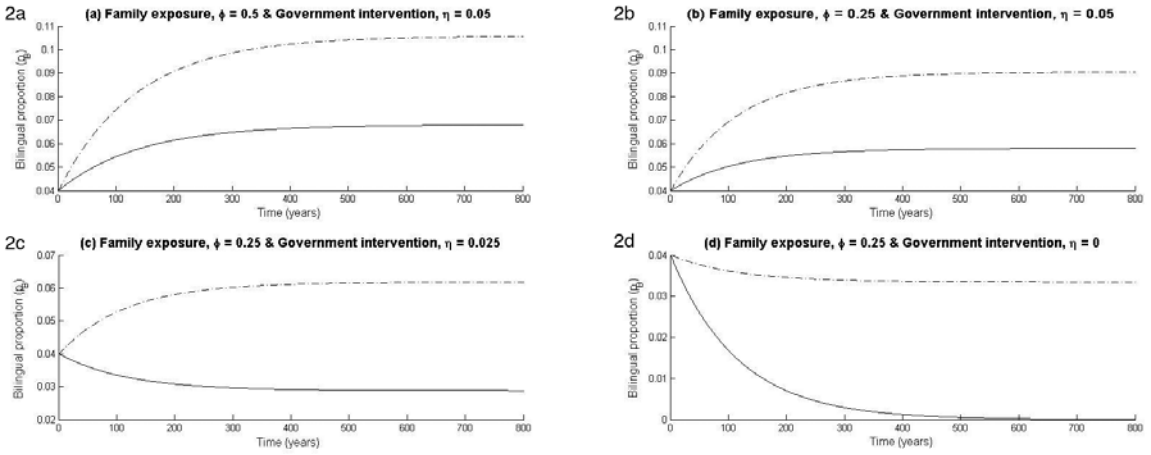
Our model, explained in more detail in Appendix 1, builds on our earlier work (Ruckstuhl & Wright, 2012) and incorporates a number of assumptions, each of which can be modified as new or better data come to hand. The assumptions are:

- All speakers of Māori also speak English (they are bilingual).
- Intergenerational Māori language transference occurs in two-parent families, although other family types could be modelled.
- The parents in these families do not have partner preferences, although we might model parents who prefer partners of the same language type.
- The amount of Māori language heard by a child depends on the amount spoken at home and the amount heard in the community.
  - In families, the amount spoken depends on family language type (entirely monolingual in English or Māori or somewhere in between).
  - In the community, we model the chance that a child will have a conversation in Māori with another individual. We also look at the effect of being "exposed" to what we term "government interventions" such as Māori media, Māori compulsory place-names or signage.

We look at the effect of these assumptions over time (200 years) by calculating the net difference between the gain in bilingual speakers (language "births") and the loss of bilingual speakers (language "deaths").



FIGURES 1A–D Effect of differing amounts of family exposure to Māori language and government intervention on proportion of the New Zealand population speaking Māori over 200 years. In Figure 1a, family exposure is 50%. In Figures 1b–d, family exposure is 25%. In Figure 1a, government intervention is 5%. In Figures 1b–c, government intervention is 2.5% and in Figure 1d there is no government intervention.



FIGURES 2A–D Effect of education. The values of family exposure to Māori language and government intervention are respectively the same as for Figures 1a–d. The solid line shows the predicted proportion of Māori speakers with no conversion by education; the dotted line shows the predicted proportion of Māori speakers when conversion by education is set at 10%.

Results

Figures 1a and 1b investigate the relationship of government intervention to increasing the overall proportion of Māori speakers when we vary in-home Māori language exposure in two-parent bilingual families. We varied the proportion of time Māori is spoken—either 50% (Figure 1a) or 25% (Figure 1b)—holding government intervention constant at a small 5%. In both scenarios, the percentage of Māori-language speakers rises over time from its current approximately 4% of the population. Of note is that doubling the time bilingual families spend speaking Māori (Figure 1a) gives only a small increase over families who

speak Māori at home for 25% of the time (Figure 1b), from about 6% to 7%. That is, cutting the amount spoken in half only slightly reduces the rate at which point there is no further increase of the bilingual proportion after many years.

To look at the relative strength of government intervention, we kept families speaking Māori language at 25% but varied the language intervention exposure (Figure 1b–d). These results show that government intervention is a critical factor for language maintenance. When individuals within families spend about a quarter of their time exposed to Māori language, a relatively small government intervention of 5% (or about 20 minutes per day) gives an increase in the bilingual proportion to around 6% from the current 4% (Figure 1b). However, halving this to 2.5% gives a slight decrease to just over 3% (Figure 1c) and cutting government intervention completely results in the virtual extinction of bilingual speakers (Figure 1d).

There are several scenarios that would allow 80% of Māori speaking Māori by 2050. Using 2010 projections of Māori population growth at a rate of 1.3% (Statistics New Zealand, 2010), and assuming that the number of non-Māori bilingual speakers is negligible, 80% of Māori equates to being about 16% of the total New Zealand population in 2050—almost 900,000 speakers. Figure 2 examines some of the previous scenarios in combination with the effect of education.

In one scenario, bilingual families speak Māori at home for 25% of the time, with 3% of all children "converted" from English to Māori language speakers through the education system, with government interventions at 15% of the total language exposure for each individual. Converting this scenario to hours per day, and assuming that only 16 hours of the 24 are waking hours, would equate to individuals exposed to 2 hours of Māori language every day with another 2.4 hours of daily exposure to signage, television, radio or other similar government interventions beyond family and school.

Another scenario models all bilingual speakers speaking 2 hours per day at home with no "conversion" by education. A very similar result in overall bilingual proportion over time is achieved when government intervention is slightly increased to 17.5%, or 2.8 hours of total language exposure.

The difference between the broken and solid lines on the set of Figures 2a–d shows the effect of increasing the percentage of English speakers converted through the education system from 0% to 10%, while keeping constant the other inputs modelled in Figures 1a–1d. In each scenario including conversion by education, Māori language is maintained in the population indefinitely, with a maximum value of 11% of the population when family exposure in double bilingual families is set at 50% and government intervention at 5% (Figure 2a). Smaller rises are shown when family exposure in double bilingual families is decreased to 25% (Figures 2b and 2c). Even when family exposure in double bilingual families has a modest value of 25% and there is no other intervention apart from education conversion, Māori language is maintained (although at a slightly lower rate than the current 4%) in contrast to the same situation with no education conversion (Figure 1d), where it declined rapidly to extinction.

Discussion

The results show that the quickest way to increase and maintain Māori language in the population is to use mechanisms such as government intervention that act across the *whole* community or to use an education conversion system. The balance between such interventions is crucial and any strategy that places most emphasis on increasing exposure to Māori language in double bilingual families is likely to be less effective given the low initial proportion of bilingual Māori speakers.

Our caution about reliance on in-home strategies is not an argument against them. Rather,

if numeric targets are to be used, policy makers need guidance about what this will involve in relation to language interdependencies. Whatever strategy is chosen, measures such as government intervention or education conversion which act across the whole population are vital if the aim is to grow the bilingual proportion within a set timeframe. Furthermore, we argue that the theoretical research approach outlined here might be verified using sources such as those suggested in our earlier paper (Ruckstuhl & Wright, 2012) to provide baseline data against which the success of interventions can be judged.

Appendix 1

1. Bilingual environment

We assume all speakers of Māori (M) are bilingual. We model two types of speakers: monolingual speakers of English (E) and bilingual speakers (B).

We denote the proportions of speakers of each language type p_E and p_B. As we only model the two types of speakers, the proportions p_B and p_E are complementary; that is, $p_B = 1 - p_E$.

2. Family types

To model intergenerational language transferal, we create families by pairing adults from the entire population. These pairings allow for the birth of children and the ability to model language dissemination from parents to these children (Wickstrom, 2005). These family types can be modified if necessary.

We form two-parent families, although other types are possible. Like Wickstrom (2005) we assume no partner type preference, although "assortative mating" (as in Fernando et al., 2010) can be introduced by incorporating a mate preference parameter.

The proportions of each couple type (BB, BE or EE) can be expressed as a function of the proportions of speakers of each language type in the populations p_B and p_E. Using the assumption of no mate preference, partner choice is independent of language spoken and these proportions are:

$P(BB) = p_B \times p_B = p_B^2$;

$P(BE) = 2 \times p_B \times p_E = 2p_B(1 - p_B)$, as there are two ways to form a BE type family (BE or EB);

and

$P(EE) = p_E \times p_E = (1 - p_B) \times (1 - p_B) = (1 - p_B)^2$.

3. Amount of Māori language heard

The total amount of Māori language heard by a child (C_M) is a result of language use in the family and the community.

a. Family contribution

The amount of Māori language used within the family, $C_{family}(M)$, depends on family type. We assume that both parents can easily converse with each other. Families where both parents are monolingual English speakers (EE families) are assumed to speak only English at home whereas families where both parents are bilingual (BB type) may speak either English or Māori.

Families with one speaker of either language type (BE families) are assumed to be intermediate in their language use between BB and EE families. We model the proportion of Māori spoken in these mixed-type families as a function of the amount of Māori spoken in a BB family rather than assuming that the proportion of Māori spoken in mixed-type families is half that spoken in bilingual homes.

We use ϕ as a language preference parameter to describe the amount of Māori spoken in bilingual homes. Following the notation of Fernando et al. (2010), for each family type

X_iX_j (where X_i and X_j represent the parental language types and therefore can be either B or E), the amount of Māori spoken in the family environment is:

EE type families: $C_{family}(M|EE) = 0$,

BB type families: $C_{family}(M|BB) = \phi$, and for

BE type families: $C_{family}(M|BE) = \lambda\phi$

where λ is a proportion between zero and one representing the ratio of the amount of Māori spoken in a BE family compared to the amount of Māori spoken in a BB family. Values of $\lambda\phi$ and ϕ can be varied easily. We use the notation $(M|X_iX_j)$ to denote the dependence of the amount of Māori spoken on the family type X_iX_j.

b. Community contribution

We model two contributors to community exposure to Māori language: one-to-one conversations, and government interventions—that is, actions that circulate Māori language in the general community such as Māori media, Māori compulsory place-names or signage. Māori-medium education is treated separately. We separate out these two types of community exposure to model clearly the effect of government interventions in relation to the family and the chance of a random conversation in the community. This allows us to investigate the outcomes from different combinations of these types of exposures to more accurately examine the actual amount of exposure required in each of these domains.

To model the contribution from one-to-one conversations, as in Fernando et al. (2010), the probabilities of a conversation between two people being conducted in a particular language are modelled as being proportional to the proportion of such pairings in the community. That is, $C_{community}(M) = 0.5\ P(BB) = 0.5\ p_B^2$, as bilingual pairings have two possible languages to converse in and on average only half of their conversations will be held in Māori (random chance). The parameter η represents the effect of government intervention, ranging between 0% and 100% of the total amount of Māori heard by a child.

4. Total amount of Māori language heard

For the total amount of Māori heard by a child given the family type, denoted $C(M|X_iX_j)$, we use a weighted sum of family and community language exposure along with government intervention:

$$C(M|X_iX_j) = \varepsilon\, C_{family}(M|X_iX_j) + (1 - \varepsilon - \eta)\, C_{community}(M) + \eta,$$

where ε represents the relative effect of the family component versus the community component (after taking government intervention into account). Only the family component depends on the family type; the community exposure is the same for all individuals regardless of family type.

5. Change in bilingual frequency

To model the change in bilingual frequency over time, we calculate the net difference between the gain in bilingual speakers ("births") and the loss of bilingual speakers ("deaths").

For simplicity we assume that population size is at an equilibrium (birth and death rates are equal, with common parameter γ, and that these rates are independent of family type. Following Fernando et al. (2010) we have chosen a value of $\gamma = 0.01$, which gives a biological generation time of 100 simulation steps (iterations). With an approximate human generation being around 25 years, one iteration of our model corresponds to approximately one quarter of a year.

Under this assumption, the change in bilingual frequency per generation (p_B') is expressed as the difference between the "births" of Māori

speakers contributed by the three family types and the "deaths" of Māori speakers; that is,

$$p_B' = \gamma[P(BB)P(M|BB) + P(BE)P(M|BE) + P(EE)P(MEE)] - \gamma p_B$$

Note that language "births" require literal births to occur in the three different family types (with probabilities $\gamma P(BB)$, $\gamma P(BE)$ and $\gamma P(EE)$ respectively) and the resulting offspring need to be exposed to Māori language (with probabilities $P(M|BB)$, $P(M|BE)$ and $P(M|EE)$ respectively) in order for a gain in bilingual speakers to occur.

Education can "convert" English-speaking children to bilingual (Māori-speaking) children. A conversion parameter (m) is required, which describes the proportion of English-speaking children that are educated to become bilingual. To model such conversion we incorporate a $\gamma\ m\ p_E$ term to this equation:

$$p_B' = \gamma[P(BB)P(M|BB) + P(BE)P(M|BE) + P(EE)P(M|EE) + m\ p_E] - \gamma p_B$$

The change in bilingual frequency after one generation (p_B') is determined, and the value of the proportion of bilingual speakers in the next generation is calculated by adding p_B' to the current value of p_B.

To investigate the dynamics of long-term change in bilingual frequency, we iterate the above process over many generations—in this case, 200 years.

Glossary

whānau	extended family

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INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND WORLD HERITAGE SITES

Normative heritage discourses and possibilities for change

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Jan Turtinen†

Abstract

Today, there are over 1,000 World Heritage Sites on our planet. Many of them are established on traditional indigenous lands and therefore entail indigenous peoples' interests and concerns. In most instances, there is some kind of process for cooperation and involvement set up, or at least sought for, between state authorities and indigenous communities. However, these processes are often far from uncomplicated as they often seem to entail different goals, diverging perceptions of environment and organisation, and unequal power positions. Efforts to harmonise and integrate different knowledge systems and aims within such a process may have different outcomes depending on how bureaucratic structures and power relations affect them. With a starting point from an ongoing study on conditions for indigenous peoples' involvement in the nomination and management of World Heritage Sites, this paper uses two case studies to discuss obstacles for increased indigenous involvement in these processes, but also possibilities for strengthened indigenous authority and control over them.

Keywords

World Heritage Convention, indigenous peoples, normative heritage discourse, co-management, bureaucracy

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The World Heritage Convention and indigenous peoples

The World Heritage Convention was established in 1972 with the main aim of safeguarding cultural and natural heritage that are considered irreplaceable and exceptional manifestations of a specific entity, phenomena or practice (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 1972). With the Convention, UNESCO wishes to support natural and cultural diversity and, for the sake of future generations, protect the sites on the World Heritage List from decay and destruction.

There are many World Heritage Sites where indigenous peoples are somehow involved, and the connection between indigenous peoples and the World Heritage Convention is growing stronger. UNESCO encourages nation states to incorporate indigenous and local peoples, since this is seen as a guarantee for safeguarding the natural and cultural values of the sites, and indigenous peoples themselves are continually claiming rights to be involved in the nomination and management of these sites.

Needless to say, a World Heritage appointment means many different things to different local sites and to different stakeholders within a site, and it can be used for many purposes. For indigenous peoples, the wish to engage is for the most part directly linked to general issues of co-management of protected areas. As such, the discourse on co-management is in this respect inevitably part of decolonisation and autonomy processes.

Any given World Heritage nomination and management arrangement will be coloured by national differences regarding laws, regulation, colonial history and ingrained patterns of interaction among local stakeholders and groups. What all these processes have in common, however, is that they have to relate to the framework of the Convention itself. This framework rests upon a worldview that does not always combine well with indigenous peoples' perceptions of cultural and natural values and conservation regimes.

World Heritage as a normative framework

There are many ways of categorising, making meaning of, perceiving and understanding the world around us, and there is a multitude of different worldviews, or ontologies, among peoples and societies on our planet. We are not saying that these ontologies are separate units. On the contrary, there are many overlaps and shared values and understandings. It is also important to stress that societies and worldviews are in a constant process of change, adaptation and of relating to one another. Nevertheless, it is very clear that the World Heritage Convention rests on an understanding that is not fully shared by many indigenous peoples.

The Convention illustrates a very specific understanding of "heritage", where the protection and conservation of certain cultural and natural phenomena are of vital importance. The Convention is part of what Laurajane Smith (2006) calls an "authorised heritage discourse". This discourse's roots are the grand narratives of the European national and elite class experiences, and ideas of cultural values based on time depth, monumentality, expert knowledge and aesthetics. UNESCO is one of its authorisers. This authorised heritage discourse is institutionalised in the Convention and its guidelines, and practised by officials and experts working with the implementation. The discourse serves to establish what counts as heritage, what values it has and how it should be practically managed. Moreover, this way of knowing, categorising and practising heritage protection is also institutionalised through national laws and regulations in nation states. It has become a normative discourse in the sense that it seems challenging to think about doing things differently and thinking about natural and cultural heritage in different terms.

The discourse is practised in a specific way, specified in the Convention itself and in the regulations of the nation states. The Convention is implemented through bureaucratic practices. The bureaucracy that surrounds the World Heritage discourse is UNESCO's way of knowing and dealing with the world in order to make it amenable to intervention and control (compare Barnett & Finnemore, 2004). With bureaucratic procedures diverse local realities are made sense of and possible to act upon by UNESCO and the nation states. This entails global rationalisation and standardisation, which inevitably results in simplifications. Any input from these realities will be valued as either relevant or irrelevant facts according to the bureaucracy's purpose (Scott, 1998).

The authorised heritage discourse and bureaucracy are key factors for understanding the challenges for indigenous communities' involvement and authority in World Heritage processes. Many nation states today are taking measures to come to terms with nationalistic and colonial structures inherent in their cultural and natural heritage protection practices and policies. The awareness of this is growing and being addressed and with it the interest to increase the influence of indigenous peoples to be active partners in the management of cultural and natural heritage sites. National authorities often acknowledge the vital contribution that indigenous peoples' knowledge provides to secure a strong and qualitative management of these sites (Gabriel, 2009; Hayes, 2006). However, it is not always fully understood that the heritage discourse employed has strong normative characteristics. Our case studies show that this normativity takes different forms and has different outcomes.

World Heritage in Cape York and in Sápmi

Cape York

In Cape York, Australia, the regional authorities have had a longstanding aspiration to nominate a large part of the Cape York Peninsula to the World Heritage List. However, not all Aboriginal communities in the area have been interested in participating, or agreeing to the nomination. For those Aboriginal communities that do agree to the idea of a World Heritage nomination, the authorities have applied a "free, prior and informed consent" strategy, which in effect means that they need the articulated approval of all individuals from those communities, who have a full understanding of the ramifications of that approval.

Officials working with the nomination give witness to the fact that most of the logic and rhetoric behind the World Heritage Convention is not immediately clear to most of the traditional owners. The officials have to explain concepts like "heritage" and "value", for instance, as part of the procedures to communicate what the potential nomination means and why it might be a good idea. Characteristically, in many of these communities the whole nomination process has started with establishing a structure for a co-management between local conservation authorities and traditional owners (often in the format of a Community Based Plan, or an Indigenous Protected Area). After that has been done, the idea of a World Heritage nomination has been brought to the communities' attention.

The authorities are also committed to include the indigenous knowledge and practice in the future management of the site. However, the initiative is clearly introduced by the state and the regional authorities. And even if the nomination process and the future management of this potential site will bear Aboriginal characteristics, the design and execution of the nomination-work largely lack real insight and engagement from the Aboriginal communities.

The authorities are well aware of the fact that they need to present a good candidate. A nomination is an application, and the content has to be crafted on the Convention's categories and criteria for World Heritage status. A certain degree of adaption to the views of the experts who evaluate the nominations, and to UNESCO's World Heritage Committee which takes the final decision on inscriptions, is also necessary. The limits can be pushed, but not too far. The authorities have therefore carried out analyses of the World Heritage categories and criteria, and studied previous successful and unsuccessful nominations (for example, Smith, 2011). Possible pathways to achieve local support have also been explored (for example, Smyth & Valentine, 2008; Valentine, 2006).

We cannot go into detail here, but it is clear that these investigations forge ideas about what the World Heritage values of the area can be and how the area could be characterised. The findings of the investigations will frame the consultations with the traditional owners and the authorities' decisions on what could be considered as relevant facts to consider. The development of a nomination dossier in consultation with the communities has not yet started, but if and when it does the input from the traditional owners will be restrained by and interpreted according to the normative framework. Moreover, they have to accept or at least adapt to the assumptions of nature, culture and land that underlie the rules and functions of the framework (compare Nadasdy, 2005).

How much influence the communities in the Cape York Peninsula eventually may have, only future can tell. The process has been halted due to difficulties in getting support from stakeholders (Skelton, 2012) and the election of new governments with other priorities at both state and commonwealth levels. The process so far, however, indicate that the nomination may present a true challenge for the communities in regard to real influence, and it can be argued that World Heritage in this case is yet another form of intervention and control, despite the rhetoric of increased influence and authority.

Sápmi

In Swedish Sápmi, the traditional Sami area, we find another World Heritage Site with indigenous interest. Contrary to the Cape York case, Laponia is an already established site and was inscribed onto the World Heritage List in 1996. It is a so-called mixed site where both the nature in the area and the local Sami reindeer herding culture is under protection. It consists of some of the oldest and most well-known national parks and nature reserves in Sweden. The local Sami became involved towards the end of the nomination process, when it was decided to make the site into a mixed, rather than a pure, natural site. It is worth pointing out, however, that this was not thought of as improper or insensitive by most local Sami individuals. The nomination was simply considered to be interesting on an authority level and maybe for the Sami political establishment. But after the appointment in 1996, the local Sami community, as a whole, began to seek influence and recognition and realised that the World Heritage status demanded their attention and could be an important stepping stone towards greater self-governance in general.

In 1996, it was not a prerequisite to produce a management plan before a World Heritage appointment. This work began after the inscription of the site, leading to a long and many times heated debate among local actors. The local Sami organised themselves and had from an early stage a working group responsible for Laponia-related issues. In the discussions, the Sami pointed out that since it is their culture that is under protection, they should have a strong say in the management of the site. They even demanded majority seats on the future board of management. This claim was not acceptable to the authorities. The area had been under national environmental protection for a long time, and the authorities saw it as their

responsibility, and wished to keep monopoly over the management of the area. Nevertheless, both from the perspective of the government and from a UNESCO point of view, the inclusion of the Sami community was desirable.

The local Sami community refused, for about 10 years, to enter into real negotiations with the authorities before they were promised majority seats on the board and a management structure that was sensitive to Sami worldview and under Sami control (Green, 2009). In the end, the vision that the local Sami representatives had fought to implement was accepted by the other actors and now Laponia has a unique management organisation called Laponiatjuottjudus.

The organisation has a strong Sami influence and is partly structured in an unconventional way. The board consists of representatives from the local Sami community, the regional and local authorities and the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency. The Sami have the majority seats, and currently hold the chair. However, decisions are made by consensus. Official documents, like the management plan, have to some extent a language and form that differ from conventional documents, and include Sami views and ways of organising and working. To a large degree, the setup of the organisation still resembles a classical state administrative unit. The Sami in leading positions are still "bureaucrats". They have to adapt to existing rules and regulations and work through bureaucratic means, but the position and the organisation as a platform have enabled integration of Sami perspectives and practices in the management of the site. This includes, for instance, a pronounced holistic perspective where both material and immaterial values are protected. According to the management philosophy it is important to give room for Sami narratives, spiritual values and knowledge that are intrinsically connected to the landscape. To honour traditional Sami ways of reaching support in decision making, public deliberations with local stakeholders are held on a regular basis.

In contrast to the Cape York case, the indigenous representatives in Sápmi were for the most part familiar with the rhetoric of the Convention and its framework. In the Nordic countries the ontologies of Sami and non-Sami communities overlap to a large extent, even if differences are still there and sometimes undercommunicated. Thus, the Sami were able to use the World Heritage appointment as an arena for an ethno-political mobilisation and use it as a tool to strengthen their position and give them a vital role in the management of the area. More importantly they were able to use the World Heritage framework to change the structure of the normative cultural and natural heritage discourse practised in the area up until then.

Conclusion

The two case studies discussed in this paper, Cape York in Australia and Laponia in Sápmi, Sweden, both include indigenous interests. In both cases the framework of the Convention has been locally addressed and adapted to, and a necessary communication process between indigenous communities and authorities has taken place. When a World Heritage Site is being created or when a management organisation is being implemented there is a risk that the ontology of the authorised heritage discourse is strengthened. After all, the discourse is institutionalised in the Convention and reconstructs itself through bureaucratic practices. A World Heritage process might thus re-create and re-colonise the way protection and management of cultural and natural heritage is exercised. But interestingly enough, it might also create an arena for change and for a decolonising process to start, as the Laponian case shows.

World Heritage nomination and co-management processes may have different outcomes in regard to increased indigenous involvement and authority, depending on how the normative framework affects the processes. We see that a less normative heritage discourse

and flexible bureaucratic practice must be employed in order to make these processes more equal and successful, or even meaningful. The first step might be for both UNESCO and national authorities to realise that the World Heritage Convention is indeed part of a specific ontological perception that often is recreated and cemented when implemented. To recognise that it is an "authorised heritage discourse" and part of a deeply rooted specific cultural ontology that have been made normative by its users and followers is necessary as this awareness might help to open minds and acknowledge influence from other ontologies both in policy and practice. Indigenous peoples' involvement in World Heritage is increasing. Hopefully this fact can in itself lead to processes that break the normativity of the natural and cultural heritage discourse. But if we are not watchful, indigenous inclusion in World Heritage might mean that yet another colonial structure is recreated and reinforced.

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INTERNATIONAL INDIGENOUS THERAPEUTIC JURISPRUDENCE +

Rekindling ancient knowledge

*Shelly Johnson**

Samantha Sarra†

Abstract

The rekindling of ancient knowledge, teachings and spirituality of Elders is reflected in the creation of a range of First Nations, Aboriginal and Gladue Courts in Canada, Māori or Rangatahi Courts in New Zealand, Healing to Wellness Courts in the United States and Koori Courts in Australia. These are examples of what has come to be known as Indigenous therapeutic jurisprudence + (TJ+). The "+" (plus) refers to the added value of spirituality and Elders in the restorative, problem solving, healing court models (Christie, 2007; Flies-Away & Garrow, 2013; Wexler & Winick, 2008). This paper describes the international Indigenous TJ+ research conference recently held at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada in October 2014, which brought together Indigenous judges from Canada, the United States, Australia and New Zealand with Elders, academics, students, justice workers and social workers. The conference examined the holistic contributions that Indigenous Elders, spirituality, culture and research are making in the rebuilding of Indigenous legal traditions in Canada, New Zealand, Australia and the United States. Finally, this article explores how these influences in the planning, development and operation of international Indigenous TJ+ courts are beginning to realise the promises in Article 5 of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (United Nations, 2007).

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Keywords

Indigenous therapeutic jurisprudence, spirituality, healing courts

Introduction

The criminal justice systems of the world are colonial institutions of oppression and punishment. Globally, Indigenous people are over-represented in incarceration rates in an ongoing legacy of racist enslavement and forced conversion. Against such a goliath opponent as colonialism, Indigenous peoples are emerging as leaders and visionaries to reject the injustice of colonial correction systems. Through the use of traditional knowledge and wisdom, we are creating healing courts and healing plans that are healing people and communities.

Therapeutic jurisprudence

> Therapeutic jurisprudence is the "study of the role of the law as a therapeutic agent." It focuses on the law's impact on emotional life and on psychological well-being. These are areas that have not received very much attention in the law until now. Therapeutic jurisprudence focuses our attention on this previously underappreciated aspect, humanizing the law and concerning itself with the human, emotional, psychological side of law and the legal process. Basically, therapeutic jurisprudence is a perspective that regards the law as a social force that produces behaviors and consequences. (Wexler, 1999, p. 1)

American legal scholars David Wexler and Bruce Winick (2008) were among the first to write about the work to consider potential therapeutic agents inherent in the practice of law; a concept termed as "therapeutic jurisprudence" or "TJ". Wexler and Winick (2008) take the position that law has consequences that fall in the realm of therapeutic and anti-therapeutic effects. The authors theorise the rules of law, legal procedures, and the behaviours of lawyers, judges, mental health, social work and correctional people within the legal context of TJ.

Indigenous therapeutic jurisprudence + and the profession of social work

Judge Joseph Flies-Away of the Hualapai Healing to Wellness Courts in the United States (Flies-Away & Garrow, 2013) coined the term "Indigenous TJ+". The "+" (plus) refers to the added value of Elders in the restorative, problem solving, healing court models (Christie, 2007; Flies-Away & Garrow, 2013; Johnson, 2014; Wexler & Winick, 2008). This form of Indigenous TJ+ is evident in the principles of the Māori Rangatahi Courts of New Zealand under the leadership of Māori Judge Heemi Taumaunu (2014), the Indigenous Koori Courts in Australia led by Indigenous Magistrates such as Rose Falla, and the work of First Nations provincial court Judge Marion Buller of British Columbia, Canada (Buller-Bennett, 2010).

The rekindling of ancient knowledge, teachings and spirituality of Elders is reflected in the creation of all these Indigenous TJ+ courts. As an Indigenous social work academic and scholar, learning about Indigenous TJ+ encouraged Dr. Shelly Johnson to consider what the role of social work might be for both youth and adults appearing before the courts, and the ways in which spirituality repeatedly appeared as an integral part of the TJ+ process. What began as a simple knowledge translation research requirement of a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada research project morphed into the first international Indigenous TJ+ conference and came to life on the traditional, unceded lands of the

Musqueam people in the city of Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada in October 2014.

Healing courts

In October 2014, Indigenous judges and peacemakers from around the world gathered for the "Healing Courts, Healing Plans, Healing People: International Indigenous Therapeutic Jurisprudence Conference". This was explored in the context of Indigenous people's oppression and over-representation in colonial corrections systems while also championing innovative Indigenous knowledge and traditional practices that help to transform and restore generations destroyed by cultural genocide.

In Canada, according to the correctional investigator, today nearly one quarter of the federal incarceration population is Aboriginal (Saper, 2012). In 2011, 41% of all women incarcerated in Canada were Aboriginal and Aboriginal incarceration rates continue to rise with Aboriginal adults now being incarcerated at a rate that is almost 10 times the national average (Saper, 2012). Musqueam elder Larry Grant, who opened the conference, highlighted the difference between the two systems—one colonial, one Indigenous:

> If you have nothing but incarceration, retaliation and punishment, there is no change. There is also, however, the possibility of relationship, not as someone to master or to be a slave to. Relationship to pull together as one human race. Not as an officer who holds you down and doesn't allow you to repair yourself or your community. (personal communication, 9 October 2014)

Indigenous TJ was examined in the context of Canadian First Nations Courts, the Tsuu T'ina Nation's Office of the Peacemaker, the Healing and Wellness Courts of the United States, the Rangatahi Courts of New Zealand and the Australian Koori Courts. Judge Marion Buller was the first and remains the only female Indigenous judge in the province of British Columbia. She is a member of the Mistawasis First Nation in Saskatchewan and in 2006 she established the First Nations Court in New Westminster, British Columbia.

Judge Buller uses a traditional Aboriginal holistic approach including the medicine wheel and values founded on trust, honesty and unconditional love, recognising that all people have the need for respect, recognition and belonging.

The historical legacies of trauma can be heard in statements of the 6,000 survivors who testified during the ongoing Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of Canada. Chief Wilton Littlechild, Commissioner at TRC, is one of many walking the sacred journey of what he describes as the need for "truth, forgiveness, healing, justice and reconciliation". The TRC's Missing Children Project has identified the graves of over 4,000 children, including in Commissioner Littlechild's community of Red Deer, where a ceremony was held for the graveyard by the school where the bodies of three school children were stacked on top of each other. These and countless other stories of physical, sexual and cultural abuse are part of our country's racist colonial policy that sought to "kill the Indian in the child" (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 2008).

In his keynote address, Littlechild reflected on his time as Commissioner of the TRC, saying:

> I knew the abuse was there at the school, but I did not realise the depth of the abuse that went on across the country. Kids captured and isolated for the pedophiles that were there. I focus on the strength and resiliency of the people. Survivors who stood before me at the TRC and said "I am going to make things better, I am going to heal." (personal communication, 9 October 2014)

Most men and women who go before the First Nations Court are intergenerational survivors of Indian residential schools, poverty, racism,

homelessness and all kinds of abuse. These are the often untold stories which fill the insides of our colonial prisons and justice systems.

Gerald Kematch is from Sapotaweyak Cree Nation in Manitoba. He spent 19 years in prison for shooting the three men who raped and tortured his little sister. His mother committed suicide because of what she experienced in residential school, the mother of his children was killed and his 11-year-old son took his own life. "I wish for nobody to be institutionalised in that system," says Kematch. "Residential school took away from our people the ability to think for ourselves, the historical trauma overwhelmed our ability to cope because we had never experienced anything like that" (G. Kematch, personal communication, 9 October 2014). Kematch works as an addictions specialist working in historical and inter-generational trauma. His life of service to others is the fruit of a process which gets at the root causes of offending behaviour and journeys in a holistic way towards healing.

Judge Marion Buller has seen the results of those who go through her court and for whom the healing plan process is a transformative one. Buller honours each person who completes their healing plan in her court with a traditional blanket ceremony. She says:

> At the end of the healing plan is a celebration because the person has come a long way and we acknowledge their hard work and changes they've made. Who they are when they start in the First Nations Court and who they are on graduation day are two different people. (Johnson & Calvert, 2014)

The over-representation of Indigenous peoples in colonial justice and corrections systems is a global phenomenon, as is the Indigenous response of traditional courts, which are seeking reconciliation instead of incarceration. "Most people in the healing courts stand in need of enormous healing. The root causes are often poverty and the colonisation of Indigenous cultures," explains Judge Andrew Becroft, the principal youth court judge for New Zealand who highlighted existing systemic discrimination in the justice system. "Most young offenders are victims before they victimise and criminalised behaviour is often unresolved care and protection issues" (A. Becroft, personal communication, 10 October 2014).

Similarly, the Koori Court of Victoria in Australia was started after a 1991 Royal Commission into the high numbers of Aboriginal deaths in custody. "Aboriginal people are eleven and a half times more likely to be placed in prison," said Magistrate Rose Falla from the Koori Court, whose court seeks to address the underlying issues of disadvantage that inform the over-representation of Aboriginal people behind bars. "As a Koori Court magistrate, I am able to slow the plea court down and ensure a person's healing isn't rushed," explains Magistrate Falla, "ensuring they are healed in a culturally rich way which can stop the cycle of them coming before the courts" (R. Falla, personal communication, 10 October 2014).

"When we work with young people in our court, we have a choice," says Judge Heemi Maana Taumaunu from the Rangatahi Courts of New Zealand, "we can focus on what they have done wrong, or we can support and guide them on the path which reconnects them and lifts them up" (personal communication, 10 October 2014). Judge Taumaunu made the link between colonisation, the loss of language and culture, and the impact these have had on people. In the marae, the traditional Māori meeting house in which he holds court, Judge Taumaunu works to rebuild that stolen sense of belonging and identity.

Each session of the Rangatahi Court begins with a ceremonial ritual of welcome in which all parties—offender, judge, elders, police and community—enter the marae as one. Offenders must learn to speak in their language and introduce their ancestral house, their mountain, their river and their tribe.

"Most young people have lost their

language," explains Judge Taumaunu whose courtroom in the marae becomes a place of sacred justice and healing,

> We ask them to learn their language and introduce themselves traditionally because we are sowing seeds and helping them to answer the questions: Who am I? Where am I from and what is my purpose? I want them to understand something for the rest of their lives; I tell them when they can stand and speak their language and conduct themselves appropriately, then they can stand as a chief. (personal communication, 10 October 2014)

Judge Joseph Thomas Flies-Away of the Hualapi Wellness Court in the United States focuses on the spiritual aspects of TJ+, believing that justice must also address the psychological and emotional impact of the law. Through Indigenous processes, including "Spirituality of Law Analysis and the Warrior of Law Approach", he creates space for the participants in his court to feel connected, empowered and restored. Judge Flies-Away explains:

> There is a Hualapai word "Ha:nk Wayo:hiyu", which means "living well together". Living well together, that is what I pursue. We are human and we have a lot of pain, a lot of us are carrying the chains of past hurts and we can't let them go.
>
> Traditionally we did things together as teams, there were hunting parties and war parties and work parties. Teams is a very important part of the Wellness Court, we do our healing together. The spirituality of the law invests in human capital, it is a different way of looking at the law which acknowledges the relatedness and connectedness that human beings share with all Creation, focusing on wholeness, equality and harmony. Healing Courts positively impact people by getting a plan together and moving them along to get them healthy. (Johnson & Calvert, 2014)

The international Indigenous judges also toured the Downtown Eastside of Vancouver while they were visiting, a place riddled with the consequences of colonial violence and injustice. Judge Taumaunu of New Zealand was deeply affected by Earl, a man he met there who said to him, "When you return to your people, take this message to them, let them know that my people are getting stronger" (personal communication, 10 October 2014).

Conclusion: A rights path forward

The respect of sovereignty, or the right of Indigenous nations to govern ourselves, is becoming realised in Indigenous TJ+ courts. According to Flies-Away & Garrow (2013), the Indigenous TJ+ courts promote and protect many rights embraced by the Western world in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. One example they provide is with respect to Article 25 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, which protects a person's right to

> a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family including … necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control. (United Nations, 1948, Article 25)

From an Indigenist social justice perspective, the issue of power must also be considered, in terms of who has the right to access necessary social services, and to strengthen distinct Indigenous legal and social institutions. With respect to this right, Article 5 of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) gives some guidance:

> Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and strengthen their distinct political, legal,

> economic, social and cultural institutions, while retaining their right to participate fully, if they so choose, in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the State. (United Nations, 2007, p. 5)

Indigenous TJ+ legal rights and the role of Indigenous Elders in Canada, the United States, Australia and New Zealand through First Nations Courts, Healing to Wellness Courts, Koori Courts or Rangatahi Courts are being strengthened through practice, legislation, research, conferences and collective dialogue. These relational developmental experiences may be called upon to vision and embody promises inherent in the implementation of the UNDRIP in these four Commonwealth countries, upon unceded lands and within Indigenous nations. It is happening, in many ways and in many places, and most recently through one comment from the international Indigenous TJ+ conference at the University of British Columbia in Canada. It came in the form of a comment on the final evaluation form. The commenter revealed themselves as an Indigenous judge working in one of the healing courts. Upon learning of the Indigenous TJ+ work underway in the four countries, the participant wrote, "I don't feel alone anymore." If the implementation of the healing courts and UNDRIP can result in this kind of movement toward healing, then the future of Indigenous nations is already much more hopeful and brighter for the coming generations.

All my relations.

Glossary

Ha:nk Wayo:hiyu	living well together
marae	traditional meeting house

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WISE INDIGENOUS WOMAN ENGAGEMENT PRACTICES ON UNCEDED TERRITORY

A community–university canoe revitalisation project

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Abstract

This paper discusses a seagoing canoe revitalisation research project in Canada as one example of a "wise Indigenous woman engagement practice". The relational practice occurs between two Indigenous women working on unceded Musqueam territories in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada. This case example includes "her-Indigenous-voice centring" engagement practices and makes new space for Indigenous community voice, presence and story-telling in the university and community. This Indigenous case study discusses collaborative engagement practices that led to the development of a seagoing canoe carving revitalisation research project funded by a three-year $500,000 Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) Insight research grant.

Keywords

wise engagement, relational practices, canoe, revitalisation

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Wise Indigenous woman engagement practices

This paper discusses a seagoing canoe revitalisation research project in Canada as one example of a "wise Indigenous woman engagement practice". The relational practice occurs between two Indigenous women working on unceded Musqueam territories in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada. Shelly Johnson is Saulteaux and a faculty member in the School of Social Work at the University of British Columbia (UBC). She is a visitor on unceded Musqueam territories, and represents the "university" in the research relationship. Corrina Sparrow is a Musqueam woman employed as the General Manager of Social Development by the Musqueam First Nation. She is the only Musqueam person with a Bachelor of Social Work degree. Her people continue to occupy the same lands since time immemorial (Musqueam First Nation, 2011). Corrina represents the "community" in the research relationship. Their friendship spans more than 10 years. It existed long before either were employed in their current roles, and will exist long after their current roles end.

This case example includes "her-Indigenous-voice centring" engagement practices and makes new space for Indigenous community voice, presence and story-telling in the university and community. This Indigenous case study discusses a collaborative engagement practice that developed a seagoing canoe carving revitalisation research project supported by a 2014 Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) Insight research grant.

Enacting engagement, relationship and scholarship in the midst of an ongoing colonial relationship is not easy. However, the trust and commitment that exists in the long-term friendship and respect between the authors is the bedrock that informs the community–university relational research practice approach. This approach is also supported by our collaborative interpretation of the joint UBC–Musqueam Indian Band Memorandum of Affiliation (UBC & Musqueam Indian Band, 2006) and the UBC Aboriginal Strategic Plan (UBC, 2008), which further informs our wise Indigenous woman engagement practices.

The concept of "wise practices" is rooted in the "unique body of knowledge, manifested through oral histories and lived experiences" (Wesley-Esquimaux & Calliou, 2010, p. 3) in Indigenous communities. The fact that the UBC is located on unceded Musqueam territories means that the community–university relationship continues to result in inequity for Musqueam. In the Musqueam First Nation context, "wise practices" are engaged and enacted within their planning processes known as "one heart, one mind". The eight engagement principles of "one heart, one mind" include those that are (1) participatory, (2) strategic, (3) Musqueam, (4) thoughtful, (5) entrepreneurial, (6) practical, (7) educational, and based in (8) learning and sharing (Musqueam First Nation, 2011, pp. 8–12). These are the principles that form the basis of the joint SSHRC seagoing canoe revitalisation research project known as "Awakening the Spirit" (ATS). The ATS project offers one opportunity to address the inequitable relationship and to further the development of wise Indigenous woman engagement practices. It does this by strategically directing a range of practical, educational and cultural resources into the Musqueam community, with the intent that both Musqueam and non-Musqueam people will jointly benefit from this research experience.

The paper also draws on the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) definition of wise engagement practices in coastal areas (UNESCO, 2001). This research project considers what the 15 UNESCO practices could mean for Indigenous women working across myriad borders in a colonial, university–community-based context. Specifically, these practices must consider (1) the long-term benefit, (2) capacity building and institutional strengthening,

(3) sustainability, (4) transferability, (5) consensus building, (6) participatory processes, (7) effective and efficient communication processes, (8) respect for culture, (9) gender and/or other sensitivity issues, (10) strengthening local identities, (11) contributions to legal national policy, (12) the regional dimension, (13) human rights, (14) documentation, and (15) evaluation. This paper seeks to consider the promise of Indigenous wise women engagement practices "from the university and the community", and the ways they might respectfully invigorate dialogue and a reassertion of Musqueam healing cultural practices, values and beliefs enacted by the ATS project.

Context (including literature review and theoretical approach)

The ancestors of the Musqueam have lived in what is now British Columbia's lower mainland since time immemorial and in their present location for 3,500 years. Their traditional territory occupies what is now Vancouver and surrounding areas. The name Musqueam—xʷməθkʷə əm—means "People of the River Grass" in hən q əmin əm (the traditional language of the Musqueam). This river grass—məθkʷə—has long grown at the mouth of the Fraser River (Beaton, 2006; Musqueam First Nation, 2011; Von Puttkamer & Von Puttkamer, 2010). Prior to colonisation, seagoing canoes were a main form of transportation and indispensable to fishing: a vital activity for the Musqueam both culturally and economically (Brown, 2008; Stewart, 1977). Today, many people struggle with the devastating intergenerational trauma and cultural rupture resulting in part from the influence of mainstream Euro-Western based social work and education professions, and residential school and child welfare experiences (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 1996). The Musqueam, like all Indigenous peoples on this continent, have been deprived of the stories, history and traditional knowledge associated with cultural identity. Few Musqueam Elders retain thorough knowledge of Musqueam canoeing traditions, which makes this canoe cultural revival project critically important (Johansen, 2012; Neel & Heidlebaugh, 1995).

According to Musqueam knowledge holders, when a canoe is made ready for a journey, a series of cultural protocols awaken its spirit. Cultural protocols include traditional customs and regulations that guide practice, actions and approaches. These guidelines may influence prayers, songs, ceremony, language and physical attributes of participants and objects, as appropriate and traditionally dictated. The ATS project will demonstrate how the Musqueam Indian Band, UBC and potentially other Northwest Coast Indigenous canoe families can work together to mobilise this traditional, as well as academic, knowledge.

The theoretical framework for the ATS project is based on an existing Musqueam work process and vision. Through a multi-year comprehensive community-planning process, Musqueam articulated a vision to guide community-based projects. The hən q əmin əm phrase nə əmat tə šxʷqʷeləwən ct ("we are of one heart and one mind") describes this vision, and is the title of Musqueam First Nation's (2011) Comprehensive Sustainable Community Development Plan (CSCDP). The ATS project will pull together engagement strategies and methods utilised in the Musqueam's comprehensive community-planning process with theoretical and methodological approaches advocated by various Indigenous scholars such as Archibald (2008), Battiste (2008, 2009), Castagno and Brayboy (2008), Johnson (2011), and Smith (1999) in pursuit of creating a unified approach: nə əmat tə šxʷqʷeləwən ct—we are of one heart and one mind. This participatory, holistic Musqueam theoretical and research framework supports Musqueam self-determination in the research conception, design, development and implementation.

The community–university Musqueam canoe project

> We, the Musqueam people, hereby declare our intent to exercise our Aboriginal rights, to restore to our own use sufficient traditional resources to enable us and our descendants to live as distinct and independent people in our own land. (Musqueam Indian Band, 1976, p. 1)

The members of the ATS research team acknowledge deep ruptures in the relationships between the Musqueam Nation and the professions of Social Work, Education and Forestry. These relationships are harmed due to ongoing colonial projects and racism. The primary objectives of this ATS transformative research project are to 1) use Musqueam pedagogical practices to increase intergenerational engagement with Musqueam carving knowledge, seagoing canoe stories, oral histories, and the traditional skills needed to hand-carve large seagoing canoes from cedar trees; 2) build the cultural and physical strength needed to inspire and enable Musqueam children, youth, adults and Elders to participate in intercommunity canoeing events such as canoe journeys and races; 3) expand knowledge and awareness of traditional uses of western redcedar, place names and stories along the waterways uniting Musqueam traditional territory; 4) improve access to traditional knowledge through the development of resources such as mobile applications to connect Musqueam members with hən q əmin əm place names, multi-media and oral histories; and 5) increase the multi-directional mobilisation of traditional Indigenous knowledge among Indigenous researchers, and Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations, within and across different disciplines and sectors such as Social Work, Education and Forestry. The project offers opportunities for teaching and learning that are not traditionally conducted in UBC classrooms.

Project activities include the carving of a traditional Musqueam canoe from a single cedar tree, capable of seating up to 15 people. Youth will be included by learning about carving tools and techniques. The ATS project draws on the teachings of Musqueam advisors, including Elders, Master Carvers and multigenerational Musqueam community members. A Musqueam advisory body (including elected leadership, Musqueam Indian Band staff, and community members) will guide collaboration with UBC students and faculty. The Musqueam canoe project will be housed in a carving shed that will serve as a classroom with Master Carvers teaching participants about carving.

This experiential learning opportunity, coupled with the research component of the project, allows for a comprehensive and culturally relevant educational experience for Musqueam. Indigenous and non-Indigenous UBC researchers, students and faculty will also benefit within this Indigenised structure. The intersection of Musqueam traditional knowledge and professional practice provides a generous opportunity for students to expand their knowledge on the development of meaningful, respectful, community-based social programming.

The ATS project reflects a form of culturally responsive education for Indigenous youth identified in the literature as particularly meaningful and mutually transformative (Castagno & Brayboy, 2008). To further support Musqueam language revitalisation efforts, hən q əmin əm names and language will be incorporated into this project wherever possible, and Musqueam language teachers and Elders will remain integral members of the research team. Musqueam community members will work with Aboriginal foresters to harvest a western redcedar tree. Musqueam community members will also have the opportunity to learn about canoeing protocols and water safety, and build physical strength and conditioning to prepare for a canoe race or journey together.

Methodology

The ATS research project incorporates the principles and vision of nə əmat tə šxʷqʷeləwən ct. The mixed methods the project uses to gather data are guided by the Musqueam principles and the Musqueam advisory body. The ATS project will promote community wellness through talking circles, participant interviews, audio and video recording, land and water-based participatory action reflections and various community meetings. In addition, the methods will include the development and assessment of a Musqueam-based experiential social work practice course on the safe engagement of social workers with cultural knowledge. This social work course will be jointly developed by the authors, who share a professional social work education. The entire ATS project is rooted in our Indigenous woman knowledge, which arises from our tribal and personal relationships, histories and lived community–university experiences.

Enacting engagement, relationship and scholarship in a relational research approach

Nə əmat tə šxʷqʷeləwən ct brings together three streams of knowledge including traditional cultural knowledge of community members; experience, planning and resources from Musqueam's leadership and administration; and the expertise and professional commitment from the participating UBC faculties and SSHRC funding body. The authors are committed to a member-driven, interactive research process that is guided by a Musqueam advisory body, and privileges Indigenous voice. This ensures that UBC faculty, staff and student engagement practices reflect Musqueam's approach to governance. This transparent process exemplifies the Tri-Council Policy for research involving First Nations, Inuit and Métis peoples of Canada.

Four examples of engagement, relationship and scholarship in this relational research approach include commitments to work through existing relationships at both Musqueam and UBC, to joint conference presentations and joint publications. The first opportunity to put this relational policy into practice was the development of the joint proposal between Musqueam band members and the UBC faculties of Social Work, Law and Forestry. Shelly Johnson was tasked with identifying and approaching Indigenous UBC faculty to collaborate on the research project. The second example was the development of the Musqueam Advisory Council, which was led by Corrina Sparrow. She has the insider knowledge necessary to invite key Musqueam members to provide appropriate governance oversight to the project. The third was the joint development of a round-table proposal and presentation to the November 2014 International Indigenous Development Research Conference (IIDRC) held at the University of Auckland. The fourth is this joint paper for inclusion in the IIDRC conference proceedings.

Conclusion

This paper offers the ATS canoe research project as one example of how wise Indigenous woman engagement practices can make new space for Indigenous woman voice, presence and new story-telling in the community and university. It uses the Indigenous canoe cultural revitalisation project, conceived and developed by two Indigenous women, from the university and from the community to centre Indigenous woman voice in research, policy and practice. This paper marks the beginning of our Indigenous woman scholarly journey to share funding resources in a meaningful way, to address inequities in community–university research, policy and practice relationships.

Acknowledgements

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Glossary

hən q əmin əm	the traditional language of the Musqueam
məθkʷə	river grass
nə əmat tə šxʷqʷeləwən ct	we are of one heart and one mind
xʷməθkʷə əm	Musqueam, People of the River Grass

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WHERE GO THE INDIGENOUS IN THE MINING NATION?

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Te Kipa Kepa Brian Morgan#

Abstract

New Zealand is experiencing a mineral resource scramble. This paper builds on the authors' previous research (Ruckstuhl et al., 2013) and aims to frame, within a global Indigenous context, the impact of accelerating mineral exploitation on Māori communities. The Crown Minerals Amendment Act 2013 requires consultation with Māori prior to new mineral exploitation activity. Companies "woo" Māori to gain social licence to operate in response to the United Nations guideline of Free Prior Informed Consent promulgated by bodies such as the International Council on Mining and Metallurgy. The drive behind such forms of corporate social responsibility is both financial and reputational, with Māori more opposed to mining than the general population ("Poll Shows", 2012). Companies tout their sustainability credentials and undertake activities to influence favourable responses. However, consultation as a function of legislation will not lead to social licence to operate without considering Māori values, worldviews, concerns and demands.

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In the first two sections of this paper, Māori responses to mineral extraction are framed in relation to other Indigenous groups' values and engagement expectations. The next three sections expand upon this, focusing on how Māori might manage, mitigate or avoid the risks associated with fossil fuel extraction.

Keywords

resource extraction, social licence, Māori, environment, mining

Michelle Thompson-Fawcett: Indigenous values and positions in relation to extractive activity

The following considers the differences and similarities between two sets of Indigenous peoples dealing with mining in contrasting contexts. The two case studies were drawn from Indigenous communities that have already developed planning approaches for tackling issues related to extractive activities and articulate the prevalent traditional values upon which Indigenous groups founded their positions and the values that need to be realised in any consenting processes.

Iwi values

Forty-four iwi (tribe) and hapū (sub-tribe) groups' plans, assessments and submissions were analysed with 10 key values identified. Ancestrally based values, such as whakapapa (genealogy) and whanaungatanga (kin relationships), necessitate a holistic understanding of the intertwining of people and environment, emphasising an intimate relationship with, and reverence for, the environment. Values such as kaitiakitanga (guardianship), mauri (life-force), taonga (treasures), and wairuatanga (spiritual essence) affirm an inherited duty of care for the environment, and their life-force and spiritual importance. In deriving any active benefit from the use of natural resources, iwi have a reciprocal obligation to care for those resources and their environment, and even to enhance their "energy". Other values, like manaakitanga (care) and kotahitanga (unity), demonstrate the prominence of a collective orientation, emphasising a communal regard for resources and their significance in meeting needs for communities.

Manawhenua relates to the authority an iwi or hapū has over their localities and includes the rights and responsibilities associated with exercising management and stewardship. Rangatiratanga (chieftainship) speaks to the manawhenua group controlling their destiny, determining the management of their resources and treasures and being empowered in resource decision-making processes.

The directions taken by iwi and hapū in relation to extractive activity are derived from longstanding values re-engaged and re-envisaged for the contemporary context.

Inuit values

The traditional values that came through most strongly from policies and reports of various Inuit groups dealing with extractive industries spoke largely to ways of interacting and means of working collaboratively. Kinship, bonding, social togetherness, working together, supporting each other and sharing seemed to underpin responses to mining company endeavours. Linked to these values was a firm commitment to retaining socio-cultural values and practices for both family and community wellbeing, and preserving experiential knowledge as a foundation for protecting cultural values, identity and

welfare. An intense connection to the land was articulated, both in a spiritual sense (the land offering emotional and social wellbeing) and in a resource sense (the land being a source of survival and sustenance). In addition, ensuring open communication, respect and meaningful engagement were priorities.

Inuit groups had limited prior experience of the rapid expansion and scale of mining with impacts on local values, ways of life and identity. Developing mechanisms to ensure cultural continuity and strong community leadership is of utmost importance to local communities. Part of that should be ensuring benefits from mining that actively promote Inuit cultural goals.

Key considerations

A connected issue to that of identifying culturally specific values is that of articulating key considerations in relation to engagement and impacts. The most important considerations include:

- recognition of interests, ownership and sovereignty;
- implementation of constitutional/treaty rights;
- tangible recognition of traditional knowledge in decision-making and operational processes;
- capacity building to ensure effective participation;
- enabling of traditional stewardship and practices;
- mitigation of adverse effects on environment and cultural landscape;
- provision of culturally appropriate services that offer cultural continuity, values and identity, traditional knowledge, arts and skills;
- assurance of benefit from mining activities; and
- benefits of mining to contribute to attainment of cultural goals, language expansion, and a standard of living that is equal to that of other citizens.

There is a progression of criteria here, from matters concerning process, to matters concerning the environment, and finally matters that relate to Indigenous group long-term wellbeing and benefits.

To conclude, the case studies demonstrate the importance of taking into account the details of local places and cultural specificity, and reflect the similarities across space and culture for Indigenous groups internationally.

Diane Ruwhiu and Lyn Carter: Ours, not mine! The multidimensional nature of an Indigenous response to mining

This section explores the transformative potential of an approach to engagement between Indigenous peoples and the mining industry. This approach enables a community-orientated, context-sensitive stance that prompts broad-based collaborative dialogue about local and regional priorities, providing insights for meaningful engagement between Indigenous communities and the mining industry that is informed by Indigenous values, knowledge frameworks, and aspirations for intergenerational development.

The international community has recognised the right of Indigenous peoples to participate in the environmental management of resources extracted from their traditional lands (O'Faircheallaigh & Corbett, 2005). Agreements such as the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples recognise and promote Indigenous rights to the maintenance of cultural identity, traditional lands and self-determination. This *should* provide for meaningful participation in development plans, assuring informed consent prior to decisions affecting Indigenous rights and interests (Whiteman & Mamen, 2005).

The reality, however, is very different, with the industry having an extremely poor record when it comes to the meaningful involvement of Indigenous communities on whose land much of the mining and resource extraction operations occur.

Any form of agreement and relationship should provide for Indigenous peoples to meaningfully participate in development plans from the earliest time possible (Whiteman & Mamen, 2005; O'Faircheallaigh, 2013). Also important is the legal recognition of Indigenous peoples by the State such as the Treaty of Waitangi in New Zealand or the Native Title Act in Australia. In many instances Indigenous communities lack political influence, with State officials privileging the needs of mining operations to the detriment of the land rights and citizen entitlements of Indigenous communities (Trebeck, 2007).

Under pressure from the international community and the increasing political presence of Indigenous peoples, the mining industry has responded with various business strategies (Hilson & Murck, 2000), with corporate social responsibility and social licence to operate as the two most common forms of organisational response. Both notions are difficult to operationalise and have been critiqued as being token (Banerjee, 2008; Owen & Kemp, 2013), with "an unwillingness to pursue alternatives that engage the tension between short-term profit maximisation and long-term value for companies and local communities" (Owen & Kemp, 2013, p. 30).

Increasing worldwide attention on the plight of Indigenous peoples in their struggle against the mining industry has seen the development of strategies aimed at bridging the complex sets of relations between Indigenous communities, mining corporations, governments and the broader communities who may want mining for economic benefits. The question arises as to how Indigenous peoples negotiate these complex spaces. Indigenous peoples' responses to this are multi-dimensional in nature; in particular, in relation to their rights of cultural identity, self-determination and maintenance of traditional practices, lands and territories (Whiteman & Mamen, 2005).

Katharina Ruckstuhl: Is it time for an iwi oil and gas accord?

Treaty of Waitangi settlements have focused on re-asserting the rights of each iwi to jurisdiction over local natural resources on land and sea. But, as seen with fresh water, independent authority and variation in action has led to resource depletion and contest over usage. Consequently, the Iwi Leaders Group has developed a national framework for managing water resource usage (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2012). Three of the principles relate to iwi reserving for themselves mana motuhake (self-determination), kaitiakitanga and mana whakahaere (decision-making). That is, the framework asserts independent local authority while collectivising an agreed set of national guidelines.

In the case of oil and gas, there needs to be similar momentum as, apart from the Green Party, there is little political will to decelerate exploration. The principles developed for freshwater might provide a starting point for a national discussion on oil and gas, which is needed because the legislation that governs exploration and other activities in the Exclusive Economic Zone only came into force in 2013. Unlike the Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA), which has had almost 25 years to be tested in law and in practice, there is little to guide Māori as to how activities under the new regulations will unfold.

Thirteen iwi have minerals protocols with the New Zealand Government and an Iwi Leaders Group working group is led by Ngāti Ruanui, one of the few iwi with an oil and gas engagement policy. Some iwi have mooted a formalised national approach (Piripi, 2013). Mostly Māori communities have been left to

their own devices to respond to and manage the sets of activities unleashed by the new legislation, administered by six government agencies.

Similar to the RMA is the heavy burden on communities to respond to the legal requirements placed on applicants to engage with iwi. As shown in the declined Trans-Tasman Resources Ltd Marine Consent, "engage[ing] more constructively with existing interests" (Environmental Protection Authority, 2014, p. 5) requires more than lip-service. However, this requires a technical understanding at a level quite different to the knowledge built up under the RMA. For the 2014 Block Offer, 99 iwi and hapū and 63 local authorities were "consulted" between November 2012 and January 2013 (Faulkner, 2014). It is hard to imagine that each of these groups had meaningful discussion about the permits within that timeframe. Without the resources to devote to expert advice, such consultation can be no more than an exchange of opinions, leading to iwi feeling powerless.

Therefore, it would make sense for there to be a collective, national level approach to resource consenting in the Exclusive Economic Zone. If the national policy on water is anything to go by, such a policy should be developed earlier rather than later.

Te Kipa Kepa Brian Morgan: Quantifying the threat posed by fracking and deep sea oil mineral extraction

The Mauri Model Decision Making Framework is now widely used as a sustainability assessment tool in situations responding to environmental threats (Faaui & Morgan, 2014). Its application in policy setting is yet to be seen.

Innovations in technology, including hydraulic fracturing, facilitate access to oil reserves both onshore and in deep sea environments that have previously been uneconomic to extract. However, even when there is a low likelihood of failure, the financial incentive of all the parties collaborating to exploit these opportunities tends to excessively privilege monetary-based risk assessment, focusing on short-term benefit while disguising and transferring significant long-term impacts and environmental burdens onto communities that struggle to quantify the risks associated with these modifications to the environment. This is the observation and reflection on the impact of the Deep Horizon Oil Spill, which clearly illustrated the severity of technological failure. Therefore, a threshold should be established that ensures all parties assuming the risk also share in the benefits as the unintended, unpredictable consequences of such technologies have far reaching consequences for humanity today.

The Mauri Model is an analysis framework for the management of natural resources that uses two processes for evaluation: the mauriOmeter, which measures impact upon mauri; and the worldview prioritisation calculator, which ensures a holistic, inclusive analysis that effectively incorporates all stakeholder worldviews and knowledge contributions in a consistent and equitable determination of absolute sustainability. It is suggested that the precautionary principle of the United Nations 1992 Rio Conference on sustainability be united with the mauriOmeter to identify a process for determining appropriate risk thresholds for the fracking and deep sea oil minerals extraction activities gaining momentum in New Zealand. The proposed approach uses three phases of evaluation. First, stakeholder worldview prioritisations are determined—these prioritisations help inform which mauri dimensions or wellbeing criteria are most important and therefore which stakeholders should identify indicators of impact upon mauri. Second, an analysis of a technology failure scenario would be carried out using the mauriOmeter—this analysis helps identify the extent of impacts upon mauri and the risked severity of consequences that stakeholders are exposed to. Finally, once the extent

of impact for all mauri dimensions is more fully understood, appropriate risk thresholds can be determined for different technologies.

A mauri-based analysis will likely be consistent with cost–benefit analysis (Morgan, Sardelic, & Waretini, 2012) in that fracking can result in enhanced economic wealth; however, mauri-based analysis illustrates that it is wealth transfer rather than wealth creation being facilitated. The wealth transfer that occurs accrues economic benefits to some, while the negative consequences of diminished mauri impact many indicators of environmental, social and cultural wellbeing. This is inconsistent with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, as the long-term consequences for the environment become embodied in the tangata whenua (people of the land) of Aotearoa (New Zealand). Sustainability? It's about survival!

Janet Stephenson: Iwi and renewable energy

Should Aotearoa continue to develop new fossil fuel resources, or should they remain in the ground? This question is being asked in many parts of the world, and leading international agencies and financial institutions are stating that the majority of carbon reserves cannot be burned if global temperature rises are to be limited to below 2°C.

Long-term thinking means taking into account the impacts of today's actions on future generations. Mining fossil fuels has significant long-term implications on the climate and on the lives of future generations (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2013). There is also the risk of being caught with a "carbon bubble" if fossil fuel reserves suffer a major drop in value, which is widely predicted (van Renssen, 2014). This will occur either as a result of carbon taxes, lower prices for oil, or simply by investors realising that if carbon reserves are burnt this will create a future climate that will not support human life. Another long-term concern is the risk of being locked into systems that require fossil fuels to run them, without sufficient time to change to systems that use renewables.

At the same time that fossil fuel investments are looking increasingly risky, renewables are increasingly more cost-effective, especially in New Zealand. We have a great hydropower resource and our wind energy is exceptionally good by world standards (Mason, Page, & Williamson, 2013). New Zealand as a whole is well placed to take a front foot on how to develop a low-carbon economy because our starting point is already well ahead of most countries, given the high renewable component of our electricity generation—75% in 2013 (Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, 2014).

Iwi are particularly well placed to take advantage of the inevitable growth of renewables. They own huge energy resources in geothermal and timber, and there are significant opportunities for energy developments, including biofuels and biomass to replace coal; for example, as used in milk powder drying—already an issue acknowledged by the multinational dairy company Fonterra (Fonterra, 2014). The price of photovoltaics is continuing to drop, and they offer an increasingly sensible financial choice for electricity generation on farms, businesses, marae (traditional meeting places) and in housing. Are there opportunities for iwi to get involved in the solar industry as it takes off in New Zealand?

The options for the future are becoming increasingly stark—either the world continues on the present path of high use of fossil fuels, with horrendous repercussions for human wellbeing, the economy and the environment, or shifts to renewable, low-carbon energy and a liveable future. The latter path means some big changes, but Aotearoa is one of the best-placed countries in the world to be amongst the leaders to a renewable future, and iwi could play a major role in this transition, and reap benefits for both current and future generations.

Glossary

Aotearoa	New Zealand
hapū	sub-tribe
iwi	tribe
kaitiakitanga	guardianship
kotahitanga	unity
mana motuhake	self-determination
mana whakahaere	decision-making
manaakitanga	care
manawhenua	local authority
marae	traditional meeting place
mauri	life-force
rangatiratanga	chieftainship
tangata whenua	people of the land (Māori)
taonga	treasures
wairuatanga	spiritual essence
whakapapa	genealogy
whanaungatanga	kin relationships

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BALAWAVIRI‘I

An indigenous pathway to health and well-being

*Akanisi Tarabe**

Abstract

This paper is a discussion of Balawaviri‘i—a metaphorical pathway to sautu (indigenous health and well-being) that is peculiar to the people of the tribe of Cu‘u in Fiji. Balawaviri‘i was a place of spiritual significance in pre-Christian times that impacted the physical, social, cultural and spiritual well-being of the people. Drawing from this traditional notion, Balawaviri‘i is discussed in this paper as the maintenance of relational connectedness called veiwe‘ani, which results in a good life, good health and well-being of individuals and the community. Balawaviri‘i is enhanced in many ways and in this paper, the focus is on women and mats, which are women’s items of wealth and how they perform funeral rituals in the vale ni mate (house of death). It is in the performance of these rituals that the path of health and well-being is best illustrated. The re-distribution of mats in the rituals portrays how women distribute parts of themselves, giving hope for the future.

Keywords

mats, women, funeral, kinship, well-being, pathway

Introduction

It is a basic principle of iTaukei (indigenous Fijian) culture that the health and prosperity of the vanua (community) is grounded on life-enhancing practices, whether that be every day practices or the more solemn practice of ceremonial exchange. Significant to all these is how indigenous Fijians seek to promote health and well-being through various engagements

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that involve relational connectedness known as veiwe'ani. The intensity of veiwe'ani impacts the physical, social and spiritual dimensions of life so that veiwe'ani can be seen as interactions between people and the deities. This paper is a discussion of the concept of veiwe'ani as an important aspect of health and well-being that can be achieved through an indigenous pathway called Balawaviri'i, peculiar to the people of the tribe of Cu'u in Fiji.

Balawaviri'i is a metaphorical pathway for health and well-being and comes from the two words balawa and viri'i. Balawa is the pandanus tree, a common feature along the coast of Cu'u and other parts of Fiji. Women use the leaves of the younger pandanus tree to make mats while men use the leaves of an older tree to make thatch. Viri'i literally means to throw at something so the word Balawaviri'i means to throw at a pandanus tree.

The metaphor Balawaviri'i derives its origin from the place known as Balawaviri'i at Udu Point in the northern part of Fiji's second largest island of Vanua Levu. The place has a spiritual significance that relates to the well-being of the local people. In the pre-Christian cosmology of the people of the Cu'u tribe, Udu Point was a strategic location for spirits on the path to Naicobocobo in Bua, the final destination of the spirit. The path involved hurdles, which meant that the surviving relatives needed to conduct certain rituals in order to ensure the proper transfer of a spirit to the spirit world (see Tomlinson, 2007; Toren, 1988). For example, a male spirit must throw stones at a particular pandanus tree. If the spirit was successful, and the stones he threw hit the tree, the spirit then moved on to Naicobocobo.

Hocart (1912) describes this path as running from a ridge in Udu Point to Naicobocobo in Bua. Further out in the lagoon at Dogotiriwai were two goddesses in the form of two rocks who obstructed new female spirits with their nets on their way to Naicobocobo. If they succeeded, the spirits were thrown back to the land and would return to their villages of origin and harass the living relatives. If the goddesses failed to trap them, the spirits moved on to the salevu ni yalo (spirit path) to their final destination.

While men threw stones at the tree to ascertain whether their partner will be true, their spirits returned to throw stones at the tree in order to access the afterworld. If a man's spirit missed the target, his spirit, like his female counterpart, would return to his village of origin and terrorise the people. This scenario can be interpreted as a metaphor for life goals (targets) and moving forward. Targets and moving forward are significant concepts for iTaukei, who emphasise the good life known as sautu. Unaisi Nabobo-Baba (2006) explains that "a good life/well-being (sautu) is the goal espoused and aspired to in daily life … It is a life of good health and wealth" (p. 74). To hit the target of sautu means one can progress. Trees were likely to be the gods of the people of the Udu Peninsula in the pre-Christian era. The gods had mana (the power to effect; see Turner, 1992), which linked very closely to sautu (Nabobo-Baba, 2006). When the tree was hit, it meant that people were achieving their goals in life and these were good health and wealth, which were the provisions of the gods. In the same way that the two female spirits at Dogotiriwai, Udu Point, are said to hold their nets to trap every spirit that passed by, living women are thought to trap the spirits with their mats as they make them. The connection between spirits and mats are noted by some writers in other Pacific societies. For example, Vilisoni Hereniko (1995) notes that Rotuman women trap ancestral spirits while weaving fine mats in order to acquire mana for the family for their protection and well-being. However, when a spirit missed the target, bad luck happened, which showed in the return of the spirit to harass the people of his/her village. Bad luck is known as vele in Cu'u, which comes in the form of prolonged sickness, poor crop harvest, untimely death, frequent accidents and other disasters that are associated with the failure to follow the straight path (see Brison, 2007), the

breaking of a taboo or the failure to conform to traditions.

In iTaukei society, bad luck can also be inherited by family members if those who committed it in a past generation did not rectify the wrong. Lesila Raitiqa (2003) refers to bad luck as vanua (tribal/cultural) sickness and says that "vanua sickness affects both the land and the people as a group or individuals … Vanua sickness is the result of the removal of blessing (*mana*) from the land" (p.103). The return to good health, abundance of wealth and prosperity of the land can only be achieved if the traditional offering of tabua (whale's tooth) in the ritual of soro (asking for forgiveness) is made. This traditional notion of health, wealth and well-being is Balawaviri'i; it encompasses the spiritual, physical, social and cultural dimensions of life.

Drawing from this traditional belief, I will now discuss how Balawaviri'i is best illustrated in the role of women in funeral rituals. It is in the funeral rituals that women play a big part in restoring and maintaining health and well-being through their items of wealth while they keep vigil in the vale ni mate (house of death).

Women and the enhancement of Balawaviri'i

Women have always played a big part in iTaukei funerals. In fact, they are the hosts in funerals as they link the physical journey of the deceased to the afterlife path through their wealth of mats and masi (bark cloth). Mats form the deceased's bed in a funeral and are also used to line the coffin and the grave. They are used in the church as a platform for the coffin to rest on during the funeral service. The coffin is wrapped in masi and mats and buried in a grave, which is lined in mats. Mats are also distributed to various groups of people after a funeral. As a result of all these, rural iTaukei women spend much of their time making these items of wealth while iTaukei women in the city spend a lot of money to buy them to contribute in a funeral. The role of women as custodians of life explains why much of their wealth is emphasised in the keeping or preservation of the body. The community's proper parting with the deceased is dependent on women and their wealth, which places women in a position of significance. It is according to this understanding of women and their wealth that this paper discusses how health and well-being is maintained through the production of kinship relations or veiwe'ani.

When a person dies, women prepare the "house of death" for the deceased's next life by spreading mats. Women spread mats on the floor in the "above" area, which is the honoured part of the house. They lay the deceased at this honoured section of the house regardless of whether the deceased is male or female. The mats are known as the deceased's bed or 'oto'oto. As the mats are layered in a special way, the spreading of the bed is a test of skills and knowledge for women. In the layering, the i lawa (straight) edge of the mat is always shown, while the i tini (less even) edge is hidden under the layering of mats. The i lawa edge of the mat is neat because the weave is lighter and straighter than the darker, less even edge of the i tini.

A set of layered mats is called a vivivi. The first mat to be spread for the bed is the carpet, which is a large coarse mat called the 'iluvatu. 'Iluvatu is a special thick mat made only by the women of Cu'u and the Udu Peninsula (see Naisilisili, 2012 for more discussions on the significance of 'iluvatu as a mat and as an indigenous research framework). It does not have wool finishing like other mats but has bold black designs. Placed on top of the carpet is the va'abati, which is fringed with layers of coloured wool that form beautiful patterns on the mat. On top of the wool-fringed mat is placed a mat called loga duadua. At the top of the layering are the finest mats with coloured wool fringes, before a single masi known as the va'amalumu (softener) completes the final layering. In one glance, there is continuity of colours and mats in the layering. Women

obsessively follow these simple rules of correctness in spreading mats, making mat-layering a long and tedious process. The strict order in the layering of mats is symbolic of women's role in re-organising their society when things become undone when death occurs. Jacqueline Ryle (2010) discusses the layering of mats in a funeral in the province of Nadroga on Viti Levu, as an "image of a path from death to burial and beyond through mourning …" (p. 83).

Women place the body on the bed of mats and then later, helped by the men, they lay the deceased in the coffin lined with a mat before the men nail the coffin shut. The coffin then rests on the layered mats while women keep vigil for one night before burial takes place. More mats wrap the coffin before it is lowered into the grave. Having discussed the role of mats in funerals, I now explain how mats become symbols of health and well-being in a funeral.

Mats: A symbol of good health and well-being

Mats are made from thin strips of dried pandanus leaves. In Cu'u, the pandanus leaves are called 'ie. Strips of pandanus leaves are woven in criss-crossing patterns forming a "path" called a salevu. Each pandanus strip that forms the criss-crossing pattern of a mat has a belly ('etena) and a back (da'una) and when a mat is spread, it must "lie" on its back with the belly facing upward. Consequently, the belly of mats must always be shown in mat layering because of the belly's life-giving function. It is the belly that "permits" the mixing of elements that are separated in the social body as well as the physical body to give new life.

In this sense, the mat equals a woman's body in which pregnancy occurs and produces physical relationships through children in the next generation. However, the mat also equals women's substance, which is the basis for kinship relatedness. Women exchange their substance through the exchange of mats. This exchange keeps the doorway of kinship relations open. The women are thus maintaining veiwe'ani across the group and with other groups through the exchange of their substance in mats within this generation. Women, as producers of mats, are central to both the reproduction of children and the reproduction of kinship relations. It is in the continuous connection of relational kin or veiwe'ani that the society draws its well-being. In this sense, the criss-crossing pattern of a mat is the image of the network of relational kin that enhances sautu.

Women define themselves through mats. They are the makers of these items of wealth. Each mat is made individually by women rather than mass produced by machines. In the process of mat weaving, the spirit, emotions and cultural meaning of the woman are woven into the mat, making the mat a powerful metaphor for life and beyond life. Most importantly, the personal connection between the weaver and the mat enables the awakening of a divine element where mana is evoked to bring forth sautu. This is done as women take each pandanus strip, which is characterised with a back and belly, and weave criss-crossing patterns to form a mat, trapping the gods that provide mana for their households and the society (see Hereniko, 1995). In traditional iTaukei folklore, gods are attracted to human females as potential wives and they ensure their continuity in society through relations with females. As mats represent women, they are attracted to the process of weaving that traps them in their criss-crossing patterns. Women in this sense are the nurturers of the living as well as nurturers of the spirits and memories of those who have died. Mats form this link between women and the people they nurture as well as the divine and human, making mats a necessary element in the reproduction of veiwe'ani. Indeed, Rod Ewins (2009) suggests that female elements, through their wealth, abound in the spiritual realm, which supports the notion that women's wealth is the path on which mana is transferred to her relatives.

This has implications on how iTaukei view paths of relationships through kinship. In iTaukei thinking, a path of kinship is a "blood flow" (drodro ni dra) and when there is abundance of mats being brought into a ceremony, wealth is also said to flow (drodro ni iyau). This can be interpreted to mean kinship as blood and also kinship as sacrifice because wealth has to be acquired at all costs by the man in order to attend to his obligation to his wife's group. Consequently, the path of kinship is also the path where wealth is acquired and exchanged. People would often say that being poor has nothing to do with material wealth but everything to do with the "flow" of kinship relations. This means that wealth is conceived in terms of maintaining kinship relations.

After the burial of the deceased, women that keep vigil in the "house of death" remove the layered mats from the floor. They do this by carefully peeling off each mat from their layering and close them by rolling each mat into a single column with the belly of the mat showing out. They place the mats into piles according to their type. This signifies that the old life has closed. Later these mats are redistributed, depicting how women relatives share parts of the deceased's new life as well as their own substance represented in mats and carry it back to where they came from. Women redistribute their wealth after a funeral as symbolic to giving parts of themselves to others in the hope of a bright future. In this sense, women are the purveyors of hope through the redistribution of their wealth.

In this paper I have discussed the concept of Balawaviri'i as a metaphorical pathway to restoring health and well-being that is peculiar to the people of the Cu'u tribe. The concept emphasises that health and well-being are achieved by considering the cultural, social, physical and spiritual dimensions of life. The failure to regard any of these causes vele, which can only be rectified through traditional forgiveness. Balawaviri'i is a metaphor of how women use their wealth in funeral rituals to affirm relational connectedness. I have shown that mats are metaphors for women's bodies, which represent the continuous reproduction of veiwe'ani as well as hope for the future. This ensures the attainment of sautu—the life of good health and well-being that iTaukei men aspire to achieve for themselves, their families and the vanua.

Glossary

balawa	the pandanus tree
Balawaviri'i	a metaphorical pathway for health and well-being
da'una	the back of a person or animal
drodro ni dra	blood flow
drodro ni iyau	flow of wealth
'etena	the belly
i lawa	the straight edge of the mat
i tini	the less even edge of the mat
'ie	pandanus leaves used to make mats
'iluvatu	a type of carpet mat
iTaukei	the indigenous Fijians
loga duadua	a type of mat with wool finishing that is smaller than the carpet mat
mana	the power to effect something
masi	bark cloth
'oto'oto	a bed of mats
salevu ni yalo	path of spirits
sautu	the state of having good health and abundance of wealth
soro	to ask for forgiveness
tabua	whale's tooth used for ceremonial purposes
va'abati	a type of mat with many layers of patterned wool finishing
va'amalumu	softener; refers to the barkcloth that is placed at the top of mat layering
vale ni mate	house of death—it is where the body of a relative remains until burial

vanua	the iTaukei cultural community
veiwe‘ani	social relationships
vele	bad luck or misfortune
viri‘i	to throw at something
vivivi	a set of layered mats that has all the different types of mats

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TE KORONGA

Pathways of Māori postgraduate research excellence: Part 1

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Abstract

Te Koronga is a programme nestled within the School of Physical Education, Sport and Exercise Sciences (PE School) at the University of Otago aimed at fostering research excellence for Māori postgraduate students. The philosophy is founded on the phrase Te Koronga borrowed from the opening stanza of the karakia (prayer) *Tēnei au te koronga*, which was used to induct students into the ancient wānanga (site of learning) Te Rawheoro. Te Koronga means to both yearn and to strive for higher forms of knowledge. A programme like this is required to provide a kaupapa (purpose) driven space within the academy for Māori postgraduate students to cultivate the range of skills necessary to excel at research and to develop the confidence to find and use their unique voices to articulate their ideas. Te Koronga is concerned with the student and what they bring to the institution: their mana (spiritual authority), their tapu (restrictions), their whakapapa (genealogy) and their whānau (family). Te Koronga is then a process that grows strong, confident Māori imbued with whakapapa, supported by their natural support networks, who engage in kaupapa-centred research. To aim for anything less than research excellence is to belittle our ancestry and to do a disservice to our students and by extension their hapū (subtribes) and iwi (tribes). This is part of our story.

Keywords

Māori, physical education, health, graduate research

Context

Te Koronga is a Māori postgraduate research excellence group at the University of Otago, School of Physical Education, Sport and Exercise Sciences (PE School), Te Kura Para-Whakawai. Established in 2013 by Dr Hauiti Hakopa, Dr Anne-Marie Jackson and Ms Samantha Jackson, Te Koronga is a deliberate and purposeful space to grow both Māori postgraduate research excellence and Māori postgraduates within the academy *as Māori*. This paper is the first of a series of publications that focus on Te Koronga. To grow Māori postgraduate research excellence and Māori postgraduates within the academy *as Māori*, there are numerous pathways, issues, aspirations, barriers and changes that need to occur. Thus, the aim of this paper is to discuss the undergraduate curriculum pathways at the PE School for students to then enter into Te Koronga. The premise being that, for students to enter into postgraduate studies, we need to grow them earlier on in their undergraduate degree to "normalise" postgraduate study as well as prepare the students with both the kaupapa (purpose) and the content required for entry into Te Koronga.

The late Professor Philip Smithells established the PE School in 1948. Physical education makes up part of the social fabric of New Zealand, with all New Zealanders being involved in physical education in some way, whether within their primary or secondary schooling, as a child, or their family's recreational activities. Furthermore, Smithells fostered an interest in Māori forms of movement and was regarded as integral to the introduction of Māori movement into physical education in New Zealand (Hokowhitu, 2003). Critics of Smithells, including Hokowhitu (2003) stated that "arguably his [Smithells] attempts at cultural inclusiveness further oppressed Māori by perpetuating their physical stereotype" (p. 192). Interestingly, the PE School has attracted, and continues to

attract, high numbers of Māori students. Over the past 5–7 years at the PE School there has been a relatively consistent number of Māori students enrolled in the undergraduate Bachelor of Physical Education. The enrolments from 2009–2013 of Māori undergraduate and postgraduate students are shown in Table 1. An area of development that Anne-Marie recognised was the gap between the high number of Māori undergraduate enrolments and the low number of Māori postgraduate enrolments at the PE School, which is reflected in Table 1, and fewer students who focused specifically on Māori research.

Thus, Anne-Marie made a deliberate choice to focus energy on growing a Māori postgraduate research excellence programme. We had a number of things on "our side", so to speak, with high Māori undergraduate enrolments, some Māori papers in the curriculum already and Anne-Marie being appointed as a full-time confirmation path academic at the PE School in 2011 as a lecturer of Māori physical education and health. In this role, Anne-Marie was therefore able to build upon the strong foundations created at the PE School by her predecessors. Over the years, there have also been a number of supportive non-Māori academics and staff members who have created a more inclusive social and political climate for Māori aspirations within the PE School.

We return now to the kaupapa of this paper: to examine the undergraduate pathways for students to enter into postgraduate study within Te Koronga at the PE School. The PE School has attempted to grow its curriculum and range of programmes offered to students for "things Māori" (Christensen, 2006) over the more recent years. In 2011, there were two papers offered for students with an interest in Māori physical education and health. The first was PHSE104: Applied Theory and Practice, which was a compulsory practical-based paper comprising first aid, Māori, aquatics and camp. The second was PHSE320: Akoranga Whakakori Māori: Physical Activity and Health.

Undergraduate Māori pathway at PE School

The overall aim of our Māori curriculum pathway at the PE School is to grow kaupapa people. We foster curiosity through research excellence, a passion for mātauranga (Māori knowledge and customs) and graduates who can competently work with Māori communities. At present, the strategies that we have used are a focus on staff expertise, and a staged progression from comfort to content, application and independent research. We have specifically focused on expertise because this

TABLE 1 Number of Māori undergraduate and postgraduate student enrolments at the School of Physical Education, Sport and Exercise Sciences 2009–2013.

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
BPhEd[1]	91	82	79	96	85
BPhEd(Hons)[2]	5	4	1	0	1
PgDipPE[3]	1	1	1	0	3
MPhEd[4]	1	1	3	5	5
PhD[5]	0	0	0	0	0

[1] Bachelor of Physical Education

[2] Bachelor of Physical Education (Honours)

[3] Postgraduate Diploma of Physical Education

[4] Master of Physical Education

[5] Doctorate

is fundamental to the growth of our students. Anne-Marie, with support from her Dean and senior staff at the PE School, applied for funding in 2012 to employ Hauiti. In 2013 Hauiti joined the PE School as a half-time Teaching Fellow to support Anne-Marie. Anne-Marie, as a new Māori academic staff member, and the PE School recognised the need for another Māori academic staff member to ensure the cultural safety of Anne-Marie, the PE School and the cohort of Māori students. Hauiti's role was to specifically focus on growing Māori postgraduate research excellence at the PE School. In 2013, Anne-Marie and Hauiti reviewed the Māori curriculum within PE School and they have attempted to bring the content together to align with the overall kaupapa of fostering Māori research excellence rather than a random collection of unconnected pieces and activities (such as Māori events, content in other papers, PE School activities and research).

Anne-Marie is an emerging academic having completed her PhD in 2011 at the University of Otago, where she examined whether taiāpure (Māori fishing reserves) allowed for rangatiratanga (chieftainship) and how this related to Māori health and well-being (Hepburn, Jackson, Vanderburg, Kainamu, & Flack, 2010; A. Jackson, 2008, 2010, 2011, 2013a, 2013b; Jackson, Hepburn, & East Otago Taiāpure Management Committee, 2010). Her PhD research was in Māori studies and physical education. Anne-Marie's undergraduate and master's degrees are both in physical education from the University of Otago. In her PhD, Anne-Marie worked closely with a Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki of Ngāi Tahu. She is also well connected to her Māori whānau (family) in Northland. Hauiti has a PhD (which is the capital required to gain traction within the university) in Māori studies and information sciences. He is a surveyor and mapper by trade. Importantly, Hauiti is very knowledgeable within Te Ao Māori (the Māori world) (Hakopa, 2011). He is of an older generation and has the mana (authority) to be able to undertake and carry out some of the roles that Anne-Marie is unable to. Samantha was also involved through her postgraduate study, Māori community research and with the important grounding in both Western and Māori philosophy (S. Jackson, 2013).

We decided that we needed to focus on those things of interest and importance to us as Māori in our own right, rather than focus on how we could fit into structures that already exist. While this way may somewhat contradict notions of "biculturalism" within the academy, and work to negate the efforts of supportive non-Māori staff (such as those who include Māori content in their papers), we believed that we needed to establish our tūrangawaewae (the place where our feet are woven into the ground) within the academy firmly first, and then we would be in a stronger position to support those other aspirations.

We have purposefully directed our efforts on the development of Māori postgraduate excellence. However, where we saw the gap was between our aspiration of supporting Māori postgraduate excellence with the hope that graduates would serve our Māori communities within the broad field of Māori physical education and health, and the pathway for how students would achieve this. Thus, we created a pathway for undergraduates to engage with Māori physical education and health, which is depicted in Figure 1.

Stage 1: Comfort

The paper taught in Stage 1 is PHSE104: Applied Theory and Practice, which comprises three parts: Māori, aquatics and camp. From 2013, Anne-Marie oversaw the Māori component named Ngā Mahi a te Rēhia. In 2011, we recognised that the Māori component required strengthening. As such, we reviewed the paper and made changes by creating a clear kaupapa of whanaungatanga (strong positive relationships). The paper comprises a single noho marae (stay at a traditional Māori meeting house) at

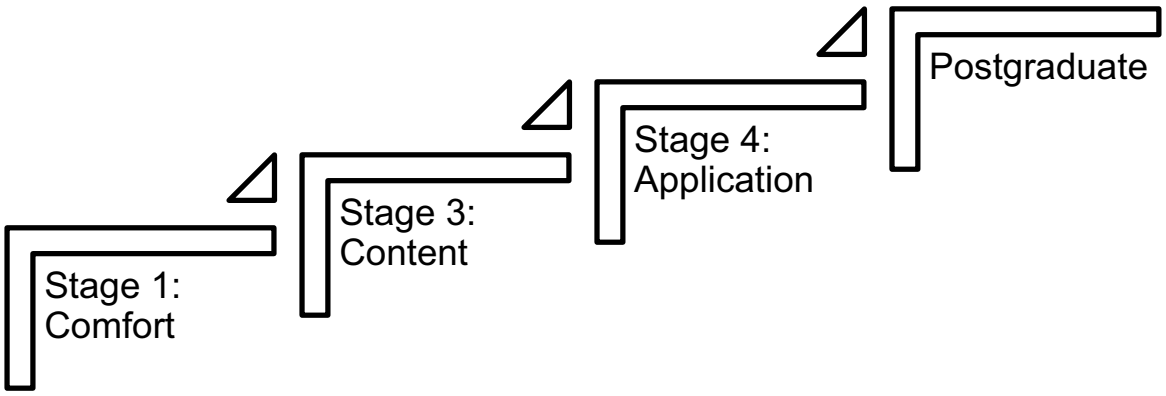

FIGURE 1 Māori pathway for undergraduates at the University of Otago, School of Physical Education, Sport and Exercise Sciences.

the Dunedin urban marae. Herein, we explore the kaupapa of whanaungatanga through ngā mahi a te rēhia (Māori arts, pleasures, games and physical activities), an important platform for understanding Māori physical education and health.

PHSE104 is taught to approximately 140–150 students each year at PE School. PHSE104 as a stand-alone paper does not provide appropriate training for students to enter into the academic side of Māori research. However, what PHSE104 does is create a platform of "comfort" for students to be able to engage with Māori physical education and health through a kaupapa of whanaungatanga within a Māori environment, through the marae, nestled within kaupapa Māori teaching practices. The applied setting is beneficial for students studying physical education, yet we stress that PHSE104, by itself, does not provide an appropriate background for engaging in postgraduate study for Māori research. For example, if a student were to take PHSE104 only and not engage in the other stages of the pathway into postgraduate study, the student would not be "ready", in relation to both content and behaviour.

Stage 3: Content

Following PHSE104, the Stage 3 paper offered is PHSE320: Akoranga Whakakori: Māori Physical Activity and Health. This paper was re-written by Anne-Marie in 2011 and is constructed around the Ngāpuhi philosophies of Te Korekore (the world of potential being) and Te Ao Mārama (the world of being). There are three wāhanga (sections): Te Ao Māori, Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi, and Kaupapa Māori theory. Each of these three wāhanga is taught within a context of Māori physical education and health. Alongside the weekly lectures, students attend one compulsory noho marae at the hapū (subtribe) marae.

Stage 4: Application

The Stage 4 paper, PHSE427: Te Mahi ki ngā Hapori Māori: Working with Māori Communities, was introduced in 2013 for the first time. The aim of the paper is to build upon the content knowledge students gained in PHSE320: Akoranga Whakakori. This course provides a critical examination of working with Māori communities in the broad area of Māori physical education and health. Over the 13-week period, students are required to work appropriately alongside a Māori community and produce a piece of research based on relevant Māori research methodologies and methods. Examples have included a Māori health provider; the Māori physical activity rōpū (group) within a wider local government

initiative; a local secondary school; hapū; a national governance organisation; and a local youth care and protection facility.

Postgraduate Māori pathway

The strategies that we utilise through the staged programme encourage students into postgraduate study and also prepare them with strong research skills for entering the workforce. Through fostering postgraduate research excellence we are preparing students to work effectively with Māori communities to support community aspirations. The pathway is depicted in Figure 2.

Te Koronga

All students who are supervised by Anne-Marie and Hauiti become members of Te Koronga. Te Koronga was established in July 2013 and is in its infancy. Students meet every week for two hours and are supervised collectively. The main kaupapa of Te Koronga is Māori research excellence and Te Koronga will be explored in more detail in an accompanying paper. Students will normally enter into Te Koronga as third or fourth year undergraduate students. The students are required to complete the undergraduate Māori pathway either before or during their pursuit of postgraduate study. Within Te Koronga in 2013, there were nine students ranging from third-year to senior part-time master's students. In 2014, there were eight students with an additional two PhD requests.

Stage 1: Independent research

The pathway for Māori postgraduate research and entry into Te Koronga from the undergraduate Māori pathway includes PHSE380: Independent Study. PHSE380 is a one-semester independent study where the student undertakes a 10,000-word project of their choice, supervised by Anne-Marie and Hauiti. We have found that the PHSE380 is a useful exercise for the student to provide them with the entrée to research but without the pressure of a full-year 20,000- or 40,000-word project. The student is also introduced to the kaupapa of Te Koronga, the expectations of being involved in Māori research, and what research excellence means within the context of Māori research in Māori physical education and health.

Stage 2: Honours and postgraduate diploma

There are two options for Māori students to engage in the longer and more in-depth research projects. The first is honours, which is in the fourth year of a Bachelor of Physical Education degree for students who have a B+ average or higher in their third-year papers. The second option is for students who did not undertake

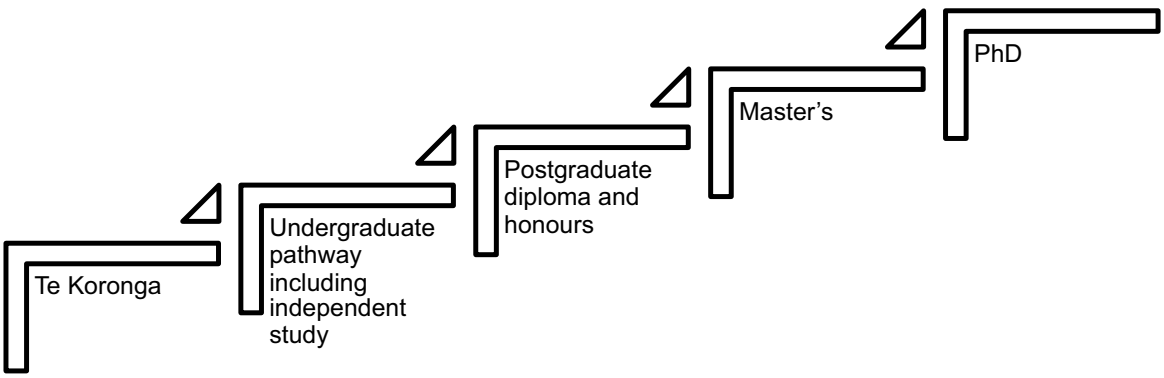

FIGURE 2 Māori pathway for postgraduate research at the University of Otago, School of Physical Education, Sport and Exercise Sciences.

honours and are considering a postgraduate degree but may not want to study a two-year master's (one year papers and one year thesis). The honours and postgraduate diploma programmes are nearly identical. In terms of the research component, both degrees require students to complete a 20,000-word independent dissertation.

Stage 3: Master's

The option for master's students is to come through the undergraduate Māori pathway and either enter, after their Bachelor of Physical Education, for a two-year master's (one year papers and one year thesis), or after a completed Bachelor of Physical Education with Honours or Postgraduate Diploma. The thesis year of the master's is a 40,000-word research thesis. In 2013 and 2014, the majority of our students are studying at the master's level.

Stage 4: Doctoral

The entry into the doctoral level is through the undergraduate Māori pathway into Te Koronga and then through the master's programme. Entry can also occur for those students who wish to pursue PhD study and possess the appropriate background and values that Te Koronga is specifically fostering. At this stage we have three students who are considering PhD study. One was a master's student who completed before Te Koronga began, a second is a student who works full-time in the industry and the third is a student who is currently completing a master's within Te Koronga.

Te Koronga is much more than the pathway we have described. Our goal is to imbue our students with an ethic of research excellence that is derived from a Māori worldview and to encourage them to grow their own identity as part of their iwi (tribes), as a strong tūrangawaewae within the academy. We have found that the cultural ethic of whanaungatanga is what sets us apart from any other group on campus. We set high expectations of the students to carry themselves in ways that reflect the greatness of their whānau and their whakapapa (genealogy) and for them to expect nothing less than excellence within the academy.

Conclusion

This paper has focused primarily on the pathway for Māori postgraduate research excellence at the PE School through the Māori research excellence group Te Koronga. The group is still very much in its infancy and in the years to come we will continue to focus on Māori research excellence. The outcomes of Te Koronga will be evaluated by the Māori communities that the students work alongside of to ensure the student research supports Māori community aspirations.

Acknowledgements

Thank you to the University of Otago School of Physical Education, Sport and Exercise Sciences, Te Kura Para-Whakawai, the Māori communities we walk alongside of and our whānau.

Glossary

hapū	subtribe
iwi	tribe
karakia	prayer
kaupapa	purpose
mana	spiritual authority
marae	traditional Māori meeting house
mātauranga	Māori knowledge and customs
ngā mahi a te rēhia	Māori arts, pleasures, games and physical activities
noho marae	stay at a traditional Māori meeting house

rangatiratanga	chieftainship
rōpū	group
taiāpure	Māori fishing reserves
tapu	restrictions
Te Ao Māori	the Māori world
Te Ao Mārama	the world of being
Te Koronga	to yearn and to strive for higher forms of knowledge
Te Korekore	the world of potential being
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	Treaty of Waitangi
tūrangawaewae	the place where our feet are woven into the ground
wāhanga	sections
wānanga	ancient site of learning; process of deep learning
whakapapa	genealogy
whānau	family
whanaungatanga	strong positive relationships

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‘ILUVATU

A decolonising research framework capturing the “other” knowledge

*Sereima Naisilisili**

Abstract

This paper highlights some lessons learnt from the application of ‘Iluvatu, an indigenous research framework that guided an ethnographic study of the people of Cu‘u, an indigenous Fijian community in the northern part of Fiji. The framework uses ‘iluvatu, a special mat identified with people from the vanua (tribe) of Cu‘u, as a metaphor for the cultural values of the community studied. The approach allows the researcher to be a “cultural insider” articulating issues from the indigenous worldview. Works taken from this stance have provided important guidelines for ethical discourses in academia. In the last decade or so, the Tongan Kakala Framework by Thaman (1997), the Fijian Vanua Research Framework by Nabobo-Baba (2008) and the Kaupapa Māori Framework by Smith (1999) have been used extensively to guide ethical considerations in Pacific research. This paper joins the above works as the researcher records how the ‘Iluvatu Framework was used to guide her research.

Keywords

research, framework, metaphor, values, indigenous knowledge, worldview

Introduction

The challenge of reclaiming and realigning indigenous distinctiveness demands research framings that respect the knowledge, cultures and values of indigenous people. Such framings may be appreciated if researchers understand the social boundaries and ethics that govern the

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lives of people to be studied. Guided by post-colonial critiques of knowledge as well as the worldwide attempt to question the dominance of certain knowledge framings in research, this paper discusses the experiences of an ethnographer using an indigenous research framework. The paper aims to present an alternative way of looking at the world and focuses on the indigenous research process as experienced in the field. The framing of the research allowed the ethnographer to capture and document indigenous knowledge and ways of knowing in the tribe of Cu'u, a remote and rural community in the northern part of Fiji.

The 'Iluvatu Framework: An enabling tool

The 'Iluvatu Research Framework is a research approach that is guided by the boundaries of the vanua (tribal) values including inclusiveness, respect, the family, cohesiveness, reflections, reciprocity and spirituality. The approach allows the researcher to tap into the knowledge pool without "stressing" or distorting the nature of the knowledge system. In the process, the researcher captures valuable information that people share from their perspectives as holders of indigenous knowledge.

On the other hand, the indigenous people are empowered as they, the participants and holders of indigenous knowledge, share their knowledge. As "knowers", the 'Iluvatu Framework places the participants at the same level platform as the researcher and often "higher" than the researcher as an expression of cultural humility. This relationship encourages the sharing of knowledge that leads to the collection of authentic data in indigenous researches.

Other indigenous approaches have reported of similar empowering relationships in the process of research. Smith (1999), for example, guided by the Kaupapa Māori Framework, was able to "research back" and disrupt rules of the research game in order to acquire more respectful, ethical, sympathetic and useful attitudes of research in her New Zealand study. The framework enabled the researcher to move far beyond colonised methodologies by interweaving Māori histories, politics and cultural considerations respectfully together in the research.

The same enabling effect was found with the Kakala Research Framework. Developed by Thaman (1997) as a personal philosophy of teaching and research and sourced from Tongan culture, Kakala is based on values and principles such as reciprocity, sharing, respect, restraint, collectivism and context-specific knowledge and skills that are important in Tongan culture. The Kakala research framework provides a more meaningful approach to research for many Pacific students who often find theories and philosophies too abstract to understand and use. Likewise, Nabobo-Baba (2008) has developed the Fijian Vanua Research Framework to guide the research from design to process, and presented talanoa (engaging in conversations) as a data collection methodology for indigenous Pacific people. Based on her research of the vanua of Vugalei, Fiji, the Fijian Vanua Research Framework methodology has earned recognition both regionally and internationally (Nabobo-Baba, 2008).

This paper provides an overview of how the 'Iluvatu Framework was used as an enabling tool for a group of indigenous people in the process of research. The framework allowed the researcher to position herself as a "cultural insider" discussing issues from the indigenous worldview. The 'Iluvatu Framework has allowed a space for the Cu'u tribe's knowledge system and ways of knowing (which is normally delegated as the "other" knowledge) to be included in academic discourses. The rest of the paper is now written in the first person to allow the author to tell her story.

Fitting into the community

As an ethnographer in my own community, it was important for me to respect the indigenous Fijian worldview, which is rooted in three interrelated realms: lagi (heaven), vuravura (physical world) and bulu (the afterlife world of the spirits). These realms are not only interrelated but also interconnected in the sense that they define the origin and the nature of vanua knowledge as well as its methods of generation and transmission (Nabobo-Baba, 2008).

Positioning myself from the indigenous Fijian worldview was particularly important for this research as it ensured that the process was culturally sensitive and appropriate to both the participants and the context of study. I was therefore obliged to follow appropriate research ethics throughout including the protocols of entry, the ways of accessing data, and ensuring that the information collected was treated with deep respect by appropriately reciprocating people in the process. These ethics ensured that the research process was conducted without disturbing the vanua.

It was December 2009 that marked the beginning of my field work for a PhD study when I arrived amongst my relatives in the Cu'u tribe. I had asked my husband to accompany me to present my sevusevu, an entry protocol to a vanua or family that normally requires the presentation of yaqona (*Piper methysticum*). My husband's engagement in the entry protocol was important as I was now coming from his vanua (a term that refers to a people, their social structure, environment, history, their territorial spheres, their spirituality and all relationships embraced within it) to live in Cu'u for some time. According to indigenous Fijian customs, a woman becomes part of her husband's tribe as long as he is alive. My husband's role in presenting the sevusevu indicated his approval and support of my seven-month ethnographic study away from our home in Suva. The sevusevu was the entry protocol that paved my way into the community, allowing me to study my relatives' way of life for the first time, using the lens of an ethnographer.

My intention was to provide an accurate account of my people's knowledge systems and ways of knowing and it was important for me to connect and fit into the web of relationships that mattered to my relatives, the people of Cu'u. When I arrived, I felt that I was already an "insider" as people called me by the name Divolivoli, the name that connected me to the community of my birth. The name reminded me that I belonged and I was a daughter of the tribe of Cu'u. Many years ago, the alienating arms of schooling separated me from my relatives and formalised my identity as Sereima, which is my birth-certificate name, with the addition of my husband's name, Naisilisili, later as my surname. Now that I was back with my people, my "community name" meant that I was an insider and was part of the community.

In the community, I realised that it was important to integrate intellect and emotions to add to the richness of the data collected. Emotion is normally played down by Western approaches as it assumes that the researcher is neutral and free of emotions.

Accessing community knowledge

I share in this section how I accessed data as I fitted into the community and I will use different features of the 'iluvatu as a metaphor for the community values that guided my fieldwork.

Size for inclusiveness

The 'iluvatu mat is made to fit large open spaces, large enough to include everyone. It was important for me to consider the principle of inclusiveness in order to fit into the community. Inclusiveness sustains and maintains relational ties in Cu'u. In planning a family function, for example, it is inappropriate to exclude a relative as this could result in impaired relational ties and tensions between families. Inclusiveness

reminds people that one "belongs" to the tribe of Cu'u. Belonging has been noted by previous researchers as an important aspect of Fijian well-being (Nabobo-Baba, 2006).

The principle of inclusiveness influenced the change made to my original sample size. My initial plan to interview 30 people had to change to accommodate the whole 40 who expected to be interviewed. Although I was mindful of my objectives and research questions throughout the field experience, the inflated sample size enriched my opportunities to validate, reaffirm and also tap into new deposits of knowledge that were generously offered by people in the community.

Space as expression of respect

The large space that characterises the 'iluvatu mat when spread out for seating further represents a culture that uses "space" to show respect. There are two main ways this space may be observed: through the physical and the relational spheres. Respect is expressed when the physical space in the middle of the mat separates a chief from the rest of the people or visitors from the locals in a seating arrangement. Likewise, the relational space created by the veitabu'i relationships, such as maternal cousins, in-laws, and between niece, nephew, and uncles, demands a space of "no-talking" and "no-contact", as expressions of respect.

Both forms of space formed the boundary around the information collected in my fieldwork. As an insider, the community knew me as the older sister of the Tui Cu'u (Chief of Cu'u). Although I tried to keep the spaces as narrow as possible, my status allowed me to experience only certain strata of the community, especially when things ceremonial mattered with women. My seating space amongst the women folks, the activities I participated in, and the people I interacted with were all defined by who I was in the Cu'u community. The distance between myself and other members of the community comprised a distance of veiva'aliuci (others first), veiva'amenemenei (pampering others) and veiva'aturagata'i (uplifting others to chiefly status). All these were expressions of respect.

Basic strands: The family

The quality of the 'iluvatu mat is defined by the starting strands. The best pandana leaves are chosen very carefully in the beginning, as wrong selection could affect the durability and strength of the 'iluvatu. In the same way, young families, being the basic unit in the social structure, are carefully nurtured into vanua values and behaviours. The nurturing process normally requires adults (usually the parents) who have gone through family experiences themselves to guide the young family through. The families provide the tapestry that the Cu'u culture represent to the world today.

During the interviews, I had the privilege of not only accessing important knowledge but also experiencing the diversity of family units and realities in the field. There was diversity in the interpretation of values, family goals and priorities, important knowledge, and the upbringing of children. In addition, diversity was visible in family sizes, economic structures, and also rawa'a (material acquisition). All these added to the rich data collected during my fieldwork.

Interlacing for cohesiveness

An 'iluvatu is constructed by interlacing two or more strands to form the typical large and durable mat. It is the multiple strands and interlacing patterns that provide durability and cohesiveness—qualities that contribute to the long-lasting nature of the mat. Likewise, the sustainability and cohesiveness of the Cu'u culture is based on the principles of interaction and integration. As I mingled around in the community, I witnessed first-hand how the society allowed every individual of all ages, young and old, to integrate and be an important part of the whole community structure. I further

realised that each person, including those not included in my samples, played a unique role in the community and would have an important contribution to make towards my work. This allowed me to interview people from a wide age range, from 10- to 88-year-olds.

Cohesiveness is a value that regards talents, skills or knowledge to be an integral part of the vanua. As an insider who has been academically trained, the community expected me to be further endowed with "modern" knowledge to benefit the community. A few times I was asked to write formal letters in English or give advice on issues pertaining to education, business ventures, leadership and spirituality. While the community recognised me as an important individual contributing to their needs, I realised how much I had gained as I kept connected to the community in the process.

'Ilu: Reciprocity

'Ilu is the process of returning the pandanus strands into the edges of the mat at the last phase of weaving. The 'ilu process locks and smoothens the edge of the mat and ensures that the strands do not unravel easily. Likewise, 'ilu is a significant phase in that the people of Cu'u are expected to reciprocate back to the vanua the "arms" that have nurtured them through life. Reciprocity may be provided in the form of identifiable projects, donations, and taking on responsibilities for other members of the family. This is why youths are obliged to look after their parents when they grow old.

Mature members are also expected to reciprocate through reflecting on their past strengths and weaknesses and use this to guide younger members to do better. Significant data for this study were collected from reflections done through va'asala'awa (tracing genealogy), recollecting past events, and merely providing opportunities for the younger generation to ask questions about life issues. The 'ilu phase is critical in ensuring that the indigenous culture remains intact and sustainable.

Tura: Spirituality as secret to success

The straight strong edge that is characteristic of the 'iluvatu mat is formed by the tura, which is a concealed strand of twisted pandanus. The Cu'u culture, like other indigenous cultures, is embraced by the spiritual dimension, which is the unseen realm. The culture uses the spiritual as a standard against which everyday activity is measured. In a way, my contribution towards the tura activities helped me to settle in and blend into the web of relationships in Cu'u. My role as a Methodist preacher as well as a Bible study teacher allowed me to tap into the inner core of indigenous knowledge that was not always available through informal talanoa sessions.

Conclusion

In this paper I have discussed the application of 'Iluvatu, an indigenous research framework that was used to guide an ethnographic study in Cu'u, a remote and rural place in the northern part of Fiji. 'Iluvatu, a special mat identified with the people of Cu'u, was used as a metaphor for the cultural values of the community studied. The approach allowed the ethnographer as participant observer to participate and become immersed in the normal activities of the people in the community. As part of the Cu'u tribe, I have approached this study with the motivation to "*re*write" and "*re*right" our position in history (Smith, 1999) as well as in academia. The 'Iluvatu Framework has guaranteed the legitimacy of the Cu'u people's knowledge and culture and it is my responsibility as an insider researcher to ensure that every step of research is documented and counted for academic discourses.

Glossary

‘ilu	the process of returning the pandanus strands into the edges of the mat to lock and smoothen the edges. The process ensures that the strands do not unravel easily when the mat is in use.
‘iluvatu	a floor mat that is woven with special skills by the women of Cu‘u and neighbouring areas. The mat is characterised by its thickness and strength, which provide its long-lasting value.
bulu	underworld or spirit world; afterlife
lagi	heavens
rawa‘a	material acquisition
sevusevu	an entry protocol to a vanua or family. This normally requires the presentation of yaqona (*Piper methysticum*) by visitors.
talanoa	engaging in conversations; stories
Tui Cu‘u	the chiefly title for the chief of the Yavusa of Cu‘u
tura	concealed strand of twisted pandanus
va‘asala ‘awa	tracing genealogy or family tree
vanua	tribe; a people, their social structure, environment, history, their territorial spheres, their spirituality and all relationships embraced within it
veitabu‘i	a relationship that disallows people to talk or get close to each other as an expression of respect and relatedness
veiva‘aliuci	an act of respect that allows others the first opportunity to speak or do things
veiva‘amenemenei	pampering others
veiva‘aturagata‘i	uplifting others to chiefly status
veiwe‘ani	relationship or being related
vuravura	earth; the secular world
yaqona	also known as grog or kava in other parts of the Pacific. It may refer to the plant *Piper methysticum* and also the drink that is made from it.
Yavusa	a larger social unit made up of several subgroups of extended families

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DEVELOPMENT-INDUCED DISPLACEMENT AND RESETTLEMENT OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLE IN INDIA

*Ram Babu Mallavarapu**

Abstract

The paper attempts to understand the phenomenon of development-induced displacement and addresses the issues of rehabilitation and resettlement of indigenous/tribal people in India. Globally, approximately 100 million people have been evacuated in the past decade due to infrastructural projects such as dams, mines and industries. In China, about 10 million people affected by dams have been resettled over the last 40 years. The total number of people displaced by various development projects in India by the end of the 1990s was estimated between 18.5 and 30 million. Less than 30% of those displaced in 1950s and 1960s have been resettled. The situation of people evacuated after the 1990s in the post-liberalisation period is very pathetic. More than 50% of those uprooted by the projects are indigenous/tribal people, who constitute 8.2% of the Indian population. Even though there are well-defined policies in place for the welfare of displaced people at the national and the international levels, they are not practised in the right spirit.

Keywords

development, displacement, indigenous people, resettlement and India

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Introduction

> Indigenous peoples have the right to own, develop, control and use the lands and territories, including the total environment of the lands, water, coastal seas, sea-ice, flora and fauna and other resources which they have traditionally owned, otherwise occupied, used or possessed. This includes the right to the full recognition of their laws, traditions and customs, land tenure systems by the institutions for the development and management of resources, and the right to implement effective measures by states to prevent any interference with, alienation or encroachment of these rights.
>
> Indigenous peoples have the right to the restitution of the lands, territories and resources which they have traditionally owned or otherwise occupied or used, and which have been confiscated, occupied, used or damaged without their free and informed consent. (United Nations, 1994, Articles 26–27)

India has the second largest concentration of tribal population, after that of the African continent. Tribals are generally called adivasis, implying they are the original inhabitants of the land. There are approximately 360 tribal groups speaking more than 100 languages and dialects in India (Varma, 1990) who have been specified as Scheduled Tribes (STs) in accordance with the presidential orders issued since 1950. The total STs population of the country is 84,326,240, which constitutes 8.2% of the Indian population (Government of India, 2011).

The territories inhabited by the STs in the country are termed as the Scheduled Areas (SAs), otherwise known as known as Agency Areas. The SAs are defined in paragraph 6 of Part C of the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution of India as per the provisions of the Scheduled Areas (Part A States) Order 1950 and the amended Scheduled Areas (Part B States) Order 1950 as "specified tribal areas in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Rajasthan, Bihar, Gujarat and Himachal Pradesh for special protection" (Reddy & Reddy, 1995, p. 503).

Although the genesis of the concept of SAs was traced back to the Scheduled Districts Act 1874, the SAs were retained in the post-independent period to assist the tribals in enjoying their customary rights without any outside interventions and exploitation, and to develop and protect the tribals and their environments.

Situation of indigenous communities

The tribals have been living in forest and mountainous regions and in close proximity with nature. The economy of the tribals has been primarily hunting–foraging in the lowland forested river basins, and podu (shifting cultivation) on the surrounding forested hill slopes. More than 90% of the tribals to a large extent depend on forests and forest resources for their livelihood in the lowland forested river basins. The scheduled tribes have been facing many socio-economic problems, and psychological problems, since historical times. The forest laws have curtailed the free movement of tribals in forest regions.

The tribal rights on the forest lands have been severely affected. Podu has been regulated by restrictions and the collection of minor and non-timber forest products by tribals has been reduced to a large extent by the forest department. Exploitation by money lenders and contractors, problems of credit and market for minor and non-timber forest products, poverty, hunger, malnutrition, impoverishment, etc. are the primary evils that the tribals have been facing for a long time. Land alienation and displacement are the major problems which have impacted on most of the tribal groups.

These groups have virtually reached a state of total collapse. The occurrence of tribal revolts

for land rights in different parts of the country is testimony to the magnitude and severity of the land problem. The large-scale land transfers to non-tribals culminated in armed tribal uprisings in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The British administration in India introduced several pieces of legislation to prevent tribal land alienation. In order to ensure that the customary rights of the tribals on land would be protected, the Agency Tracts Interest and Land Transfer Act was promulgated in 1917 (Ramaiah, 1988; Rao, 1999).

Constitutional and legal safeguards

There are various safeguards for the protection and development of STs in accordance with the special provisions mentioned in the Constitution of India (Varma, 1990). In pursuance of Article 46 of the Constitution of India, the welfare of the STs is being looked after by the state governments. Accordingly, the Government of Andhra Pradesh has framed the Andhra Pradesh State Agency Land Transfer Regulation of 1959 and Regulation 1 of 1959 protects the tribal interests regarding land issues.

In addition to these safeguards, there are several other protective measures to regulate the illegal money-lending activities of the immigrant merchants (Reddy & Reddy, 1995).

Development in tribal areas

The development philosophy for the STs is neither one of isolation through protection, nor assimilation through deculturation. Rather, it is one of integration that does not pre-suppose assimilation and is not compatible with the heterogeneity of cultures. This basic philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, has been pursued for the past 60 years.

Planned economic development was adopted as India's policy soon after independence. Planning for the development of tribal areas was thus ushered in as part of a wider national strategy. To bridge the socio-economic gaps between the non-tribals and also for the all-round development of the tribal groups, several schemes and programmes are being drawn in the post-independent period. Both the central (union) and state governments have been spending crores of rupees on tribal development, but the impact of the programmes is not as envisaged by the planners. The developmental efforts have not succeeded in bringing about a marked change in the conditions of most of the tribal communities due to the problems related to planning the implementation of welfare schemes and have also not solved the basic issues of land.

The benefits of the tribal development are not reaching the particularly vulnerable tribal groups. In many parts of the country, non-tribal groups are getting the tribal tag, depriving the tribals in the process by using the benefits of their reservations and constitutional safeguards. No affirmative efforts were made in the formulation of schemes in accordance with the needs and aspirations of the tribal communities who had their own social and cultural milieu.

Large-scale development projects

India's development policies and strategies have focused attention on the indispensability of irrigation as an important input for agriculture. Large-scale irrigation projects are important for higher agriculture growth, besides establishment of industries, power projects, etc. India gave tremendous encouragement to the large river valley projects or large multipurpose dams. The dominant ethos was "big is the best" and the conviction is that large multipurpose projects are the panacea to all the problems of poverty and underdevelopment.

It is important to note that most of the projects are located in the most remote SAs of various tribal communities, as the forest and mountainous tracts (the traditional habitats)

are endowed with rich minerals, resources and abundant flora and fauna. Most of the rivers originate and drain through several tribal regions. The resources that are available in the tribal areas are being perceived by the policy makers as the property of the nation, but not as the basis of the people who live in those parts.

In recent times, because of large-scale industrialisation and urbanisation, the relative isolation of the tribal areas has decreased. The tribals and their lands and other natural resources are now exposed to exploitative market forces, mostly due to the state-sponsored developmental projects such as large-scale irrigational projects, dams, reservoirs, mining, sanctuaries, industries and tourism projects (Mallavarapu, 2006).

Land acquisition and public purpose

The Land Acquisition Act of 1894, which still continues with some amendments in 1967 and 1984, facilitated the appropriate governments to acquire the people's land by compulsion for both public and private purposes (Maheswara, 1996). This Act helped the State as a weapon for immediate land acquisition. In most of the cases, the government officials have been paying the compensation to oustees after a prolonged time, whereas they acquired the lands shortly after one notification. The Land Acquisition Act did not say anything on the type or nature of compensation payable to oustees or the time period for payment of compensation (Upadhyay & Raman, 1998).

Land acquisition in SAs is illegal as there are a number of protective laws, legislations, regulations, forest policies, judgments and government orders that prohibit land transfer in SAs. In spite of all these protective laws made by the governments for the welfare of tribals, the state agencies have been acquiring the tribal lands in the name of national interest in contravention to all the constitutional provisions. It indicates that all the laws applicable to SAs are being manipulated where the legal access to tribal lands and other resources is denied.

National interest and large-scale displacement

It is clear that displacement involves injustice to the tribal people and gross violation of their constitutional rights. The tribal people cannot be deprived of their right to life merely by paying some money at the cost of their livelihoods. The protective measures made under the legal frame as guaranteed by the Constitution of India must safeguard the right to life of the displaced tribals and their survival as community must not be violated. In several instances the project-affected tribal people are being forced to move out of their homes on the strength of payment of some compensation. The right to life of displaced tribal victims cannot be compromised or bartered just for providing more comforts to others. Many oustees have been waiting a long time for compensation that was promised by the project authorities.

Reports of several studies sponsored by the World Bank also admit that poor rehabilitation is not a matter of the past. In fact, in 1993 during the presence of a World Bank study team in the Singrauli region, a number of houses were bulldozed and oustees were forced to move without any adequate arrangements (World Bank, 1993).

Emergence and evolution of rehabilitation and resettlement policies

The rehabilitation and resettlement (R&R) policies are the result of concerns expressed by social activists, academicians and other non-governmental organisations. Most of the pre-1980s projects in India did not have clear-cut resettlement plans. Resettlement was taken on a case-by-case basis and only a few of the

projects offered resettlement in the form of house sites and infrastructure to the displaced. As a result of ad-hoc approaches many of the displaced were left out of the process.

The Andhra Pradesh Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy (APRRP) 2005 echoes the plan of the National Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy 2004 and the National Policy on Rehabilitation and Resettlement 2007, except for a few changes in certain provisions. All the policies suffer from several deficiencies as they do not reflect any potential insights / basic principles / humanitarian approach to assess the losses of the oustees' property and there are no special welfare measures and arrangements against the problems involved in displacement. It is interesting to note that paragraph 1 of the Abstract of the APRRP reveals the effects of compulsory acquisition of land and displacement on project-affected families and the need for rehabilitation with utmost care and concern.

But in practice it is quite the opposite. In the implementation of the R&R package there is no proper concern, humanitarian approach and foresight, as was proved in earlier studies on the issues of displacement and R&R. The APRRP is one-sided and does not show any consideration to the needs and aspirations of the displaced (Government of Andhra Pradesh, 2005; Government of India, 2004, 2007). After years of struggles by the people's movements in the country, the Land Aquisition Act 1894 has been repealed and a new law—the Right to Fair Compensation, Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement (RFCTLARR) Act 2013—has been enacted (Government of India, 2013), however, this was also amended through ordinance in 2015 by excluding certain progressive provisions, even before its implementation.

Conclusion

As per the APRRP 2005 and the RFCTLARR Act of 2013 (as amended in 2015) at both the state and the national levels, there will be no safeguard against double or triple displacement due to poor planning of the resettlement process and project assessment, especially in dam-related submergence areas. The claims of the people uprooted under earlier projects remain unnoticed. These are the major lacunas. As a result of displacement the affected tribals and other more vulnerable groups are becoming marginalised as they lose their precious agricultural lands, natural resource base and livelihoods.

Without understanding the social, cultural and economic dimensions of displaced indigenous communities, it is very difficult to provide any alternative R&R measures for their welfare. Ignoring the aspirations of the project-affected people and acquiring people's lands for both public and private purposes by the eminent domain in the name of development projects may create new land conflicts.

We urgently need alternative models of no or least displacement; proper implementation of all the progressive provisions in the exiting policies/Acts for the welfare of the displaced; and new laws/policies to address the historic injustices done to all the displaced victims so far.

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Glossary

adivasis	original inhabitants of the land
podu	shifting cultivation

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TATAURANGA RONGOĀ

Reflections on a survey of rongoā practitioners

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Abstract

In 2013 Whakauae Research for Māori Health and Development conducted a survey of rongoā (traditional Māori healing) practitioners and Whare Oranga (healing clinics) in a number of rohe (regions). In this paper we present the rationale for the survey; outline the intended survey method; report on the methodological adaptations that were required to conduct the survey; and reflect on the impact of these methodological adaptations on the survey implementation overall. Lessons for those conducting similar survey-based research are offered. The paper posits that adapting the data collection process is likely to result in greater uptake of the survey among those rohe who have yet to participate. We conclude that a national picture of the activity being undertaken in the rongoā sector is invaluable to the sustainability of the sector.

Keywords

rongoā Māori, traditional healing, survey, Māori-centred research

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Introduction

Publicly funded rongoā Māori (traditional Māori healing) services have emerged both from a desire on the part of community to improve health services for Māori and in recognition of rongoā Māori as a taonga (treasure) (Durie, Potaka, Ratima, & Ratima, 1993; Jones, 2000; Waitangi Tribunal, 2011). Rongoā services support Māori wellbeing at two levels: providing holistic, culturally consistent assessment and treatment of individual symptoms/conditions, whilst maintaining and revitalising mātauranga (knowledge), tikanga (customs, protocols) and te reo Māori (the Māori language) (Ahuriri-Driscoll, Baker, et al., 2008). High quality rongoā service provision relies on robust practice by practitioners working from a strong cultural base (Ahuriri-Driscoll, Hudson, et al., 2008). Identifying the optimal contractual environments and service delivery elements that support the intrinsic nature of rongoā as a traditional healing practice will, we argue, contribute to its long-term sustainability, to improvements in Māori health gain and to Māori development more broadly.

The Supporting Traditional Rongoā Practice in Contemporary Health Care Settings Project is a three-year study that aims to identify the contractual environments and service delivery elements that will best contribute to the long-term sustainability of rongoā Māori. The Tatauranga Rongoā survey represents one data collection activity undertaken as part of the wider research project. In this paper we briefly outline the rationale for the survey, the methods we had hoped to use to collect data and the modifications to the method that were required, and we reflect on the impact these modifications had to the success, or otherwise, of our collection of survey data.

The Tatauranga Rongoā Survey

The study has a number of objectives in order to meet the overall aim, one of which is to describe and document current arrangements for rongoā practice and service delivery. The survey was conducted to meet this objective.

The survey questionnaire was developed by the research team, who themselves comprise researchers with a track record of working with healers and practitioners in earlier studies (Ahuriri-Driscoll), health services researchers (Boulton, Potaka-Osborne) and a community-based researcher who is also the current Chair of Te Kāhui Rongoā (TKR), the national body for rongoā Māori practitioners (Stewart). Questions were informed by a literature review and a series of key informant interviews.

Information was sought from healers/providers about a range of service delivery aspects, from organisational/practice structure, funding sources, services provided, reporting requirements and client base/service access patterns, to areas for improvement. A combination of open-ended and "tick box"/multiple answer questions were employed allowing participants the opportunity to respond in their own words, and provide feedback not specified in available fields. The survey used a paper-based form and was administered throughout July to December 2013, with analysis occurring from November 2013 onwards.

Originally research team members were to attend TKR national and regional meetings to explain the research, the purpose of the survey, and gain consent to administer the survey in each of the 10 TKR rohe (regions). Additional questionnaires were to be made available for healers who were not in attendance at the regional meetings. Only one survey questionnaire per service was to be completed; therefore, in the case of individual healers, that healer was expected to complete the survey, whereas in larger practices and Whare Oranga (healing clinics), one survey form per practice would be completed. Surveys were to then be posted

back to Whakauae in self-addressed, stamped envelopes. Survey questionnaires would at this point be anonymised for confidentiality and data entry would begin. Each of the 10 TKR rohe was to receive resourcing to assist the research team to recruit survey participants and to compensate the rohe for their time.

Our hope was that in gaining the assistance and buy-in of TKR representatives, recruitment of survey participants would be expedited. However, TKR assistance in recruitment did not occur for two reasons. The first of these was that not all TKR representatives agreed to support the survey. In the early phases of designing the study (i.e. prior to receiving Health Research Council funding) we had been working with Te Paepae Matua mō te Rongoā, a group who was subsequently superseded in 2011 by TKR (Boulton, Hudson, Ahuriri-Driscoll, & Stewart, 2014). That we were no longer working with exactly the same group of governance members by the time the survey was to be implemented, and therefore did not necessarily have the same degree of buy-in to the survey, impacted our ability to recruit through every rohe as planned.

Second, even those representatives who did agree that the survey would provide useful data to the sector found it difficult to justify prioritising survey recruitment above their other TKR work. At the time of the survey TKR was heavily involved in responding to the Ministry of Health's draft Tikanga Standards, a vitally important document that has significant ramifications for the sector, which consequently required much of TKR's attention, capacity and effort. Given the lack of resourcing TKR receive to undertake its mandated role, let alone any further roles requested of them, it became evident that our original plan for conducting the survey was no longer tenable. Consequently our research team altered our recruitment strategy and decided instead to approach those individual TKR representatives at the rohe level, with whom we had already positive personal and working relationships.

Modifications to the method

We used a range of strategies to recruit in the five regions that eventually participated in the survey; our approach being modified depending on location of the rohe, our familiarity with rohe representatives, and the tikanga (customs, protocols) in each of the rohe. In Taranaki, members of the research team were invited to attend a series of regional rongoā hui (meetings) held by the local TKR representatives. At these hui the research team presented information on the study more broadly and on the survey specifically. An opportunity to discuss the survey was made available and hui participants were able to direct questions to the research team. Participants then either completed the survey at that point, or took the survey home to complete.

By comparison, in Tairāwhiti one of the team members, who was also the Chair of the TKR, was able to approach the various rongoā providers individually and seek their support to complete the survey. In the Waiariki region a combination of emails to personal networks, followed up with face-to-face visits and attendance at hui, was employed to garner participants. Because recruitment strategies differed from region to region, conducting the overall survey took place over a number of months. This was especially the case in areas such as Taranaki where research team members met people with an interest in rongoā, who were potential survey participants, at many different hui over a course of some months. Whereas we had originally allowed for six months to conduct the survey, analyse the data and disseminate the results back to the participants, conducting the survey alone took seven months (Table 1).

In total we received 36 completed surveys from seven regions: Waiariki, Tairāwhiti, Kahungunu, Taranaki, and Whanganui, with an additional two surveys from healers based in Te Ūpoko o te Ika and one in Te Waipounamu. It is unknown exactly how many healers there are in Aotearoa currently as the Ministry of Health only keeps data on the number of contracted

TABLE 1 Survey administration

Rohe	Initial contact	Survey completed	Time elapsed
Tairāwhiti	12 July 2013	3 September 2013	2 months
Waiariki	6 August 2013	23 October 2013	3 months
Whanganui	14 August 2013	8 November 2013	4 months
Kahungunu	3 July 2013	24 January 2014	7 months
Taranaki	8 August 2013	14 February 2014	7 months

rongoā clinics. However, it is the view of the research team that in the five primary regions we have achieved a fairly representative sample of those healers who "formally" practise rongoā. For the purposes of our study, we have drawn on O'Connor's (2008) second of three broad groupings of healers to describe those who formally practise, by which we mean those clinics willing to be involved in the development and contracting of rongoā services and that are visibly and actively engaged in organised rongoā networks.

Reflections on the method

While the idea of collecting information about the rongoā sector, for use by the rongoā sector, was generally supported by practitioners we spoke to, as researchers we still found it difficult to complete the survey within our six-month deadline. In part this was due to the nature of the survey and the perceived usefulness of the results. Team members observed that for rongoā providers, completing the survey was simply regarded as one more demand on their time and energy.

The complexity inherent in the survey document itself may have also contributed to a more drawn out administration of the survey tool. The survey booklet included 29 individual questions, ordered under nine subheadings. The majority of questions required a tick box answer, although where more detail was required, respondents were asked to provide fuller, written answers. While working alongside people one-on-one to assist them to complete the survey proved the most efficacious way of getting the survey completed, this method was not always possible for our research team. In rohe where we were able to administer the form in this way, completion of the survey was completed quickly and relatively simply. While face-to-face surveys generally yield the best response rate, issues of cost and the logistics of administering all surveys in this manner can be prohibitive for research teams (Fink, Paine, Gander, Harris, & Purdie, 2011). The response rate for this survey may well have been higher if we had had more time to discuss the survey and the potential benefits of collecting the survey data for the sector.

Having sufficient human resource within our team to complete all the tasks associated with the survey also affected the recruitment to a degree. This was especially so when, as a team, we were recruiting for the survey, analysing data already collected, and disseminating survey results back to rohe. As a team we had undertaken to produce result reports for individual rohe as quickly as possible, both as a way of honouring the relationship we had built with the rohe who participated, and to ensure the good governance of data (Boulton et al., 2014). What we found, given the more protracted recruitment phase, was that we were having to complete a number of unexpected and unplanned "downstream" tasks simultaneously, which placed a degree of pressure on the research team.

A final reflection from administering the survey concerns our stance of being both insiders and outsiders in the survey, and indeed in the study itself (Potaka-Osborne, Stewart, &

Boulton, 2013). One of our team members in particular found that he was able to gain access to providers by virtue of his role as the Chair of TKR. In retrospect, the survey response may be more reflective of the interest in the work of TKR than in the survey or in the research. Once potential participants realised the TKR Chair was also a researcher in the study, the perception of Albie being an "outsider" disappeared. Rather than the relationship being one of "insider–outsider", or even "researcher–rongoā healer", it became one of "rongoā whānau to rongoā whānau". A level of trust was immediately offered to Albie and by extension to the research team, which aided in recruitment to the survey.

Lessons for those embarking on similar research

Māori academics have long identified the need for robust processes of information sharing, engagement and consent when embarking on research with Māori (Bishop & Glynn, 1992; Stokes, 1985). Furthermore, in the research context, the importance of working with someone who is known cannot be overstated (Dyall et al., 2013; Smith, 1999). In our case, undertaking a research project in a sector that is itself marginalised, poorly funded and which struggles to this day to gain legitimacy in the wider health system, we believe has impacted on our ability to engage effectively with the sector.

As a Māori research team we are acutely aware of the vulnerable nature of the rongoā sector, both in terms of the depth of capacity that exists to advance the sector's strategic goals, and the resources available to support these goals (Boulton et al., 2014). It should therefore be unsurprising that despite a great deal of support shown by many in the sector, we found it a challenge to collect robust data from each and every region of the country.

There are difficulties in calculating an exact response rate for the survey as there is currently no accurate database of the total number of Whare Oranga clinics or individual rongoā practitioners. Response rate calculations for our survey are based on the current membership of TKR. The problem, however, with calculating the response rate in such a manner is that it produces an inflated denominator because membership of TKR includes practitioners as well as individuals with an interest in rongoā Māori, but who themselves would not be considered healers. Despite the difficulties in calculating a response rate, we estimate that in the regions where data were collected we did manage to canvas the majority of rongoā practitioners. Our success in doing so, modest though it was, we believe was due more to our own personal interactions and the integrity of those than because the sector saw the value of the survey or indeed the research. In other words, a combination of being visible at rohe hui or cluster group meetings, the use of personal networks and having the Chair of TKR as a research team member were more likely to have facilitated our success with the survey, rather than an understanding on the part of participants that the data itself would have any inherent utility.

Conclusion

The information we have collected and disseminated back to regions is already being used by certain rohe in their strategic planning, particularly with regard to issues around workforce, training and succession. Given that the survey results themselves are of use, improving the process by which the data are collected becomes critical if we are to improve coverage of the survey to the point where data are collected from all 10 TKR rohe. Rohe-led surveys, undertaken with the support of rohe trustees and conducted by the rohe members themselves are likely to result in greater uptake of the survey in the remaining five TKR rohe. We would strongly encourage these methodological modifications

to be championed both at the rohe level and by TKR. It is only once we have data from all 10 rohe that a true picture of the health of the rongoā Māori sector emerges. For the future of rongoā Māori, its sustainability and viability as a living healing practice, such data, and the national picture they portray, are invaluable.

Glossary

hui	meetings
mātauranga	knowledge
rohe	regions
rongoā, rongoā Māori	traditional Māori medicine
taonga	treasure
Te Kāhui Rongoā	the national body for rongoā Māori practitioners
te reo Māori	the Māori language
tikanga	Māori customs and protocols
Whare Oranga	healing centres

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INDIGENOUS THAMI YOUTH PARTICIPATION

The early marriage and early pregnancy prevention project in Nepal

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Cath Conn†

Abstract

Indigenous peoples of Nepal constitute more than one third of the total population, yet they experience significant marginalisation contributing to inequalities in relation to health, education and political participation. Early marriage is one traditional practice that contributes to inequalities with many young indigenous girls married before the age of 15 years, bringing risks to their health and limiting educational and employment opportunities. The aim of this study was to investigate young people's participation in Nepal's early marriage and early pregnancy (EMEP) prevention project amongst the highly marginalised indigenous Thami community. The EMEP prevention project has been implemented since 2009 with young people as key stakeholders. This study used participatory action research to consider how young men and women have participated and it explored their ideas for greater participation. Participatory research is an empowerment method whereby participants as co-researchers collaboratively define the research problem, gather and analyse the data, and contribute to policy recommendations.

Keywords

youth, early marriage, indigenous Thami, participatory action research, Nepal

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Introduction

Indigenous Nepal—The Thami

The National Foundation for Development of Indigenous Nationalities Act 2002 describes adivasi janajati (indigenous peoples of Nepal) as those ethnic groups or communities that "have their own mother tongue and traditional customs, distinct cultural identity, distinct social structure and written or oral history of their own" (Government of Nepal [GoN], 2002, p. 1). In Nepal (and India) the term used for indigenous people is adivasi, which indicates people living in tribal communities characterised by distinct culture and dialect, geographical isolation, and pre-literate people living in forests and hills, sharing a symbolic relationship with nature (GoN, 2002; Shrestha & Pathak, 2012). Nepal is highly ethnically diverse with 126 ethnic groups, of which 59 have been recognised as indigenous (United Nations Nepal Information Platform, n.d.). Indigenous people of Nepal are classified by government within five socio-economic categories: endangered, highly marginalised, marginalised, disadvantaged, and advantaged (Table 1). Endangered and highly marginalised groups are characterised by small population size; living in remote rural areas; and being ranked as very low on human development indicators, especially in relation to education and status in the social hierarchy (United Nations Nepal Information Platform, n.d.).

> Many endangered and highly marginalized groups face problems in maintaining their language and cultural identity, either due to their small size or because they have been forced to give up essential elements of their culture and ways of life to access government services or avoid discrimination. (United Nations Nepal Information Platform, n.d., para. 2).

Of the 59 recognised indigenous groups in Nepal, this study focuses on the Thami (also known as Thangmi), a Himalayan group of approximately 40,000 with populations in North-Central Nepal (primarily the Dolakha—where this study is located—and Sinhupalchok districts) and neighbouring India (Shneiderman, 2014). Thami speak a Tibeto-Burman language and maintain a religion that combines Buddhism and Hinduism. Thami are economically and politically marginalised in both countries. In Nepal they were recognised as an adivasi janajati (indigenous nationality) in 2002 with the further designation of "highly marginalised janajati" added in 2004 (Shneiderman, 2014). Ironically, in their search for recognition when applying to India for State Tribal status (enabling them to apply for State Tribal Welfare), Thami were rejected for lack of "total ethnographic material", reflecting both their strongly oral traditions and highly marginalised position (Shneiderman, 2014). Thami typically migrate for purposes of employment including to the tea estates of Darjeeling. Whilst some Thami

TABLE 1 Categorisation of indigenous peoples of Nepal (GoN, 2002)

Advantaged	Newar, Thakali
Disadvantaged	Tangbe, Teengaunle Thakali, Barahgaunle Thakali, Marphali Thakali, Gurung, Magar, Rai, Limbu, Sherpa, Yakkha, Chhantyal, Jirel, Byansi, Yolmo
Marginalised	Sunuwar, Tharu, Tamang, Bhujel, Kumal, Rajbanshi, Gangaai, Dhimal, Bhote, Darai, Tajpuriya, Pahari, Topkegola, Dolpo, Mugal, Larke, Lohpa, Dura, Walung
Highly Marginalised	Majhi, Siyar, Lhomi (Shinsaba), Thundam, Dhanuk, Chepang, Santhal, Jhagad, Thami, Bote, Danuwar, Baramu
Endangered	Kusunda, Bankariya, Raute, Surel, Hayu, Raji, Kisan, Lepcha, Meche, Kuswadiya

have moved away from rural locations, many still live primarily as subsistence agriculturalists facing a high degree of poverty (Shneiderman, 2014).

Early marriage, poverty and poor health

This study focuses on one important aspect of indigenous health: early marriage and early pregnancy (EMEP). Many societies consider child marriage as a protective strategy but in reality most child marriages contribute to poor health and reduced life choices (Hampton, 2010). Contraceptive use is limited among communities that adopt child marriage. This results in high fertility, repeated childbirths, termination of unwanted pregnancies, greater likelihood of childbirth death and sterilisation of women (King, Smith, & Gracey, 2009). Adolescent childbirth is dangerous for the infant as well as the mother. Early marriage almost always deprives girls of their basic right to education or participation in meaningful work, which contributes to persistent poverty (International Center for Research on Women [ICRW], 2007).

Preventive methods have tended to involve outsider educational and girl-centred approaches, which can antagonise cultural and societal expectations and beliefs of communities practising customs of early marriage (ICRW, 2007). There is an increasing call for a focus on men and other stakeholders in the community to have a greater chance of success (ICRW, 2007). Girls' education is also paramount in the campaign against child marriage. Education increases the chances of economic independence and also delays the age at which a girl gets married. The development of clear policies and laws (which are enforced and enforceable) to prevent child marriage and the existence of international bodies to ensure parental adherence to the policies is also significant in the campaign to end child marriage (Hampton, 2010).

Early marriage is a traditionally rooted custom in Nepal. Despite the legal age of marriage at 18 years and over, marrying at a younger age is widely practised with a median age of marriage for girls at 17.2 years and younger than this for indigenous communities (Bajracharya & Amin, 2012), including the Thami. Marriages are arranged by parents and they are monogamous and patrilocal, often involving a dowry payment. Typically, married girls work in the husband's home, they are not enrolled in school, and have fewer opportunities for employment than unmarried women. Married women's household and social status remains low in Nepal (Bajracharya & Amin, 2012).

Early marriage and pregnancy prevention project, Nepal

The EMEP prevention project "Improving Sexual and Reproductive Health of Young People by Increasing the Age at Marriage in Nepal, India and Bangladesh" was initiated in 2009, and is currently being implemented in five rural districts where the majority of residents are indigenous people. The project objective is to improve the reproductive and sexual health of young people by prevention of early marriage (before 18 years) and early pregnancies (Society for Local Integrated Development [SOLID] Nepal, n.d.). Young girls and their husbands, who are often young boys, are primary stakeholders in the project and the aim is for them to play a central role through the stages of planning, implementation and evaluation of the project. Youth participation has been a key component of the project from the outset, based on the principle of encouraging the key stakeholders in early marriage to be empowered partners.

Yadav Gurung, first author, previously worked with the EMEP prevention project for two years as a field officer before undertaking this study. Yadav is from the indigenous Gurung population of Nepal. He received a New Zealand Aid Programme scholarship and

arrived at Auckland University of Technology in 2013 to undertake a Master of Public Health. For this research project he chose a study relating to the work of the EMEP prevention project because of his interest in the health and wellbeing of indigenous Nepal peoples, particularly those who are highly marginalised groups.

The aim of this study is to explore Thami young people's participation in the EMEP prevention project. The study considers whether young men and women have been involved in the project's design and implementation, whether their participation has enabled the project to meet its objectives to date, and to explore youth suggestions for increased and effective participation in the future.

Methods

A participatory action research approach was chosen for the study because of the focus on the participation of youth. Participatory research is a collective and self-reflective inquiry that researchers and participants (as co-researchers) undertake together (Chilisa, 2012; Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995), so they can understand and improve upon the practices in which they participate and the situations in which they find themselves. In participatory research, the emphasis is on a "bottom-up" approach with a focus on locally defined priorities and perspectives.

The research was located in Lapilang Village Development Committee (VDC) of Dolakha district in North-Central Nepal with a population of 4,942 (GoN, 2012). This is a community that the first author knows well and has worked with previously. This area is remote from urban centres and the community are subsistence agriculturalists. Lapilang VDC is one of 25 VDCs where the EMEP prevention project has been implemented. Dolakha district is 132 kilometres from Kathmandu, and can be reached partly by road followed by a six- to seven-hour walk to reach Lapilang VDC from the district headquarters. This makes it relatively accessible in Nepali terms in relation to distance and cost.

The study took the form of two participatory focus group discussions, for three small groups of Thami youth aged 16 to 24 years who have experience of the EMEP prevention project; that is, a group of young married women, young married men, and a group of single young men and women. The focus groups were asked to consider three questions:

- What are your experiences of participating in the EMEP prevention project?
- What did you think worked well or didn't work in relation to the participation in this project?
- What are your suggestions for increased participation?

The focus group discussions were conducted in the Nepali language and recorded on a digital recorder. The groups shared their experiences using discussion and mind mapping. The study received ethics approval from Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee.

Preliminary results and discussion

The fieldwork for this study took place in the autumn of 2014, but given the particularly bad weather, the researcher faced considerable difficulty in reaching Lapilang, reflecting the isolation and poor communications faced by many indigenous rural communities in Nepal. Once the fieldwork commenced, Thami youth participating in the study found it difficult to speak in the focus group discussions. Despite efforts by Yadav to provide a space for speaking, participants tended to nod their heads to say "yes" rather than contribute more to the discussion. Despite this difficulty, which reflects one of the challenges in applying participatory approaches, the following are some of key points raised.

- **What are your experiences of participating in the EMEP prevention project?**

Youth participation in the project was described by the participants as taking place in a limited way. Most of the project activities were located in schools, yet communities and families live far from the schools. Many Thami youth leave school at a young age to find work and as a result, those not attending school were unfamiliar with the project.

- **What did you think worked well or didn't work in relation to the participation in this project?**

Youth described being informed and influenced by the schools-based activities which involved posters and booklet distribution, also radio programmes and hoarding boards were referred to as providing useful information. There has been a drop in early marriages in the community and this has been attributed to this information.

As well as remoteness, poverty was described as a major barrier to youth participation. Much of the time Thami youth are away from their villages for purposes of employment. Participants shared that they did not participate because they had to work to feed their families. Being involved in the project required valuable time, without the opportunity to generate finance.

- **What are your suggestions for increased participation?**

Youth recommended that financial incentives and means for gaining skills would be particularly beneficial to them. Without addressing issues of poverty, alongside provision of information, there seems to be limited scope for improving youth participation in the project.

The study further highlights for us the degree to which the Thami are highly marginalised and isolated in Nepal. Thami youth spoke in the discussions of how much pressure they face in terms of having to work to support themselves and their families. There is little scope for them to raise their voices, assert their rights, and access any benefits from the government or other organisations. Thus the need for empowerment of such youth, including in relation to employment opportunities and provision of genuine spaces for their participation in decision-making processes and development activities, is yet again highlighted through this study. We will be developing these preliminary results further, and exploring the implications for policy, as well as disseminating our recommendations later on in 2015.

Glossary

adivasi	people living in tribal communities
adivasi janajati	indigenous peoples of Nepal
Thami	an indigenous Himalayan group of approximately 40,000 with populations in North-Central Nepal

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AND YOU THOUGHT WE WERE EXTINCT

The revival of Aboriginal cultural practices and economic opportunities in the South East region of South Australia

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Abstract

The Aboriginal community of the South East region of South Australia has recently developed a number of high-profile cultural revival projects that have led to greater community awareness of their ancestral and ongoing connections to country. For almost 100 years the broader community has incorrectly perceived that there is no longer any Boandik presence in the region. This paper explores how three cultural-survival projects led by the Aboriginal community of the region—a canoe building initiative, a cultural mapping project, and a Boandik language revival project—are helping to shape broader community understandings and beliefs of Aboriginal culture. This

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paper discusses the context and nature of these projects, the resulting positive partnerships with government, landholders, universities, and industry, and how the projects have led to the development of new economic pathways for the Aboriginal community such as filmmaking and curating. The three projects initiated by the Aboriginal community provide a model for other Aboriginal communities that may be seeking ways to positively and instantly connect with the broader community, and which provide new research and development opportunities for the advancement of Aboriginal self-determination.

Keywords

Aboriginal heritage, Boandik people, counter mapping, cultural revival, Mount Gambier, creative works

Geographical context

The lower South East region of South Australia represents the traditional homelands of the Boandik (or Bunganditj) people, a group numbering a few hundred around the time South Australia was settled in 1836 (Smith, 1880). The Boandik name literally means "people of the reeds". Before non-Aboriginal settlers (mainly Scottish) established farming lands upon Boandik country in the mid-1800s, the landscape scene was dominated by water, and it is said that in winter one could journey tens of kilometres through giant stands of gum trees when travelling from place to place. The wetland systems were extensive, but large-scale drainage systems established by the South Australian Government from 1860 to the present (work and development on these systems continues) to expand pastoral capacity dramatically altered the configuration of the land. The manipulation of water systems effectively drained much of the surface water, and in so doing, changed the homelands of the Boandik people immeasurably, to the point at which their homelands were almost unrecognisable. As the water was drained away, so too was Boandik heritage. Agricultural expansion, along with government policies relating to the relocation and treatment of Aboriginal people, also meant that many Boandik people were forced to move off-country or were estranged from their lands at the beginning of the 21st century (Fort, 2005).

With few Boandik people living in the South East over the past century, and consequently their physical occupation upon the land and in townships largely unseen, many non-Aboriginal people from the region wrongly developed the view that the Boandik no longer existed in the region. However, in recent times their physical presence has become much more noticeable, for a number of Boandik families have begun to actively celebrate and foster their ancestry (in recent years it could be argued that the atmosphere in Australian society has become much more receptive to listening and learning from Aboriginal Australia), and have joined or established local Aboriginal organisations to provide an Aboriginal perspective on issues that affect them and other Aboriginal groups.

Aboriginal representation and advocacy

The main Aboriginal organisations in the South East region include the South East Aboriginal Focus Group (SEAFG), Burrandies Aboriginal Corporation, and Pangula Mannamurna Inc. Significantly, the Mount Gambier City Council (Mount Gambier was formed on what might be

regarded as the central heartland of Boandik country) has frequently engaged with these organisations, and through various partnerships with them has created a number of programmes and installations that celebrate Aboriginal culture and Boandik ownership of the region. For example, the Main Corner Cultural Centre in Mt Gambier features a film about the geo-cultural landscape that tells how lakes and volcanoes came into existence in the region. The film recounts how the Boandik legendary figure in the Dreamtime, Craitbul, travelled inland with his family from the ocean and found ovens for cooking. One by one the ovens filled with water, and Craitbul and his family had to keep moving. This and other stories reflect the first-hand connection that the Boandik people have to the volcanic activity and lakes that formed more than 5,000 years ago. Other Boandik stories are also displayed and featured at the Main Corner in engaging and sensitive ways, such as sound and light shows, and films that project from the Main Corner onto external walls by the Cave Gardens nearby (Figure 1). In the Main Corner, Boandik culture is represented through dioramas that feature the finding of an ancient boomerang (considered the oldest in Australia; Luebbers, 1975), and a reproduction of local rock carvings that have been dated to 30,000 years. Combined, the contemporary interpretations serve as a reminder that the land is rich with Aboriginal cultural attachment—with stories to be told, listened to and learned from.

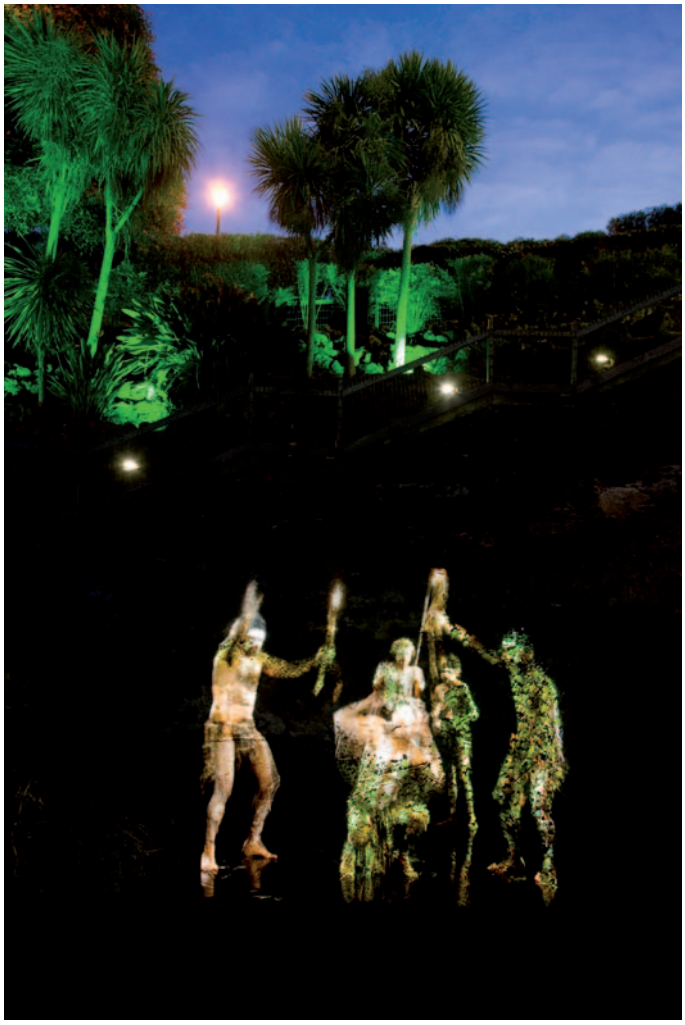

FIGURE 1 A dynamic sound and light display representing ancestral Boandik stories from the Dreamtime is a feature of the Mt Gambier Cave Gardens, South Australia.

The SEAFG, established in 2005, includes Boandik people and members from other Aboriginal groups living in the region. It plays a lead role in natural resource management issues across the South East region, providing advice and input into regional planning processes and on-ground projects. Importantly, the SEAFG has become a communication link to the wider Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal community and the first point of contact for state and local government agencies when planning and delivering natural resource management activities.

Burrandies Aboriginal Corporation, which is managed by an Aboriginal board, has initiated and managed many job opportunities for Aboriginal people in the community. In addition to serving as a job-recruiting agency, it focuses on community development and has expanded its scope to focus on the management and oversight of significant cultural programmes, notably the Boandik (Bunganditj) Language Reclamation project, which is discussed later in this paper.

Pangula Mannamurna is the Aboriginal-controlled health service for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in the South East. It provides both medical and social work services irrespective of gender, has youth groups, and provides kindergarten activities. It has strong relationships with other government and non-government support agencies. A Healing Circles project is almost complete, with three circles that each represent aspects of healing and growth in traditional culture.

Supported by activities delivered by the SEAFG, Burrandies, and Pangula Mannamurna, the pace of revival of Aboriginal participation in community programmes and events in the region has been rapid, and the active role that they have taken in bringing about change in shaping non-Aboriginal conceptions of their homelands has been a transformative experience for many in the South East community. In addition to making Boandik ontology and cosmology accessible to the broader community and visitors, the cultural revival movement is having real and practical breakthroughs through the creation of jobs for Aboriginal people and an increased sensitivity to managing the environment with Boandik land-management techniques in mind. Local schools are also reaching out to the Boandik community for advice on leadership and mentorship, with the view of exposing schoolchildren to Aboriginal culture early in their education.

Re-floating Boandik culture

One of the significant Aboriginal-led projects sparking the re-emergence of Boandik cultural activity in earnest and for public consumption and participation was a film called *Moogy's Yuki* (Change Media, 2010), which documented the process of making a yuki (traditional bark canoe) at a place called Kalangadoo (literally, "big trees in water"). Completed in 2010, the project involved Boandik elders and Ngarrindjeri elders (from a neighbouring Aboriginal Nation) teaching their youth and local schoolchildren how to cut away bark from a large river red gum tree (*Eucalyptus camaldulensis*) in the shape of a canoe. Over the course of a day, 50 spectators watched from below as the canoe-makers worked the bark from the tree using ropes, pegs, stays, and pullies, knowing full well that the practice had not been performed for almost a century. Those involved in the project watched on in anticipation as the tree eventually released the huge piece of bark from its grasp, leaving behind a scar as a tangible reminder of its purposeful offering to the Boandik people.

Out of respect for the tree, elders conducted a smoking ceremony and offered words of thanks to the tree itself in the Boandik language. Indeed, many trees in the Kalangadoo area bear old scars that were caused from bark being removed to make canoes, shields and boomerangs and it is not inconceivable that such offerings and ceremonies would have also been made to these trees as a mark of respect.

Much cultural knowledge was transmitted as part of the canoe-making project, including the selection of the appropriate tree, the felling of the bark, the use of traditional tools, the treatment and curing of the canoe to withstand water and the elements, the paddling of the canoe, the techniques for hunting and fishing from this vessel, and the stories and ceremony that accompany the making and use of the canoe. Further, the documentation of the process through film provided many of the Aboriginal youth from the region with first-hand training on interviewing and editing techniques. Interestingly, some of these youth have since developed short films of their own in collaboration with local production companies, documenting other forms of Aboriginal knowledge systems in their community (see http://www.changemedia.net.au/projects).

The canoe (Figure 2) has gone on a much larger journey than first anticipated. It has been showcased and paddled across Sydney Harbour by Uncle Moogy (Major Sumner) as part of a nationwide Indigenous watercraft festival, and it has been exhibited at major art galleries in Adelaide and across regional centres in South Australia as part of a tour coordinated by Country Arts South Australia. The film was publicly launched in the South East regional centre of Mt Gambier as part of the National Water Week programme in 2010, and reviews and excerpts of the film featured on local radio



FIGURE 2 Elder Uncle Moogy in the process of making a yuki (bark canoe) from the bark of a mature river red gum tree, a practice not performed for over 100 years on Boandik country.

and TV stations. Showing its reach and appeal to a wide audience, the film was awarded the 2nd place winner in the Community category for the 2010 MY HERO International Film Festival in Los Angeles.

At the local level, the canoe-project has enlivened discussions amongst landholders and natural resource managers about the importance of preserving old scar trees and their surrounds, and protecting existing red gum trees for future generations (or in other words, future heritage). Indeed, the *Moogy's Yuki* project was a practical, perhaps even poetic exercise, but it was also representative of heritage in the making and that Aboriginal culture is about the "then" and "now". It tangibly illustrated that Aboriginal culture in the region was still very much connected to the land and that landholders have a responsibility to ensure that scar trees, as sentinels upon the landscape, are valued as cultural icons.

Windows into Boandik country

Following the success of the *Moogy's Yuki* project, and the deep community engagement and outreach that ensued, the SEAFG began exploring other projects that might yield similar results. There was also a strong desire amongst the group to explore the possibility of developing a cultural centre in the region. When an opportunity to partner with the University of Canberra's landscape architecture programme on a cultural mapping project of Boandik country was proposed in 2013, it was eagerly supported by the SEAFG as a means to build momentum towards the realisation of a cultural centre. Subsequently, a partnership was formed with the SEAFG and the University of Canberra, and a proposal to develop cultural maps of country was ultimately funded by the City of Mount Gambier and the South Australian Government's Natural Resource Management Board in the South East.

With an ongoing working relationship already established with the SEAFG and the non-Aboriginal community over a period of three years through research-led design exercises and fieldtrips that were held in Mount Gambier, the University of Canberra's landscape design students (in a third-year subject, *Australia and the Land*) were well placed to work with the SEAFG to develop cultural maps. Cultural protocols had been followed to undertake the activity. Under the guidance of this paper's authors, students travelled to Mount Gambier in September 2013 for one week, and working in groups of three, were hosted by Boandik elders, local farmers, botanists, archaeologists, and foresters to document the Aboriginal knowledge and heritage of the landscape in map forms. Over 50 individuals from the local area contributed in-kind support to the project. Eighteen design students in their third year attended the field trip to South Australia, including international students from China, Thailand, and Korea.

Rather than conforming to traditional Western map-making methods or using Google or GIS systems, students were asked to think "outside the box", and to generate cultural maps of country using counter-mapping techniques. Their design lecturers guided them on how to approach the counter-mapping process, and several readings (esp. Bradley, 1999; Casey, 2002; Corner, 1992; Faulstich, 1998; Ingold, 2007, 2010; Nicolaisen, 1990; Veronesi & Gemeinboeck, 2009) were discussed and critiqued in class on the topic. Consequently, the students built on this theoretical grounding to develop counter maps of Boandik country that were based on interactions with their local hosts, archival research, and literature studied in the studio on mapping techniques. In the field, each group was allocated a section, or "transect", of country to map, working over an area of 60–100 km. Over nine weeks students developed maps of their "transect," which were manifest in model forms on panels with dimensions of 1.2 × 2.4 m. The panels included working parts and were crafted from hand and

workshop equipment, and were infused with materials and quotes gathered from the field (Figure 3).

After a period of 13 weeks, students presented the maps to an expert design jury and to the SEAFG themselves. A visual journal, original song, and documentary videos were also presented alongside the counter-maps. The maps featured in a public exhibition titled *Transects—Windows into Boandik Country*, which was launched by Boandik elders in late 2013, and attended by hundreds of people over the course of the exhibition. Displayed at the Main Corner Cultural Centre in Mount Gambier, the maps have since toured regional centres where they have been exhibited at the South East Field Days, the Port MacDonnell Museum, and the Beachport Museum. A professional exhibition booklet was also created to explain the project. Illustrating the pride and true collaborative nature of the project, the booklet included a foreword by the SEAFG and contributions from local authors who were involved with the project and held historical knowledge about Boandik heritage (Heyes & Tuiteci, 2013).

Like the *Moogy's Yuki* project, the *Transects* project and exhibition was captured extensively

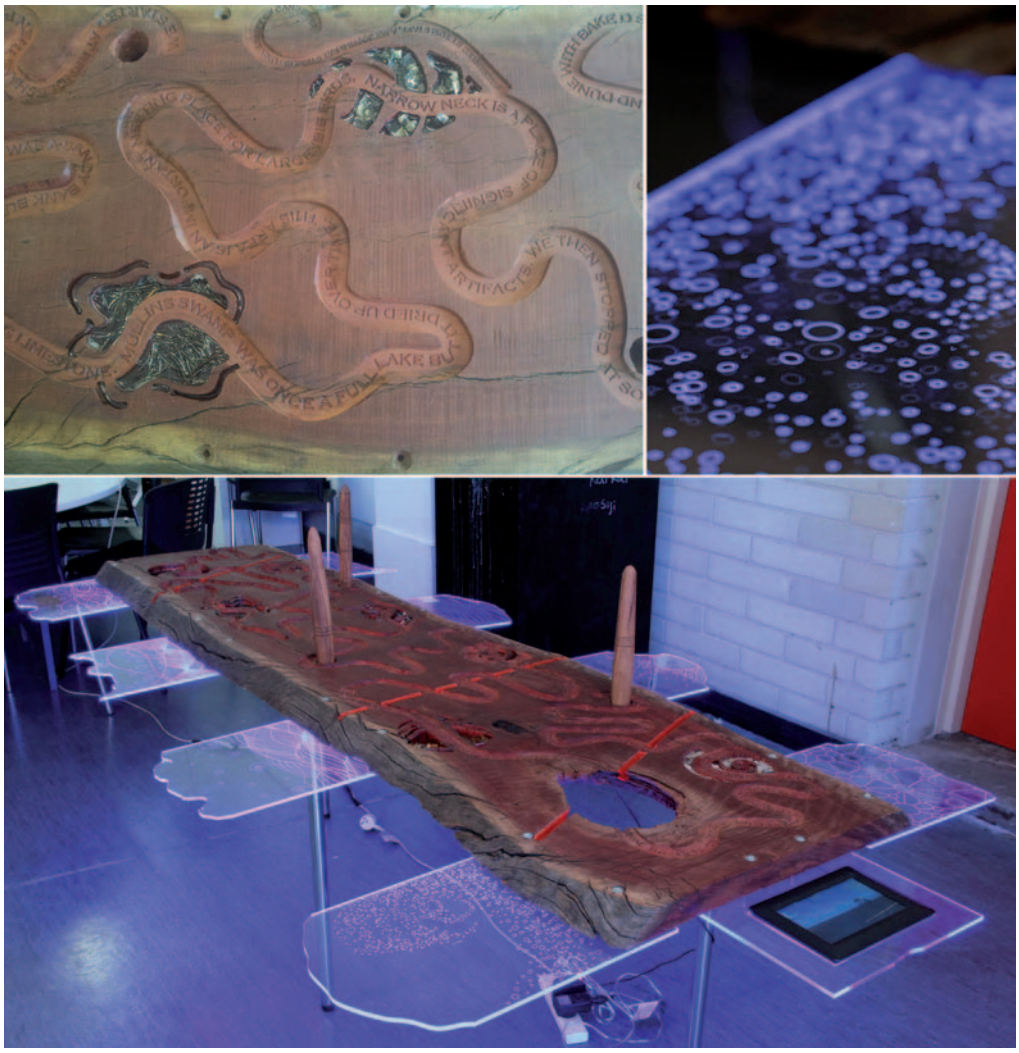

FIGURE 3 An example of counter-maps that were produced by landscape architecture students under the guidance of their lecturers and local guides from the South East region. This intricate work, made from a eucalyptus tree slab and titled *Kromelite Menindie* ("red mud" in Boandik), interprets the waterways and soil systems on Boandik country that were disturbed by early farming practices.

in the local print and radio media, where reporting focused on the educational outcomes, and the deep level of community participation and ownership of the project. In addition to the positive learning experiences the students gained from engaging with the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal community, the project led to the specific employment and training of Aboriginal employees by the Burrandies Aboriginal Corporation to manage and curate the exhibition and for other proposed exhibitions.

Farmers involved in the *Transects* project indicated that they would manage their land differently henceforth. In support of Boandik aspirations to change landholding practices and to protect Boandik heritage, farmers agreed, for instance, to better protect existing and juvenile stands of river red gums through fencing and removing stock, for it was brought to their attention that such trees are critical to Boandik people for toolmaking, equipment, shelter, and for spiritual reasons. Likewise, they agreed to better protect known midden and stone toolmaking sites. There is evidence that landholding practices and attitudes are changing in the region, for farmers were particularly moved by a quote from a Boandik elder that was offered to the *Transects* project and which featured on one of the displays: "A country with fences has lost its spirit." This quote suggests there is hope and promise in returning spirit to place, a pathway that can be achieved through rethinking the way that pastoral land is parcelled.

Building on the rich and unintended outcomes of the *Transects* project, and through recognition of the project when it received a National Aboriginal and Islander Day Observance Committee 2014 South East Regional Award, the University of Canberra and the SEAFG have embarked on another creative project to help raise the profile of Boandik people and their homelands. The project, nearing completion, involves developing a series of five-minute documentaries about Boandik journeys through country.

Recovering voices

The Boandik Language Reclamation (BLR) project began in 2011 as a result of growing interest amongst the Boandik community to reconnect with their culture and heritage. Barry Blake, a specialist of Aboriginal languages of Southern Australia and the Boandik language in particular (Blake, 2003), and linguist Mary-Anne Gale have been central to helping the BLR working group (30 members) reconstruct the Boandik language, and to generating new Boandik words. The working group has also undertaken responsibility for developing protocols for use of the revived language, and for ongoing custodianship.

Supported by an Indigenous Language Support Grant through the Federal Office for the Arts, the project remains strong and ambitious, with over 2,000 Boandik words recorded and discussed by the BLR working group. The Boandik words have been gleaned from archival sources, mainly from the notes and field diaries of missionaries, early settlers, and anthropologists who were in the region at the turn of the 20th century (Gale, 2014). Important to the reconstruction of the language has been the words and phrases that Boandik elder Uncle Des Hartmann recalls from his childhood. An active member of the BLR working party, his memories of speaking Boandik over 50 years ago with his family have provided critical information on the way the language sounded and the context of word usage.

Now in its fourth year, the BLR project is making significant headway, with many members now able to speak some Boandik words and phrases. The language is also being used in schools such as Tenison Woods, a private primary and high school in Mount Gambier that is incorporating material developed by the BLR into its Indigenous curriculum programme. Classroom activities about the Boandik people and their language are serving to engender cultural respect amongst schoolchildren. Community members, too, are hearing Boandik

spoken again for the first time in several decades. At important events and functions in the region it is common for elders to conduct "Welcome to Country" in the Boandik tongue. Elders have remarked on the great sense of pride felt and experienced on such occasions, and how language use is mobilising Boandik culture again. The BLR project, and the funding and interest it has attracted, has helped to fund employment for Aboriginal people in the region, and has helped train them on linguistic scholarship. As the project expands, it is expected that many more Aboriginal people will be employed and trained in fields such as archival research, collection management, and heritage officers. For a language spoken over several thousands of years and considered extinct, it is now on the verge of being spoken again due to the collective and diligent efforts of the BLR project team.

Conclusion

The creative projects, exhibitions and language programmes that the Boandik community have undertaken and participated in over the past five years have proven to be effective at revitalising aspects of Boandik culture in the contemporary context. As this surge in cultural celebration and transmission continues, so too will more employment opportunities for Aboriginal members of the community be required to help support these activities. New employment in the creative sector will indeed contribute to the enrichment of the cultural economy and will ultimately help to advance the ambition of establishing a Boandik cultural centre in the region in the near future. The projects highlighted in this paper serve as models for other Aboriginal communities in Australia to consider as a way forward to revitalise culture and to reforge connections with country. Such projects have demonstrated that the conversations and relations between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities will grow closer and that the land and its heritage will be more highly valued and conserved. If the current and proposed sets of creative and cultural-related programmes continue to be supported by locals and all levels of government, then there are high prospects that the Boandik community's future heritage and economic endeavours will be bright.

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Glossary

Boandik (also Bunganditj)	traditional owners of the South East region of South Australia
yuki	bark canoe, traditional Boandik watercraft

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ENCOUNTERING NARRATIVES AND NARRATING ENCOUNTERS

Comparing and contrasting Kaupapa Māori and Indigenous Standpoint theories

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Abstract

This paper explores the comparative scope, application and synergies that result when the origins of Kaupapa Māori and Kaupapa Māori theory are critically compared and contrasted with Indigenous Standpoint theory (IST). Whilst there is a wealth of recorded information concerning the theories, praxis and practice relating to Kaupapa Māori research, and to a lesser degree the use of IST, there remains a paucity of information relating to their synergies. Our collaboration seeks to lessen this divide by providing our interpretations concerning the origins and the influences that underpin these frameworks in Aotearoa (New Zealand) and Australia. Perhaps understandably, writing this paper paralleled the conscientising and transforming process that remains an explicit component of the Kaupapa Māori research process and IST-informed research. Encountering cultural narratives and narrating our encounters remains a relational and ongoing process that parallels our deepening conscientisation as emergent academics.

Keywords

indigenous, theory, research, Kaupapa Māori, Kaupapa Māori theory, Indigenous Standpoint theory

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Introduction

Sharing who we are, culturally and as emerging academics, was key to our many discussions during the year that we shared office space at the University of Sydney. Identifying ourselves primarily as a Ngāi te Rangi, Ngāti Ranginui woman from Tauranga Moana in Aotearoa (New Zealand) (first author) and a Yuin man from the South East Coast of New South Wales (second author), our life stories revealed many similarities and recurring themes, which we described in more academic language as "encountering narratives and narrating encounters". It is our social and cultural responsibilities and whakapapa (clan roots) that are the main drivers for our academic journeys.

There is agreement amongst indigenous scholars in Australia (Gilroy, 2012; Nakata, 2007; Moreton-Robinson, 2000) and Aotearoa (L. T. Smith, 1999) that Western knowledge systems—that is, scientific knowledge produced by the colonisers and imposed on colonised peoples—has constructed and represented a version of indigenous communities' reality with no indigenous peoples' real input. Research on indigenous peoples produced in the West has been engaged in academic neo-colonialism (Foley, 2006; Gilroy et al., 2013). A global mass of indigenous scholars have proposed theoretical platforms to resist the superiority of the normalised, taken-for-granted Western knowledge production about indigenous peoples.

The scholars and writers referenced in this paper were selected because they have written extensively on the origins of, and highlight the original thinking that still informs, the theoretical foundations of indigenous community-driven research. For the purposes of this paper, we have highlighted specific points for further reflection: 1) metaphysical origins; 2) positionality of the researcher/s; 3) the notion of counter-hegemony; 4) privileging individual voices; and 5) ownership of indigenous knowledges.

1. Metaphysical origins

Metaphysics are the philosophical and socio-cultural structures that underpin how communities and peoples understand and explain the nature of *being* and the *world*. There are distinct differences in the origins between Kaupapa Māori and IST. Tuakana Nepe (1991, p. 15) argues that Kaupapa Māori has its origins in a unique metaphysical world, distinctive ancient traditions and "the conceptualisations of Maori knowledge". This corpus of knowledge in Kaupapa Māori is transmitted through a three-dimensional framework that explains our human existence: whakapapa is based on te ira atua (Māori creation from creator gods), te ira whenua (the seed descent of the planet), and te ira tangata (the seed descent of human life) (Taki, 1996). The concept of kaupapa (plan) implies a way of framing and structuring how we think about these ideas and practices, the way we organise ourselves within it, the questions we ask and the solutions we seek (L. T. Smith, 1997).

Kaupapa Māori developed as an indigenous theoretical framework to challenge the existing social order with a clear cultural and political intent in the late 1980s. It is a culturally defined theoretical space that has a body of knowledge accumulated by the historical experiences of Māori. It is a way of abstracting Māori knowledge, reflecting on it, and critically engaging with how it is being constructed. The earliest goals of Kaupapa Māori research, according to G. H. Smith (1997, p. 456), included:

> … to make space for itself within the context of dominant Pakeha relations to sustain validity and legitimacy of the theory from challenges from traditional intellectuals; to be "owned" and accepted by Maori communities; provide the potential to transform for the better Maori existence; to be reflective and reflexive.

To "make space" also referred initially to

embedding Māori aspirations and aims at the University of Auckland within the Faculty of Education. Historically, contemporary resistance initiatives began with a clear political intent outside the state. G. H. Smith (2003) suggests that the establishment of Te Kōhanga Reo (Māori language nests), Kura Kaupapa Māori (Māori language primary schools) and the early wānanga (Māori tertiary institutions) as community-based initiatives were outward signs of the revolution of the mindset, a conscientisation that sought to resolve the dual crises of the demise of Māori language and Māori underachievement. Rigney (2007, p. 72) states that the key components in Kaupapa Māori research provide "a focus through which Māori people, as communities of the researched and as new communities of the researchers, have been able to engage in a dialogue about setting new directions for the priorities, policies and practices of research for, by and with Maori". Māori control of the Māori research paradigm is fundamental to the cultural principles of Kaupapa Māori. Kaupapa Māori research has evolved into "new" forms of resistance and transformative praxis-based research, incorporating a diversity of approaches and different versions of Kaupapa Māori research. However, a consensus regarding the original key components remains.

In contrast to Kaupapa Māori research, IST models provide limited emphasis on the metaphysical world other than Foley (2006). IST remains an individualised approach to research informed by the person's ancestry, cultural heritage and individual political agendas (Foley, 2006). It has its origins in the global indigenous rights movement in the 1980s. Nakata (2007) and Rigney (2001) described IST as a distinct approach where the researchers' personal and cultural experiences and beliefs elevate attention to elements of the research objectives and process. Foley (2006, p. 27) states that IST is a "process and ontology, an epistemological approach to learning .... that enables the indigenous person to maintain/regain or learn their own epistemological standpoint that has been lost due to colonisation and the adoption of ethnocentric Western forms or approaches to knowledge". IST helps challenge those discourses that position indigenous peoples as the cultural Other whilst theoretically charting the socially constructed, privileged position of Western knowledge production that defines, categorises, shames and re-represents indigenous peoples (Gilroy, 2010; Gilroy et al., 2013).

Foley's (2006) critical review of indigenous peoples' approaches to research demonstrates how an individual's metaphysical world may be incorporated into research. Foley (2006) built upon the work of indigenous scholars (Meyer, 1998; Moreton-Robinson, 2004; Rigney, 1999; L. T. Smith, 1999; Ungunmerr, 2002) in Australia, New Zealand and Hawai'i to incorporate three metaphysical elements of indigenous research. The first element, the *spirit world*, equates to the researchers' ancestral land and cultural heritage. Secondly, the *human world* acknowledges the traditional owners of the lands and cultural protocols. Thirdly, the *sacred world* acknowledges spiritual healing, wellbeing, lore, oral history and care of country (Foley, 2006).

Australian indigenous scholars state that because of the vast diversity in cultures, languages and experiences of colonisation, a wide diversity of IST will be developed and framed within the multitude of scientific discourses. An indigenous woman's IST may be influenced by the diverse experiences of being an indigenous person and a woman. Similarly, the diversity of the conceptualisation and experience of disability and illness and being an indigenous person (Gilroy et al., 2013; Moreton-Robinson, 2004; Rigney, 2001).

2. Positionality

Positionality relates to strategic positioning. Contemporary expressions of the Kaupapa Māori framework (Māori philosophy and

principles) are localised theoretical positionings. For IST users, research remains an individual endeavour, located in their own "sites of resistance", within their respective disciplines and motivated by individual and political agendas.

Indigenous scholars in Aotearoa and Australia share similar challenges navigating within the ideologically and politically contested space in academia and intellectual tensions between the indigenous communities and the Western-oriented disciplines. These differences are also influenced by the researcher's ability to exercise their *agency* within their discipline. L. T. Smith (1999, p. 71) stated that indigenous researchers are "situated in a unique and somewhat delicate position which can be generalized as a set of potentially contradictory oppositions". Nakata (2007) stated that researcher positioning is critical to successfully navigate these spaces of ideological and political contestation.

Whilst Kaupapa Māori and IST both maintain clear and explicit transformative objectives, there is such diversity in cultures and different languages within indigenous Australia that research objectives remain more implicit. L. T. Smith (1999) uses the phrase "transformative praxis" to describe a transformative educational strategy "that has evolved out of Maori communities as a deliberate means to comprehend, resist and transform" educational under-achievement of Māori youth and the erosion of Māori language, knowledge and culture. Nakata (1997, 2007) and Choy and Woodlock (2007) also focus on the tensions in Australian indigenous education. Similarly, indigenous feminist scholars focus on the invisibility of both their indigeneity and gender (Moreton-Robinson, 2000). Gilroy (2012, 2013) joined the Australian disability rights movement, recognising that indigenous people with a disability are amongst the most disempowered and disadvantaged peoples in Australia.

3. The notion of counter hegemony

In the neo-Marxist usage, hegemony is a way of thinking when oppressed groups uncritically take on the dominant group thinking and ideas in a "taken for granted" way even when such ideas maintain and continue their own oppression. Indigenous scholars who use either Kaupapa Māori or IST frameworks are inherently counter-hegemonic (Rigney, 2007; G. H. Smith, 2003).

The real revolution of the 1980s was for many Māori a critical conscientisation process; a freeing up of the indigenous mind from the grip of dominant hegemony (G. H. Smith, 2003). A central element of this process was a shifting away from the reactive "politics of distraction" toward transformative politics that centred on the needs, aspirations and preferences of Māori. The critical lesson learned from the Kaupapa Māori approach was that transformation was won on two fronts. Firstly, what G. H. Smith (2003) labelled as the "inside-out" model of transformation—an inner conscientisation process—and secondly, a confrontation with the coloniser.

An early debate in Aotearoa and a current debate in Australia is whether or not non-indigenous peoples should undertake research on indigenous peoples (Foley, 2003; Moreton-Robinson, 2000). Moreton-Robinson (2000, xxi) claims that the non-indigenous researcher's biases are connected to "relations of ruling whereby white racial difference shapes those on whom it confers privilege as well as those it oppresses". Foley (2003) and Rigney (1999) suggested that the research must be done by indigenous researchers, which is fundamental to the fight against the Western imperialism that is maintained by Western sciences. However, L. T. Smith (1999, p. 184) stated that "a non-indigenous, non-Maori person can be involved in Kaupapa Maori research but not on their own, and if they were involved in such research, they would have ways of positioning themselves as a non-indigenous person". Similarly,

TABLE 1 Contrasts, comparisons and synergies of Kaupapa Māori theory and Indigenous Standpoint theory (IST). In the first column we have used the key components of Kaupapa Māori research proposed by G. H. Smith (2013) as an organising framework. The remaining three columns relate to the scope, application and synergies that result when Kaupapa Māori theory and IST are critically compared and contrasted.

Key components	Kaupapa Māori theory	Indigenous Standpoint theory	Synergies
Metaphysical and epistemological foundations	• Conceptualisation of Māori knowledge (Nepe, 1991). • Tikanga me ngā ritenga o te ao iwi—sacred knowledge (Taki, 1996).	• Foley (2003, 2006) remains the only writer referencing the metaphysical.	• Kaupapa Māori has its roots in the metaphysical and epistemological foundations of the sacred and ancient worlds. • Foley incorporates the physical world, human world and sacred world.
Transformative Contemporary theory and praxis toward the goal of self-determinism	• Has a clear cultural and political intent through a culturally defined theoretical space. • Theory and praxis of transformative action toward self-determination. • Conscientisation resistance, struggle and emancipation (G. H. Smith, 1997). • Analyses existing power relationships and societal inequities (Pihama, 1993).	• Not a national approach. • Individualised to the indigenous person's experiences and political agendas, which inform Indigenous research methodologies. • Aspiring toward a distinctive indigenist methodology (Rigney, 2007).	• Standpoint is influenced by Western theory. • Standpoint is individualistic. • Indigenous community advocacy and resistance (an emancipatory imperative). • Challenging epistemological foundations of knowledge production and management (Rigney, 2007). • Māori and indigenous struggles toward tino rangatira (self-determination) • Political integrity and privileging voices (Rigney, 2007).
Cultural-structural nexus	• Centrality of the validation of Māori identity, culture and communities. • Localised "critical theory". • The fundamental legitimacy of Māori forms of knowledge, language and Māori ways of living in the world. • Retrieving "spaces" within the context of dominant Pākehā (New Zealanders of European descent) relations.	• Focus on the indigenous person's cultural and historical experience as an indigenous person.	• Analysing existing power relationships in how indigenous peoples are framed, named and claimed. • Unsettling the unequal power relations between Māori and Pākehā.

Key components	Kaupapa Māori theory	Indigenous Standpoint theory	Synergies
Agency	• Centrality of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga (the Māori language and its customs). • Māori identity, culture and communities.	• Influenced by the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander human rights movement. • Finds a time and space within social movements. • Localised methodology thinking. • Deconstruct Western thinking and research approaches.	• Socially and historically deconstruct Western epistemology.
Positionality	• Validation in theory and practice from early challenges from traditional academics. • Māori culture, knowledges and language. • Research for Māori communities, with Māori for Māori about Māori. • "Owned" by Māori communities.	• Focused on constructions of "Otherness" and race. • indigenous theory of "whiteness" (Moreton-Robinson, 2000). • Cultural interface (Nakata, 1997, 2007). • Influence government policies and legislation (Gilroy, 2012).	• Requires political integrity and privileging of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander voices. • Working toward a distinctive indigenist methodology (Rigney, 2007). • Sites and terrains of struggle.
Counter hegemonic reflexivity	• Epistemologies that are multidisciplinary. • Strategic positioning. • The ability to be reflective and reflexive (includes a transformative element).	• Locally embedded in the researcher's community and discipline. • Conceptual framework that is anti–Western positivism.	• Counter-hegemonic stance. • Rethinking research positions, reflexive. • Anti-positivistic.
Criticality	• Aligned with critical theory (L. T. Smith, 1999). • Anti-positivistic. • Framed within the Treaty of Waitangi (Bishop, 1994).	• Aligned with critical theory.	• Aligned with critical theory.

Oats (2003), Gilroy (2010) and Gilroy et al. (2013) maintain that in the spirit of reconciliation between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples, research must be undertaken as a partnership between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples.

4. Privileging indigenous voices

Both frameworks privilege indigenous voices within a social justice framework. Western science and colonisation has suppressed indigenous voices in the research process. L. T. Smith (1999) and Pihama (2001) maintain that the wide range of Kaupapa Māori research approaches ensure that Māori voices are heard. Foley (2006) and Rigney (1999) state that the recognition of indigenous voices in IST and indigenous research methods is fundamental to reflecting the diversity of cultures and experiences of colonisation as unique to indigenous peoples' research. Similarly, Gilroy et al. (2013) proposed IST acknowledges that providing a space for indigenous people with a disability to have their voices heard is essential in fostering social inclusion. IST can then contribute to developments in indigenous community-driven research methodologies and approaches, such as "indigenist" research methodology or Dadirri (Rigney, 2007; Ungunmerr, 2002).

5. Ownership of indigenous knowledges

The last product stolen from colonised peoples is their knowledge. Colonisation of indigenous peoples' lands has resulted in the destruction and fragmentation of their traditional cultures and languages.

For example, the Wai 262 claim (commonly known as the "flora and fauna" claim) was taken to the Waitangi Tribunal by claimants from six tribes throughout Aotearoa. The claimants maintained that the Crown breached the Treaty of Waitangi by failing to recognise and protect cultural rights and intellectual and property rights. The claimants sought kaitiakitanga (cultural guardianship) rights in relation to indigenous flora and fauna and other taonga (treasured things) including the ownership and use of mātauranga (traditional knowledge), and intellectual property rights over language, cultural ideas, and Māori arts and designs. The Waitangi Tribunal report, called Ko Aotearoa Tenei ("This is New Zealand"), found that the Crown had failed to comply with its obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi. The implications are far reaching for owners of all property rights and are particularly relevant for those who wish to register and use trademarks that include Māori words and symbols or obtain patents for inventions or plant varieties that rely on Māori traditional knowledge. The report also recommended that future laws, policies and practices within more than 20 government agencies acknowledge and respect these relationships (Henry Hughes Ltd, 2010).

Similar to the development of indigenous methodologies, Foley's IST (2003, p. 50) advocates for indigenous agency, maintaining that "the participants are the owners of the knowledge not the researcher". Similarly, Gilroy (2012) suggests that IST in disability studies must privilege indigenous knowledge and languages within the populations of people with a disability and their families.

Concluding comments

As emergent researchers from Aotearoa and Australia, the process of collaboration became as much an intense desire for clarity as well as achieving outcomes to progress indigenous community-driven research and theoretical frameworks. What became a deeply reflective and transforming experience in both a cultural and academic sense only deepened our appreciation and gratitude to all the indigenous activists from both countries who have served

the greater indigenous cause and who willingly paid the personal costs that long-term involvement in activism demanded. Particularly to those writers who have been referenced in this short article, we sincerely thank them and others for their legacy. This article is a small contribution to a larger global and collective legacy.

Few, if any oral recordings or written sources exist that compare, contrast or identify the synergies between Kaupapa Māori research and IST. Our research revealed more diversity than similarities in the scope and practice.

Kaupapa Māori research has a clear cultural and political intent and occupies a culturally defined theoretical space. Kaupapa Māori has influenced and informed IST (Foley, 2006; Gilroy, 2012), particularly the writings of G. H. Smith (1997) and L. T. Smith (1999).

Kaupapa Māori research has its origins in the metaphysical world. Its research is considered advanced conceptually, and comparatively it has a broader scope. IST is primarily about the *positionality* of the researcher. This is due in part to its focus on the work of the individual researcher, which is influenced by the researcher's cultural ancestry and historical experiences as an Aboriginal and/or a Torres Strait Islander. In particular, IST aspires to a future-based indigenist-centred methodology that looks toward privileging indigenous peoples' voices and ensuring political integrity.

Whilst IST may hold little value for experienced practitioners of Kaupapa Māori research, early practitioners of IST may continue to be informed and influenced by Kaupapa Māori theory and research.

Glossary

Aotearoa	New Zealand
Dadirri	indigenist research methodology
kaitiakitanga	cultural guardianship
kaupapa	plan
Kaupapa Māori framework	Māori philosophy and principles
Ko Aotearoa Tenei	"This is New Zealand"
Kura Kaupapa Māori	Māori language primary schools
mātauranga	traditional knowledge
Pākehā	New Zealanders of European descent
taonga	treasured things
te ira atua	Māori creation from creator gods
te ira tangata	the seed descent of human life
te ira whenua	the seed descent of the planet, most explicitly associated with the primal power of Papatūānuku (the Earth Parent)
Te Kōhanga Reo	Māori language nests
te reo Māori me ōna tikanga	the Māori language and its customs
tino rangatira	self-determination
wānanga	Māori tertiary institutions
whakapapa	clan roots, ancestral descent

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RECONNECTING WHĀNAU

Pathways to recovery for Māori with bipolar disorder

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Abstract

While Māori are known to experience a higher burden of mental health and addiction problems compared to non-Māori (Baxter, 2008), little exploratory research has been conducted into Māori experiences of bipolar affective disorder. Bipolar disorder is at times regarded as a "life sentence", with little hope of recovery. The recovery-focused mental health literature, however, argues wellness is achievable for even the most intractable conditions (Lapsley, Nikora, & Black, 2002; Mental Health Commission, 2001). The aim of this research was to gather information about the experiences of Māori who were diagnosed with bipolar affective disorder. Interviews were conducted with 22 Māori wāhine (women) and tāne (men), and using thematic analyses, themes relevant to their life stories were uncovered. This research sought to contribute to the realisation of Māori potential by explicitly shifting from deficit-focused frameworks to a focus on systemic factors that influenced Māori wellbeing. Highlights were that whānau (participants) who were connected with friends, partners and family were motivated to achieve wellness and to stay well.

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Keywords

mental health, disparities, whānau ora, intergenerational trauma

Introduction

> I had all of these terrible things happen in my childhood. It would have been a miracle if I hadn't ended up with bipolar or a mental illness. (Niwareka)

The comment above reflects a feature of bipolar affective disorder where it is not always known whether situations within a person's life act as triggers to an existing biological vulnerability or whether the symptoms are normal reactions to intensely distressing life events. In either case there is a clear need to provide appropriate and timely supports to ensure that Māori live in ways defined as important to them. The results of this research show that Māori with a diagnosis of bipolar disorder experienced greater unmet need throughout the entire course of their mental illness, placing them at significant disadvantage.

Since 2006, diagnoses of mental health disorders for Māori have increased (Mauri Ora Associates, 2006; Ministry of Health, 2012; Waikato District Health Board, 2008). Baxter's (2008) research into Māori mental health rates provided evidence that Māori have higher needs than non-Māori. Māori feature disproportionately across all health statistics and experience the highest rates of health disorders among ethnic groups in New Zealand (Baxter, 2008; Māuri Ora Associates, 2006; Neilson-Hornblow, 2009; Oakley-Browne, Wells, & Scott, 2006). Baxter's (2008) findings concluded that Māori are 1.7 times more likely to develop a mental disorder compared with non-Māori, and also showed that three in five Māori are likely to experience a mental illness at some point in their lifetime.

Bipolar disorder

Descriptions of bipolar disorder have changed with the new *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders 5* (*DSM-V*) released by the American Psychiatric Association in 2013. However, as this study was conducted prior to 2013 the previous version of the manual was used (*DSM-IV*; American Psychiatric Association, 2000).

Bipolar disorder is a mood-related disorder producing episodes of extreme contrasts both in mood in functioning (Gruber, Eidelman, Johnson, Smith, & Harvey, 2011; Power, 2005). People with bipolar disorder are known to experience high levels of life stress even during symptom-free periods, while individuals who live with significant, negative life events relapse faster and take longer to recover from bipolar episodes than those without such events (Jones & Tarrier, 2005).

While the pathway to bipolar disorder is widely known to have biological and genetic links, the evidence for socio-political and historical links is mounting. Bio-psycho-social explanations of mental illness provide avenues to consider the various interactions between psychological, sociological and biological factors and how they contribute to mental illness across the lifespan. Research shows that a home environment with psychosocial stressors such as abuse, harsh and critical communication style, deprivation, drug and alcohol abuse, violence, sexual abuse and neglect is associated with mental illness, with certain individuals more susceptible than others (Mason & Bevan-Pearson, 2005; Walker & Diforio, 1997). Other researchers argue that for some individuals, exposure to child abuse produces changes in brain and personality development that increases susceptibility to mental illness such

as schizophrenia (Read, Perry, Moskowitz, & Connolly, 2001).

Theories premised on experiences by indigenous peoples of collective trauma resulting from colonisation, genocide, land loss, cultural assimilation and assaults to nationhood offer unprecedented links to a range of mental health and addiction disorders. Although these theories are not the focus of this report, future research for Māori and bipolar disorder is needed.

The features and outcome of bipolar disorder are affected by the presence of negative life events; disruptive situations and ongoing stressors that impact symptom severity; relapse rate; and recovery (Cerullo & Strakowski, 2007; Johnson, 2005; Johnson et al., 2008). Furthermore, bipolar disorder impacts on an individual's ability to live well, affecting social relationships (McGorry, 2005; Ramon, Healy, & Renouf, 2007), working life and physical health (Adrian & Hammen, 1993; Ministry of Social Development, 2010).

Māori are a highly vulnerable population whose experiences of psychosocial adversity and exposure to stress contribute to a greater risk for depression, substance abuse, anxiety, schizophrenia and bipolar disorder. With these risks in mind, it is vital to consider the pathways that contribute to high diagnosis rates of bipolar disorder for Māori, and importantly, to consider Māori-determined pathways to recovery.

Conceptual framework

In this research we explicitly used Whānau Ora (family health and wellbeing) as a conceptual framework that rejects deficit theorising about Māori mental health. Deficit-based frameworks, or the problem-focused approach to understanding Māori mental health needs, tend to conceptualise risk factors in terms of individual and/or family deficiencies and dysfunction (Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai, & Richardson, 2003). The narrow, individual-as-the-cause approach contributes to the spread of unrelated, problem-specific interventions that increase susceptibility to poor outcomes for all concerned (Ball, 2010; Guerra & Bradshaw, 2008).

Whānau Ora

The New Zealand Government's expectation for Māori health development is Whānau Ora, in which Māori families are supported to achieve their maximum health and wellbeing (Ministry of Health, 2002). The Whānau Ora model was used in this research as a framework to conceptualise positive pathways for Māori who have a diagnosis of bipolar disorder. The framework considers the interrelated needs of all whānau (family) members rather than focusing solely on diagnosis or treatment in isolation from the wider whānau, community, social, political and medico-legal context of Māori lives.

Whānau Ora as a unifying concept encompasses Māori aspirations of good mental health as being embedded in cultural identity (Mental Health Commission, 2007). Prioritising collective wellbeing for whānau, in the many ways it manifests, provides an environment where security, connection, support, belonging and identity can be nurtured (Irwin et al., 2011). The significance of whānau as agents for change and a catalyst for Māori development has been at the heart of Māori paradigms of wellbeing for many decades (Mental Health Commission, 2007).

Recovery

Although the term "recovery" supposes that one has "recovered" and is "living well", it is clear that recovery refers to the episodic nature of mental illness and shifts thinking away from the chronicity paradigm where mental illness is seen as permanent and individuals or groups are

blamed for their mental health status (Ramon et al., 2007, p. 109).

The Mental Health Assessment and Outcomes Initiative (MH-Smart) Tāngata Whaiora Roopu conceptualises recovery as "recognising the importance of whānau in the process of recovery, diversity of whānau, contributors to whānau breakdown and the importance of rebuilding whānau" (MH-SMART Outcomes Initiative Tāngata Motuhake/Whaiora Roopu, 2005, p. 1).

According to He Korowai Oranga—the Māori Health Strategy:

> The outcomes sought for whānau include:
>
> - whānau experience physical, spiritual, mental and emotional health and have control over their own destinies
> - whānau members live longer and enjoy a better quality of life
> - whānau members (including those with disabilities) participate in te ao Māori and wider New Zealand society.
>
> These outcomes are more likely where:
>
> - whānau are cohesive, nurturing and safe
> - whānau are able to give and receive support
> - whānau have a secure identity, high self-esteem, confidence and pride
> - whānau have the necessary physical, social and economic means to participate fully and to provide for their own needs
> - whānau live, work and play in safe and supportive environments.
>
> (Ministry of Health, 2002, p. 1)

With these views in mind, understanding Māori experiences of bipolar disorder requires recognition of the multiple intersecting pathways into unwellness and recovery and an emphasis on inclusiveness, collectiveness and interdependence.

The study

Findings: Pathways into mental illness

We describe a small part of the study relating to pathways into mental illness in the following sections: "Adolescence: The pivotal period", "Unmet need", "Support to be parents" and "Maintaining social connections". The intention is to show how addressing the negative effects of bipolar disorder require timely family-focused interventions.

In our study, the term "whānau" was used to describe each participant, whereas the term family refers to the relatives of each participant/whānau. Twenty-two whānau participated in this study: 15 wāhine (women) and 7 tāne (men). Ages ranged from the early 20s to late 70s. Eight wāhine had children and grandchildren and four tāne had children and or grandchildren. The majority of whānau were employed in the mental health service as support workers, administrators or policy developers. Other whānau were unemployed, or studying part- or full-time. Relationship status ranged from single, recently separated or divorced, married, in a de-facto arrangement, or the status was unspecified.

Adolescence: The pivotal period

The findings of this research highlight pathways into mental illness for some whānau that could have been avoided earlier. Exposure to varying levels of childhood adversity, such as sexual and physical violence, parental mental illness, multiple and/or abusive foster care, and abandonment issues, led to acute levels of post-traumatic stress, substance abuse, poor relationship choices, depression, anxiety and safety issues. Whānau also pointed to adolescence as a difficult period where anxiety, depression and substance abuse dominated, often in response to adversity.

It is relevant that an existing problem was evident across most whānau, suggesting that,

for some, had those issues been addressed earlier, they may have avoided a severe mental health diagnosis for behaviour that was often a reaction to extreme stress. On the other hand, some whānau found that a bipolar diagnosis and medication gave them a sense of structure and coherence to their lives.

Unmet need

In relation to mental health diagnosis, all whānau had been diagnosed with bipolar affective disorder at some point in their lives. The narratives collected from each whānau revealed chronic levels of unmet need that began (for some) in childhood, adolescence and, for others, in early adulthood. The levels of unmet need created a cycle of health disparity, placing whānau at a significant disadvantage resulting in lost productivity and potential. Moreover, that need crept into the senior years, as whānau became primary caregivers to their grandchildren or they were disconnected from their children and grandchildren.

Support to be parents

Across the study whānau experienced conditions that impacted on their ability to raise their children, such as unstable and inadequate housing, poverty, low education, difficulty getting good jobs, and problems holding down full-time employment. Gender issues were evident as female whānau were often powerless in their intimate relationships and during pregnancy and childbirth. Some women lived in constant fear of losing their children, while others had their children taken from them, or were told not to have children. Several male whānau were equally concerned about losing their children or that they were not able to provide for their families, challenging their notions of being a husband, partner and father.

Maintaining social connections

Wellness means being able to live normal, fulfilling and productive lives with family and friends (Lapsley, Nikora, & Black, 2002). Māpihi said her friends helped her to recover by keeping her company:

> The things that have made the most difference to me were when friends would say, "Come and do something with us", and I would usually say no. But they never gave me the chance to say no …

During the illness phase of bipolar disorder, whānau often experienced disconnection and feelings of isolation, or wanting to isolate themselves from others. It was noticeable that some whānau required intensive support and ongoing supervision and care for basic needs such as providing shelter, taking care of children, keeping safe, eating, sleeping, washing and keeping mobile. For some, reconnecting with family and friends meant fixing the damage done during times of illness. Durie (1999) emphasised the importance of considering a Māori patient's entire sense of wairua (spirituality) and well-being, and enabling them to re-connect with whānau without assuming that medication and symptom-only focused treatments are the best approaches (Jones, Mulligan, Higginson, Dunn, & Morrison, 2013).

Conclusion

The overall finding from this research points to the urgency to provide additional support to strengthen whānau and their families throughout their lifespan. When external and internal factors to achieving wellness were optimal, whānau were more productive in their lives enabling them to reconnect with and enjoy their family and personal relationships.

Improving Māori mental health and reducing inequalities cannot be achieved by health

services alone while social and economic factors such as employment, housing and poverty continue to impact on mental health, wellbeing and recovery (Cram, 2011; Durie, 1999; Kingi, 2011). Also, inequity in access to health services across the life-span prevents the full realisation of wellbeing for Māori (Mental Health Commission, 2012), creating cycles of disparity. Tangible mental health for Māori requires access to te reo Māori (the Māori language), land and marae (traditional meeting grounds), and ready access to primary health care, education, housing and employment opportunities (Ministry of Health, 2005).

It is important that all policy directives emphasise the importance of whānau receiving timely, high quality, effective and culturally appropriate services (Mental Health Commission, 2004). This approach recognises the whānau as the principal source of connection, strength, support, security and identity, and that each person within that whānau is central to the wellbeing of Māori individually and collectively.

Glossary

marae	traditional meeting ground
tāne	men
te ao Māori	the Māori world
te reo Māori	the Māori language
wāhine	women
wairua	spirituality
whānau	family; participants in the study
Whānau Ora	family health and wellbeing

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