Te Tauihu o Ngā Wānanga

The co-ordination of this publication has been arranged through
Te Tauihu o Ngā Wānanga

P O Box 119
Otaki
Aotearoa New Zealand
Ph 06 - 3649040
Fax 06 - 3649069
www.win-hec.org

Title: Indigenous voices Indigenous places

Editor: Rachael Selby

Editorial Board
Gary Thomas, Director of Indigenous Studies, LaTrobe University, Australia
Charles Pratt, President, First Nations University, Canada
Peter Hanohano, Executive Chair, Native Hawaiian Education Council, Hawaii
Te Ahukaramu Charles Royal, Director, Mauriora ki te Ao, Aotearoa, NZ
Boni Robertson, Professor of Indigenous Policy, Griffith University, Australia
Manulani Meyer, Associate Professor Education, University of Hawaii

Publication Co-ordinator: Charlie McNaught

Cover Design: Te Tahi Takao

Printer: Massey University Printery

ISSN 1177-1364 (Print)

ISSN 1177-6641 (Online)

Copyright © 2008. Copyright to the papers in this journal resides at all times with the named author. The authors have assigned to WINHEC a non-exclusive licence to publish the document in this journal and to publish this document in full on the World Wide Web. Further use of this document shall be restricted to personal use and in courses of instruction provided that the article is used in full and this copyright statement is reproduced. Any other usage is prohibited without the express permission of the authors.

CONTENTS

Contributors……………………………………………………………………………1

Editorial Rachael Selby……………………………3

PLACES - AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND

The marae in New Zealand – the resource centre of the Māori world
Turoa Royal………………………………6

Our playground: the Waitohu Stream
Rachael Selby……………………………12

Guardian of the Waitohu Stream: an interview with George Gray
Pātaka Moore…………………………….17

SÁMI PLACES

Tracing of old settlements and place names in a Sea Sámi region
Marit B. Henriksen……………………….22

OJIBWE / ANISHINAABE AND DINÉ PLACES

Place and being: a process of Indigenous academic identity growth
Jennifer Dawn McAlpin………………….32

PLACES OF THE ULARAI PEOPLE (AUSTRALIA)

Understanding and living respectfully within Indigenous places
Bronwyn Fredericks……………………..43

Bringing it home: an Indigenous research model that supports Indigenous researchers’ aspirations
Cheri Yavu-Kama-Harathunian &
Denise Tomlin…………………………....50

Introducing Our Contributors

Turoa Royal chairs the Executive Board of the World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium. He is Chair of the Council of Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa and Director of Te Tauihu o Ngā Wānanga, which currently hosts the Head Office of WINHEC in New Zealand. He has had a lifetime in education as a classroom teacher, School Principal, College Chief Executive and in various advisory and governance roles. Turoa is from Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga, Tama Te Ra and Ngāti Wharara

Rachael Selby is a Senior Lecturer at Massey University in Palmerston North and a kaiāwhina at Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa, Ōtaki, New Zealand. She is a writer, editor and oral history researcher with a particular interest in recording the lives of indigenous people in New Zealand. Rachael is from Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga and Ngāti Huia.

Pātaka Moore is an environmental researcher and a tutor at Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa, Ōtaki, New Zealand. He has completed research on projects that focus on rivers and stream restoration, fisheries and lives of people who have lived and worked within the environment. Pātaka is from Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga and Ngāti Huia.

Jennifer McAlpin is from the Saulteaux Anishinaabe (Marten Clan) of Northern Minnesota and is an adopted Dine (Maaideezhgeezni Clan). She lives in Oklahoma, USA. Jennifer completed her PhD dissertation in 2008. It examined the importance of supporting indigenous academic identity development in higher education and is titled: Place and being: Higher education as a site for creating Biskabii-Geographies of indigenous academic identity.

Marit Henriksen is a Sea Sámi woman from the northern part of Norway. She grew up in Gámavuonna/Komagfjord in the municipality of Alta but has been living in Guovdageaidnu/ Kautokeino for several years now. Marit has a Masters degree in Sámi language and is currently working on a PhD thesis on the phonology of the Sea Sámi dialect. In connection to this work, she has an interest in place names. Marit is Vice Rector of the Sámi University College where she has been working since 1994.

Bronwyn Fredericks is from Monash University, Queensland University of Technology and the Queensland Aboriginal and Islander Health Council, Australia.

Cheri Yavu-Kama-Harathunian is a Senior Elder of a Kabi Kabi family/clan group and the Coordinator of the Nulloo Yumbah Learning Spirituality and Research Centre, Central Queensland University, Bundaberg 4670, Queensland, Australia. Her research interests include Criminal Justice, Peace Paradigms from an Indigenous Perspective, Aboriginal Spirituality and Aboriginal Law. Cheri holds a B.App.Sci Indigenous and Community Health and a Masters Criminal Justice. Her work on an Indigenous Research Model commenced in Western Australia in 1995 whilst working therapeutically in prison and community treatment programmes with men who commit violent and sexual crime.

Denise Tomlin is a member of the Kabi Kabi peoples. She is a Lecturer in Human Resources Management in the School of Management & Information Systems, Faculty of Business & Informatics, Bundaberg Campus, Central Queensland University, P O Box 3333, Bundaberg, Queensland, 4670, Australia. Denise holds a Masters in Business Administration and a B.Bus. in Human Resources Management and Public Administration. Her research interests include Business Management, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Culture and Gender issues.

Indigenous voices Indigenous places Indigenous people

Editorial

This is the fourth edition of the World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium journal. It builds in particular on the 2007 journal *Indigenous Voices Indigenous Visions* that was launched at the annual gathering at Chaminade University in Hawai'i in August 2007. This print edition will be launched at the 2008 gathering in Melbourne Australia and the web version will be posted at the same time. It is very gratifying to receive papers from indigenous academics, scholars and researchers from three continents and the South Pacific Ocean. The topics and the quality of the papers are appreciated. This year's journal theme is a response to the Hawai'i meeting at which several groups asked for the theme of place and indigenous peoples to be explored. This has begun in this journal and is by no means exhausted. It is very much a beginning.

Turoa Royal presents a discussion on the marae, a place that is central to the life of Māori in New Zealand. It is an important institution of Māori life and a place, which has remained a bastion of Māori society despite colonisation and the changes that have occurred over the past 200 years. This paper explores ways in which the marae is a community complex and the ways in which it is significant in bringing communities together. The marae continues to be a beacon for Māori people and a place in which the Māori language and culture are celebrated and protected.

Our playground, the Waitohu Stream is the third in a series of articles, the first two of which were published in the 2007 journal *Indigenous voices Indigenous visions.* Those papers in the voices section were based on interviews with Māori people who lived on the Waitohu Stream, which flows on the northern boundary of the town of Ōtaki. This paper, one in the series, is an interview with Borgia Hakaraia about her memories of life as a child and young woman on the banks of the Waitohu Stream. It confirms the importance of places such as streams, rivers, creeks, coastlines and beaches to indigenous peoples. These places provided the main sources of protein for the family table. They were rich in abundance of fish life only half a century ago. They provided large communities with their staple food. Today the rivers are polluted, struggling to maintain even small quantities of fish life and unsafe for swimming and the water is no longer safe for human consumption. For indigenous communities there is much regret that we have had so little regard for our waterways. It is hoped that these recollections will encourage us to lobby to save our rivers and streams from further pollution and degradation.

Pātaka Moore's paper is based on an interview with George Gray a retired engineer who spent forty years working on the rivers and waterways on the south western coast of New Zealand. In the early 1950s when few indigenous people were appointed to positions of responsibility, George Gray donned his collar and tie and became an influential manager of the rivers and streams in his local area. He knows the banks of those rivers as well as he knows his own back yard. He can provide a history of the changes in the life of the stream, a record of the changes made to manage the stream, the engineering that occurred over five decades. He knows about the volumes and quality of fish that his parents before him took from the rivers. He knows about the

local families that swam and fished and walked the banks of the rivers. A young indigenous researcher, Pātaka Moore has researched and collected interviews with local Maori elders for the past five years, here he records a section of an interview with George Gray.

Marit Henriksen is a Sea Sámi woman from the northern part of Norway. She grew up in Gámavuonna/Komagfjord and is now living in Guovdageaidnu/Kautokeino. Marit explains that the Sámi area covers parts of four different nation states, Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia. Her interest in place names is reflected in the article in this journal in which she examines old land surveying documents that tell a story about settlement in the area. They reflect not only settlements but also land use in the area in days gone by. Of further interest is documentation that tells a story of Sámi place names from this area. The maps, figures and photos demonstrate the story being related in this article. This paper represents the theme of the journal well.

Jennifer McAplin of Bacone College, Muskogee, Oklahoma in the United States of America has shared a part of the research from her PhD thesis completed in 2008. Jennifer identifies her tribal links to Ojibwe/Anishinaabe and Diné peoples. She traces a part of the journey she has taken in exploring place and being – themes that are central to this publication and to indigenous peoples the world over. Jennifer presents her journey to find key people who link to her forebears and in doing so finds herself. She has included a tree of life that she completed during a decolonising methodologies workshop in which participants developed a model for indigenous scholars in higher education. The beadwork tree is beautifully colourful and can be viewed in the online version of this journal on the WINHEC website. It forms the centerpiece for a model proposed for the growth and strengthening of identity amongst indigenous scholars in universities. Jennifer Mcaplin proposes that there is a need to find safe places within institutions in order to resist "dominant oppressive structures". These safe places will be recognised by indigenous scholars throughout the world who have had their foundations eroded at times while being students in what at times seem like strange places.

Bronwyn Fredericks from Monash University, Queensland University of Technology and the Queensland Aboriginal and Islander Health Council, Australia explores the meaning of country to aboriginal Australians. She explains that Country is more than a clan or tribal group. It encompasses all the "cultural norms, values, stories and resources" associated with a particular place. Bronwyn then presents an interview with an indigenous colleague, Pamela Croft, and explores with her the ways in which she incorporates a sense of place within her artwork. Because Pamela Croft's work is based on the land and place, she is able to explore how these are integrated within her work, her creativity and her wellbeing. This interview draws on a lifetime of experience in observing environmental changes through the eyes of an aboriginal woman who monitors the earth, the coastline, the ecology and life within these spaces. Her artwork integrates storytelling and is a medium for communication of many indigenous issues not least of all the issues of place. Her voice is heard in many ways within this interview shared by Bronwyn Fredericks.

Two women from Bundaberg in Australia submit the final article. Cheri Yavu-Kama-Harathunian and Denise Tomlin have collaborated on a paper that Professor Boni Robertson has described as a "unique and clear analysis of issues pertinent to Indigenous research methodologies and world views." Further she comments: "I consider the paper has relevance to both a national and international audience in terms of its cultural, linguistic and scholastic

appropriateness. The paper will address many of the issues that have been raised by Indigenous populations across the globe in terms of cultural preservation and protection, culturally appropriate research and epistemologies." It is a pleasure to include papers that address issues of considerable importance to indigenous researchers.

These seven papers address themes of indigenous people indigenous places. They build on the 2007 journal, which encouraged the use of indigenous voices in exploring visions of our peoples. This 2008 journal will encourage indigenous peoples to gather and record the voices of our parents and elders. I hope it will also encourage those gatherers to present them for publication in future journals. Each year we anticipate that we will be flooded with papers for the editorial board to consider. Many of you have papers being prepared and have not managed to complete them this year. Our Board encourages you to keep working on them and to find places to share them- either in future volumes of this journal or in others. The voices of our peoples need to be heard and we need to be able to read about ourselves in the literature. This journal has provided a forum for those who have papers ready to share and it reflects the growing interest in having another space for indigenous scholars to present their work.

My thanks to the Editorial Board. It is a pleasure to work with a dedicated group of colleagues. My thanks to Charlie McNaught for her support within the WINHEC office. She has maintained contact with all the contributors encouraging them to finish the work they had begun. Writing challenges us. Just when we think we have finished, we want to add another paragraph and another. Every time we read a draft we want to make changes. In reality a paper is never finished. It can always be changed and refined and improved. Thank you to the seven people who let their papers go to us and have allowed us to share your work with our readers, our students and colleagues.

Tēnā koutou katoa.

Rachael Selby
Massey University
Palmerston North
New Zealand

The marae in New Zealand – the resource centre of the Māori world

Turoa K. Royal
Te Tauihu o Ngā Wānanga, Wellington, Aotearoa – New Zealand
t.royal@twor.ac.nz

Introduction

The effects of land loss and cultural alienation on indigenous peoples during the 19th and 20th centuries are a legacy of assimilative practices by colonial powers. Many indigenous peoples have been devastated by loss of language and loss of culture resulting from colonisation. In the 21st century indigenous peoples struggle to maintain successful bicultural and bilingual identities and must instead find their identity within the colonial society in which they live. In Aotearoa New Zealand, the experience of Māori people during colonisation was not unique; rather indigenous communities throughout the world shared elements of the experience. Gatherings of indigenous peoples result in a sharing of those experiences and this paper is a further opportunity to share the importance of place to indigenous communities and to examine how Aotearoa New Zealand communities have retained the marae as a special place.

The Māori people of Aotearoa/New Zealand were colonised by the British. A treaty was signed in 1840 between the tribes and the British Crown. It had certain protective guarantees for Māori but for over 150 years New Zealand's parliament ignored the tenets of the Treaty. Further, like other colonial powers in other countries the British set out to 'civilise' the Māori people by ignoring their language and their culture. Indeed at the turn of the 20th century harsh penalties were imposed on Māori children who spoke Māori in school grounds.

Today the Māori language and Māori culture are enjoying a renaissance. Māori is one of the three official languages of New Zealand: English, Sign language and Māori.There are Māori language medium pre-school-, primary/elementary schools, high schools and tertiary institutions (wānanga) that focus on and teach Māori language and there are Māori radio networks and Television channels all delivering their messages in the Māori language.

The aim of this paper is to describe one Māori institution, the marae, which, despite the formal assimilative practices in education and in every day life since 1840, has remained 'staunch' in its unwillingness to perpetuate the new civilisation that 'conquered' the world.

The contention in this paper is that the marae (the traditional village community centre) has maintained and nurtured the Māori language and culture since the beginning of colonisation and furthermore continues to do so today. In addition its art forms are art forms of an emerging New Zealand culture. The koru pattern on the tail of Air New Zealand airplanes is an art form of the marae; the language of the marae is now part of the education system and has influenced the

majority culture in the sense that there is distinct New Zealand English language quite different from Australian, British and United States English. The Māori language influence has been significant. The Museum of New Zealand: Te Papa Tongarewa, opened a decade ago, in Wellington has a modern marae built inside the complex. It is a place for all New Zealanders to use on formal occasions.

This paper relates the way that the marae complex has operated and continues to do so in order to nurture and maintain the essence of the Māori world. The marae complex is a community centre built for and on behalf of a tribal or a sub-tribal group and the place on which it is built is always of significance.

In the 14th century a number of ocean-going canoes sailed south from the central Pacific to Aotearoa - the land of the long white cloud. The canoe people established their landholding units throughout Aotearoa/ New Zealand and under a tribal system they built a civilisation that for them satisfied their regenerative, biological and basic needs of food, shelter and clothing. These microstates built up over the years fought each other in defence of their territory. They built their thatched houses, their villages and they built their centres where community issues were discussed and resolved. These tribal areas are still the socio-economic and political areas of the life of tribalism and the marae is the centre of community life of each tribe. Despite urbanisation, which meant that, many families moved away from their tribal areas for economic and educational reasons the centre and focus of many is their marae and their tribe. New Zealand is a relatively small country and while people might live outside their tribal area they still maintain contact with their tribe by returning at times when special occasions arise. They either stay with relatives or on the marae. One's whakapapa (genealogy) ties one to a tribe or tribes. Intermarriage between members of different tribes provides the opportunity for people to claim membership to a number of tribes.

A Māori sense of identity is based on whakapapa / genealogy and on place. Māori tribalism is still an essential part of their social organisation and it is much bigger than the quarter-acre section on which we build our urban homes nowadays and nurture our families. It is this sense of place and genealogical ties to a place that I will comment on in this paper. My contention is that the marae as a community centre in all districts of all tribes in New Zealand has been the resource centre of Māori culture and the Māori world. It is a place where Māori language holds pride of place. It is where people go to renew kinship ties and it is a place where Māori can be Māori in a cultural sense.

However the reality of 1450 A.D. is certainly different from today. In those days it was the only world in which the Maori people lived. A little later in 1769 Captain Cook of Britain arrived and noted the country as suitable for British settlement and colonisation. The advance guard of modernity were the missionaries who with the bible in one hand pronounced that the infidels of New Zealand were governed by princes of darkness and their cultural practices were disgusting and abhorrent. The missionaries quickly set up schools to 'civilise the natives' to introduce them to a new world. Assimilation practices eventually lead to a situation where the new world became the only world.
On the other side of the world Europe had been transformed into a highly sophisticated urban industrial society. The scientific and geographic discoveries enabled them to colonise the world

by dominating the indigenous races setting up new political entities that enabled them to make laws and rule such countries as India, parts of Asia, North and South America, Australia, the Pacific and New Zealand.

The Treaty of Waitangi in New Zealand was signed in 1840 by Māori tribal chiefs and local British representatives on behalf of the British Crown and soon after a national parliament was set up to pass laws that were not exactly advantageous to Māori. Indeed for over 100 years the British parliament on behalf of the British Crown set about systematically assimilating Māori into the ways of the British through a schooling system that did not recognise the culture of the Māori child nor did schools tolerate the Māori language – indeed for many years especially at the turn of the 20th century, children were punished for speaking Māori on school grounds. There was a mismatch between the content of the curriculum and the societal context in which the Māori child was nurtured. Just as importantly, the British Parliament over many years proceeded to replace Māori leadership with the British redcoats and later by the local constabulary. Parliament made it easy for settlers through legislative means to obtain land that advantaged settlers.

Many indigenous races in many countries suffered under the same treatment. What is significant in New Zealand is the fact that the Māori people have not lost the sense of their Māori-ness and their sense of place. There have always been Māori voices on the margins that encouraged Māori to hold on to their language and culture as an important and essential element of Māori identity. One outstanding Māori leader was Sir Apirana Ngata. In 1948 he wrote the following statement in an autograph book of a young girl. He wrote:

Ē tipu ē rea mō ngā rā o tō ao
Kō ō ringa ki te rākau a te Pākehā
Hei oranga mō tō tinana,
Kō tō ngākau ki ngā taonga o ngā tūpuna
Hei tikitiki mō tō māhuna,
Tō wairua ki te Atua nāna nei ngā mea katoa

Grow up o tender person in the days of your world
Your hands to the world of the Pākehā
For your own physical wellbeing,
Your heart to the treasures of your ancestors.
As a plume for your head,
Your spirit unto God the author of all things.

(Sir Apirana Ngata)

Over the decades this saying has been repeated many times as a basic tenet of Māori identity and as a set of ideals on which many young people are encouraged to fashion their lives. Many Māori have been inspired by such a view and have used it to shape their own identity as a Māori.

To a large degree Māori have maintained a social reality that is identifiably Māori. Even though it would be true to say that the ravages of assimilation for over 100 years culminated in a loss of much Māori traditional knowledge there is a strong and growing sense of a Māori cultural identity. Māori language is taught at all levels of the education system and a relatively new system of Maori medium schools have grown up within the larger education system: preschools (kōhanga reo) elementary schools (kura kaupapa) high schools (whare kura) and tertiary education (wānanga) In the 1960s it was predicted that the Māori language would die, but today more people are using the language as a means of communication in every day situations. There are an increasing number of people who are bilingual. This will continue to be the case as more

children emerge from the Māori medium schools. It can be said that the Māori language is a vibrant and living language of today and for tomorrow.

Further, the marae – the ornately carved community centres - still enjoy pride of place in tribal life. Despite 100 years of assimilation Māori culture has survived because of the aspirations of the people and the valuable place the marae holds in perpetuating Māori culture. It has been said that:

> Marae are places of refuge for our people. Marae are the central facilities of a tribe and sub-tribe to enable us to continue with our own way of life within the total social structure of our times. They provide the physical facilities to enable us to continue with our way of life on our own terms and within our own value system. We need our marae for many reasons:
> So that we may rise tall in oratory;
> So that we may weep for our departed;
> So that we may pray to God;
> So that we house our guests and hold our feasts;
> So that we can hold our meetings;
> So that we may hold our weddings;
> So that we may hold our reunions;
> So that we may sing; so that we may dance;
> And know the richness of life
> And the proud heritage which is truly ours

The marae is an institution that comes from classical Māori society and it has survived the impact of western civilisation. Indeed it is estimated that there are 1000 marae in the country. Each marae has a meeting house normally ornately carved, a dining hall and kitchen, a toilet facility and washhouse. Alongside of the marae there may be a church but the presence of a church is not essential to the make up of a marae. The church on a number of marae is an expression of spirituality and an expression of the local people's religious and denominational preference. But what is significant though not always present on every marae is the importance of an urupā – a graveyard for the local marae people. The marae area can be as small as an acre but some can be as large as 30 acres.

Directly in front of the meeting house lays an empty space of lawn. This space has a special function. The local people and the visitors call it the marae ātea or the ceremonial courtyard where formal welcomes and formal speeches are made. The local people are referred to as tangata whenua (people of the land) and the visitor are referred to as manuhiri.
Distinct phases can be recognised on a marae when visitors are given a formal welcoming speech. Once the visitors are assembled at the entrance of the marae a number of activity phases begin. This may vary from marae to marae but in general one can describe the welcome as follows.

Firstly, it is customary for the women of the local marae to call visitors on to the marae. Secondly, the visitors and the local people stand for a minute or two in memory of those that have died especially those who have died recently.

Thirdly, all the locals and the visitors take their allotted seats and the speeches of welcome by men and responses by the visitors are then heard. It is expected that their speeches will end with a waiata (sung poetry).

Fourthly, the visitors will press noses (hongi) and shake hands with all the local people. In this way the marae has always been the repository of Māori knowledge, Māori ceremonial practices and Māori spirituality. The marae can rightfully claim to be the resource centre of the Māori world. It has been and still is the repository of tribal history and the place where visitors are welcomed and where photographic memories of those who have once graced the marae in the past are hung on the walls.

Short church services in the Māori language consisting of prayers and a hymn may be offered some time in the morning and in the evening and at the start of a formal meeting.
It is normal even in today's world that only the Māori language is used in the welcome speeches on the marae ātea. In this way Māori is seen as the official and primary language of the marae. That special position given to the language has been one way that has assisted its longevity and its permanence in New Zealand. However important visitors are given leave to speak in their own native tongue.

If the visitors stay overnight the beds are laid out in the meetinghouse. Visitors would know that if they intended to stay overnight they would bring their own bedding. The meeting house is turned into a communal sleeping space and a short church service is normal in the evening and the morning. The local people prepare the food and the meals are served in the dining hall.

While the English language is used throughout the marae the Māori language is seen as the more formal language to be used on occasions such as church services, the formal welcome to all visitors and the farewell speeches to those that lie in state on the marae. There is a tendency for all visitors to any marae to ensure that they have a kaikaranga (women callers) and kaikōrero (men who are formal speakers) to accompany them so that the formalities can be conducted in accordance with custom and tradition.

Māori elders, both men and women, are highly respected. They 'front' the marae on all formal occasions because of their knowledge and understanding of the history and traditions of the marae. They have been responsible for carrying the traditions of language and culture of the past into the modern world and thus on to the marae. They are well looked after by their families. They are transported by their tribe to other marae to formal functions and they speak on behalf of their tribe. They are the main living connections to the tribal past. They are expected to pass on their knowledge to the younger generations and they take great pride in noting the efforts of the young people in their attempts to speak in Māori on the grounds of the marae.

The marae as a community centre is likely to grow in number and in its importance as a cultural showcase in New Zealand. Many of the attributes of the marae – its art work, its language, its rituals its values, its functions are already part of the wider reality of New Zealand. It is quite noticeable that Māori meetings in places other than the marae observe a marae format with a greeting in Māori followed by a short prayer at the beginning of the meeting and at the end. It is normal practice in some government public service departments to offer a short welcome in Māori in their offices followed by a short prayer. That procedure is a direct copy of the marae

practice and it is adopted especially when the visitors are Māori and when the agenda items revolve around Māori concerns or issues.

The marae has an important place in New Zealand's history for it has been responsible for housing and nurturing Māori language and culture over the years ever since the arrival of the British people in New Zealand. All people who have a desire to include elements of Māori culture as part of their New Zealand cultural identity should be thankful for the function of the marae in perpetuating "ngā taonga o te ao Māori*"* (Ngata) the treasures of the Māori world. Long may the marae continue to thrive.

References

Salmond, Anne (1972) *Hui - A Study of Māori Ceremonial Gatherings*. Auckland: Reed Publishers.

Walker, Ranginui (1990) *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou – Struggle Without End*. Auckland: Penguin Books.

Ka'ai, T.M, (2004) *Ki Te Whaiao – An Introduction to Māori Culture and Society.* Auckland: Pearson Longman.

Glossary

Aotearoa	literally 'land of the long white cloud' a Māori name used to describe New Zealand
Hongi	pressing of noses in greeting to share the breath of life
Kaikaranga	women who formally call visitors to the marae
Kaikōrero	men who speak on behalf of groups
Karanga	a call by a woman to visitors to advance to the marae
Marae	the traditional village community centre
Marae ātea	ceremonial courtyard in front of meeting house
Urupā	graveyard
Waiata	song
Whakapapa	genealogy

Our playground: the Waitohu Stream

Rachael Selby
Ngāti Raukawa, Ōtaki, New Zealand
Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand
r.a.selby@massey.ac.nz

Borgia Kurupae Hakaraia was born in Ōtaki, New Zealand in November 1932. Ōtaki is a small coastal community on the west coast of the North Island of New Zealand, an hours drive north of Wellington. She attended the local Convent School from five years old and went 15 miles north to Levin to attend the High School when she finished primary school. After secondary school she moved to New Zealand's capital city, where she trained as a nurse at the Wellington Public Hospital. In 1960 she travelled to the United Kingdom where she was employed as a nurse in Kingston-on-Thames. Borgia was a Major in the New Zealand Army Medical Corp Territorial Force, she was a Charge Sister at Wellington Hospital and after returning home to Ōtaki, she worked in the local doctor's surgery for many years providing medical support and assistance to many from the community including her own extended family. Borgia is strongly connected to this town, a place where she has lived for most of her life. She lives on family land near to extended family, many of which live within a mile or two. Her son Te Whena, lives within three miles of Borgia's home, with his wife and two sons. They are equally connected to the place, Ōtaki, much in the same way that Borgia has been all her life.

The Convent School that Borgia attended was attended by her son and may be attended by her grandsons. The Church, which has played an important role in her life, is the church in which her son and grandsons were baptised and is located next to the Convent School, which many of the family have attended. To the north of the Church and School the Waitohu Stream meanders from hills to the sea, another place which has played a significant role in their lives and that of their extended family. To the south of the township is the Ōtaki River, which runs from the hills in the east down through a gorge to the coastal dune area. The river also played an important role in the lives of local families in the 20th century. The locals, including Borgia, describe both the stream and the river as a playground. The stream and river were places where many long summer days were spent swimming, fishing and exploring the environs. It was a place where families sat in the evening enjoying conversation and catching up on the days events, while others fished. Its banks were well worn, as that was the pathway from the town to the sea and back towards the town again.

The stream and river were 'owned' by families. It was their place. Kids were territorial about sections of the river and stream. Particular families 'owned' the mouth of the river, the north side, the south side, the bend, the higher reaches, the mid-section, the lagoon, and the shallows. They

had names for particular bends, hills, hillocks and dunes. The families noted when after a flood the stream or the river changed. After the winter rains changed the river, the summer was a time to find a new swimming spot, a new deep place to dive into, and a new place to catch eels or to position a whitebait net. New places were part of every day lives.

Borgia was interviewed in October 2004, by local oral history researcher, Pataka Moore. This was one interview in a collection of oral history interviews, recorded for a research project, which investigated the ways in which local Māori people in Ōtaki traditionally used the Waitohu Stream and how they viewed it as part of their own locale. Borgia describes how she regards the stream.

The Stream was a playground for us from a very early age. When my sisters went fishing or eeling they took us younger ones with them. We would take a picnic lunch and spend the whole day on the river. We were comfortable there – going to places that feel like our own. The river was ours; it belonged to us as a people. Despite there being farms on either side it was a playground for us. There wasn't an inch we weren't familiar with. Each summer we would find a new swimming spot. The old spot might be shallow after winter rains and floods so we would move along to find a deeper place.

When we were young we went through the back of the Sanatorium [a local hospital] and swam while others fished along the stream, for koura, (crayfish) eels, trout. As we got older, we could wander everywhere along the stream. I spent more time on the Waitohu than the Ōtaki River. Even though we lived closer to the Ōtaki River, it was the Waitohu Stream where our friends and family were, so we went there to meet up with them.

The food was plentiful in the Stream but it's virtually all gone now. There was heaps of whitebait and trout. I couldn't stand touching the eels, but others put their fingers in the holes on the bank and felt for the eels. Their fingers would end up in the eels mouth. Then they were able to haul them out on to the bank. The boys would put their hands underneath the trout and the next thing they would bring them out. They were plentiful, not very big but we took them home and ate them. We weren't into fishing with lines – couldn't afford them.

'Tickling' was a method used to catch trout in the streams. Local men have described their escapades as boys when they spotted trout resting in the water they gently moved the palm of their hands under the trout inserting fingers into the gills and lifting them out.

Borgia described an eel migration known locally as the 'tuna heke' when the eels migrated back to the sea and returned to the Pacific Ocean to spawn. They travelled the thousands of miles from local streams in New Zealand through the ocean to seas around Tonga in the South Pacific Ocean. They began the journey late in the summer or early spring in local inland lakes and streams, migrated out to the ocean in their hundreds or thousands, a site which was witnessed annually by local Māori. Some have said you could hear them coming down a stream thrashing against each other in the water. Today few people can recount having seen the migration due to a reduction in numbers and quality of eels. However eels (known as tuna by local Māori) were a staple part of the Maori diet. Many families ate tuna and vegetables five nights a week so all young boys and many girls were taught to catch them, clean them and prepare them for eating. Māori families prepared the eels in many different ways. Some are: boiling with vegetables,

baking, wrapped in leaves and grilled or baked, jellied, dried, barbecued. Borgia describes an occasion when she saw the mass of eels squirming their way towards the ocean over land.

I have witnessed an eel run at Lake Waiorongomai when the eels wriggled across the sand because the stream had dried up. There were hundreds of eels wriggling across to the sea and you could just pick up the ones you wanted. It was a fabulous sight.

The Catchment Board men used to come once a year and clean the river with big diggers. I recall seeing this humungous eel once - an awful ugly thing. The current of the stream would gouge out the side of the bank and the eels live in under there so when the diggers cleaned out the stream, the eels would be pulled out and lie on the bank amongst the mud. One I saw was so big that when my cousin tried to lift it with a garden fork he couldn't because it was too big and heavy. It put us off swimming for a while because of the size of the thing. I wondered where it had come from and how long it had been there. There were also many ordinary sized eels.

Whitebait is a small delicacy caught in whitebait nets on the banks of freshwater streams during the spring months when they migrate from the ocean back to the streams. Māori families have traditionally caught whitebait in large quantities at the mouths of rivers and further inland on the banks of the rivers. Whitebaiting can be a time consuming activity but one enjoyed by people who park themselves beside their favourite places on the bank of the stream for weeks at a time waiting for the tiny fish to swim in shoals towards their nets. Families were known to relocate to the banks of a stream sometimes camping for months at a time, particularly in the spring to fish for this delicacy. They were territorial about their fishing places and descendants return to the places their grandparents claimed in the past. Today it is a waiting game as quantities are smaller than in years gone by. However they are a precious food and gratefully received if fishermen bring the gift of a small jar of whitebait to those who don't have the time or inclination to sit on the banks of a stream with a net in the water waiting and hoping for a catch. Some elders are not able to fish in the cold early mornings or in wet weather so a gift of this fish is always appreciated.

For people who are retired or able to spend days at the river in the spring, it is a time to renew friendships and spend time with locals who return to the same places each year with their nets. Families have their favourite places and these are respected by others who recognise the 'ownership' these families have because of their long associations with the river. Waiting on the bank of a river in the early morning cold is a real test of commitment and tenacity. Yet these people also enjoy watching the sun rise over the hills and daily experience the warmth spreading amongst them – warmth of companionship and the warmth of the early morning sun. As Borgia notes, whitebait was something to give away in her childhood and youth. Today people sell it for cash. It can fetch up to $150 a kilogram.

When I was nursing in Wellington many years ago, one of my sisters was given a caravan which she parked at the end of the street at Ōtaki Beach near the stream and took a week off work to fish for whitebait. When we arrived she had her net in the stream, but she handed us a 4-gallon bucket full of whitebait. We went up to her caravan and began to cook it. I like mine with milk. I put milk in the bottom of the frying pan, and then pour the whitebait in and after a couple of stirs it's ready. To make a fritter you have one egg and bit of flour and pour the whitebait in and the whitebait fritter is as big as the frying pan.

We didn't have freezers in those days; in fact we didn't have a fridge. The surplus used to be given away. It wasn't sold. A lot of people didn't eat them. I think it was only Māori people that ate whitebait and they used to give them to the extended family because a lot of people did not have the time or the energy or the desire to go whitebaiting but a lot of people liked to eat them. Surplus wasn't wasted; it was given to family and friends. It's so different now – imagine being given a bucket of whitebait. You don't get the volume now. The river's changed in a lot of ways. It's been polluted of course. People fished in my day because it was plentiful.

In days gone by Borgia's family used the stream as not only a source for food but also for their households. When the water tanks ran low the stream water was used.

My sister lived near the Stream and used the water for the house. When the tank was low, they would pump water from the Stream. They used if for washing and drinking – we wouldn't do that now though. They used it to ferment corn. The corn had to be placed in a bag in the current so the water was going through the rotten/fermented corn. That too was a delicacy.

Streams, rivers, the foreshore and the seabed are today thought of as a community or national resource (particularly by non-indigenous people) and to be managed under the authority and control of local or national government. In 2004, New Zealand's government introduced the Foreshore and Seabed Bill, which removed the foreshore and seabed from Māori ownership. The introduction of the Bill resulted in one of the largest protest marches ever seen in New Zealand, the resignation of a Māori Member of Parliament from the governing Labour Party and the establishment and flowering of the Māori Party. Māori in particular, were incensed that their customary ownership had been removed without consultation and negotiation with Māori. There were scaremongering suggestions that the indigenous Māori might stop non-indigenous people from accessing beaches if this legislation did not pass through parliament. Māori have shared all the resources of New Zealand with all migrants for over 200 years.

Māori people believe that we belong to the land and the environment rather than regarding it as an asset that we own and on which we put a monetary value. Relatively recently our ancestors relied on the ocean, rivers, streams and the land for our very existence. They provided food and sustenance before we came to rely on the supermarket. Local streams were special places to be respected. Many local people describe having a special connection to a local stream having grown up on its banks. There is a sense of ownership of a stream, a sense responsibility for it and a desire to have input into its management although this is often overlooked by local and regional government. Borgia described her sense of ownership of the stream.

The stream is ours. We are all responsible for it and for saving the environment. The kids are taught about how to care for the environment from kōhanga reo (pre-school) and from primary school. I think it should start with the young people so that when they are older they know what to do to manage the stream. No one realised when we were young that we would get to the situation where we can't use it because the water is so polluted. It's our responsibility to support restoration of the rivers and streams because we leave them behind for our kids and for the future of the country. When we were young it was a great place for us to live by.

Borgia continues to live in the town where she was born, where she has worked for much of her life and where many of her extended family resides. She has been a keen sportswoman playing

tennis and hockey and supporting many others who pursued their dreams on the sports fields as well. Ōtaki is her local town. The Church and the school have been central to her life as she has served on many of the committees that manage the education and the spiritual needs of the extended family.

In 1995, Borgia's contribution to the community was recognised when she was awarded a New Zealand Order of Merit. The Governor General in recognition of outstanding service gives these awards twice a year.

Borgia Hakaraia's voice represents an indigenous woman's voice and her life's experiences are representative of indigenous New Zealanders who have a strong commitment to a home place. It is often said in Ōtaki, that until you have been here for 50 years you are not a 'local'. Many people today are very mobile and move to new communities for work or for other reasons and often lose the connection to the place their parents and grandparents called home. Ōtaki is a community where there are families who have been here for nearly 200 years and they have a strong connection to the people, the community and to the place.

Acknowledgements

Tēnā koe Borgia. Thank you for agreeing to the transcription of your interview being used for this paper. Pātaka Moore interviewed Borgia for the Waitohu Stream Oral History Project in October 2004. While the interviews were for a particular project there is much rich data included within them.

Guardian of the Waitohu Stream: an interview with George Gray

Pātaka Moore
Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa, Ōtaki, New Zealand
pataka.moore@twor-otaki.ac.nz

The Waitapu stream governs the northern boundary of the region of Ngāti Raukawa while the Kukutauaki Stream bounds the southern most point. In the east are the Tararua ranges with the sea of Raukawa defining the western margin. This region is commonly described by Ngāti Raukawa using this proverb:

Mai i Waitapu ki Rangataua,
Mai i Mīria te Kākara ki Kukutauaki.

The axiom above refers to an area conquered by Ngāti Raukawa following their migration to the south western coastal area of the North Island of New Zealand in 1819 (Royal, 1994:17). It describes landforms, streams and sites of significance for our people. Within this area there is a vast network of water bodies and landscapes that are familiar to our people who have grown up amongst them and who have heard the stories that have been passed down through many generations.

George Gray is a New Zealand Māori from the tribes of Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Porou, Rongomaiwahine and Ngāti Pukenga. He has lived in the small town of Ōtaki, New Zealand, all of his life. He has spent most of his time either in the water or on the banks of the many lakes, streams and rivers within the Horowhenua region. He attended St. Peter Chanel School in Ōtaki as a young child and spent his weekends and holidays scouring the banks of streams.

As a young child his family lived in a small thatched house that sat on the banks of the stream. His earliest memories are of being scooped up by his father from the torrent which swept through their small house as the stream flooded over its banks. He has vivid memories of his family's dependence on the stream as a provider of food, water and spiritual sustenance.

He recalls the families that grew up on the banks of the Waitohu Stream, a close-knit cluster of family. Unlike in today's society, they were in contact with streams, rivers and lakes on a daily basis. They knew their water sources very well. They also knew what it meant to be a kaitiaki, or a guardian of the waterways.

He was employed for 40 years in the Catchment Board River Works department as an Engineering Overseer of rivers, lakes and streams. He spent many years caring for the streams of the Horowhenua region that is located on the south western coast of the North Island of New Zealand.
His jurisdiction spanned a coastline of close to 100 kilometres. On his retirement he was gifted a photo that commemorates his role as Kaitiaki or guardian. It shows him kneeling beside the Ōtaki River. The caption recognises his role as a guardian of the river and throughout the region he is widely respected and acknowledged in this role. Retirement did not end his connection with or affection for the rivers of the region. He remembers his role fondly as he came to know intimately the geography and ecology of almost every waterway.

My earliest memories go back to 1937, which would make me six years old. Now at that time there were three in the family: there was my brother Dennis, my sister Josephine and myself. I can remember Mum carrying my sister, Dad had Dennis and he was towing me behind because he couldn't carry me as well. I can remember the water swirling around me and this occurred just above the Waitohu Bridge at the Ōtaki Golf Course. Prior to that, we were in a hut that was situated on the Ahern's property just below the Waitohu Bridge and when we woke up the water was running right through the bach [house]. So that's my earliest recollection: being pulled through the water and taken to my grandfather's place which was about a thousand metres up the stream on the right bank. I know that the Waitohu used to burst out of its banks quite frequently and would go down the Coach Road into the Mangapouri stream and flood back right up to the school. It would get so deep in there that my Dad had an 18-foot clinker built boat. He used to go fishing throughout the season. We actually use to row this boat up the Mangapouri to the school. That's how much water there was in the stream. I can remember the water spilling over the banks and the eels coming out. We used these hoop-irons to get them. As they came out they'd travel across the paddocks in about six inches of water and we'd get them that way; but it was certainly a vicious sort of a stream.

I suppose if you advance a bit further, say around 1950, that's when things started to change and that's when the big reconstruction was just about complete on the Ōtaki River. Of course to enhance the work on the Ōtaki River they had to operate on the Waitohu stream, which meant diverting the Mangapouri stream into the Waitohu stream. This meant putting in several cuts below Old Coach Road to speed the water out to the ocean. They did this by cutting the river mouth and ever since that time there has been ongoing maintenance. It has helped because although it still floods, it only goes to the bank that was constructed to save the water pouring across Tasman Road and flowing out through the Rangiuru floodgates.

George Gray's memories go back over 70 years. He has witnessed significant changes in the management of the rivers, the behaviour of the rivers in times of flood, the volume of water in the rivers and streams and the diminishing abundance of fish life, particularly of eels, which populated the rivers. The sight of thousands of eels spilling out of the river during periods of flooding was relatively common in his childhood but today the eels are no longer there due to the significant changes in the management of the river. The dredging and realignment of rivers and streams by local government bodies responsible for this have removed and scoured out the eel habitat that once supported and nurtured the ecology of streams. The emphasis today is on managing the effects of flooding on communities. The life supporting capacity of water bodies has been diminished.

Eel otherwise known as tuna to Māori

Fifty years ago indigenous communities relied on rivers and streams to feed their families. It is therefore those indigenous communities that have suffered from the effects of modern management practices to a larger extent than urban populations that purchase their meat and groceries from the supermarket. The indigenous people who lived off the land and stream have inevitably changed from a diet of fish to become meat eaters. There is increasing evidence that the negative health impacts are evident in the increase of diseases such as diabetes amongst Maori people (Nixon 2007). For the local indigenous people, streams and rivers were the primary source of protein in our diets. In the past the streams were rich sources of eels living in the banks.

That area was very rich in food and kaimoana [seafood]. If you didn't get food from the outlet of the Mangapouri, they were upstream in that area. You'd find there were a lot of migrating eels coming back and that's where they lived right upstream towards the Convent School. When I was a little kid I used to go with my grand aunt and she used to sit on a little box just in front of Tainui Marae [ancestral home] with her bob [a line with worms as bait] and she would say: "Boy, I'll bob and you hit them", so she would stick this bob in the water and she would put her hand in and pull out an eel and just hit it on the head and that was it. Those eels were the genuine product. They were what we call the puhi in those days. They were silver and golden belly. So in that area there was an abundance of eels.

This description reminds older local people of that abundance and the quality of the eels. The description of 'bobbing' is one that many older people remember with fondness. It involved gathering and then stripping leaves from a fibrous plant known locally as flax and making it into a type of snare. Earthworms were intertwined within the fibre and it was these that attracted the eels. Children enjoyed going out at night during the waning period of the moon, for a night of eeling using this method. George's description of his grand aunt asking him to hit the eels is a reminder that when they were pulled from the water it was necessary to stun them so that they could be handled and thrust into a sack or bag to be taken home and prepared for eating. People who went eeling in this way with a companion learned how to cooperate with one another in order to have a successful night of eeling, which was then celebrated by those who enjoyed the meal the next day. There was also a reminder in this story of the abundance of puhi. These were eels that were in prime condition and ready to migrate. The flesh was sweet and tender and the oil content was such that they could be cooked to perfection.

Fresh eel drying

George remembers the impact that draglines and other similar heavy construction machinery had on the rivers within the Ōtaki area. The changes brought about by these were dramatic. Not only were the changes significant in terms of the way the river was now being controlled, but it also changed the ecology within the river's greater environment. That included the main streams and wetlands that drained into the Ōtaki River, the areas of lowland between the Ōtaki River and the Waitohu stream and the many smaller waterways that drained out into the Ōtaki River and into the ocean. He admits that alterations made to the rivers and streams definitely changed the velocity of water and the behaviour of the stream or river. He also believes that the work that was done in the 1940s was done very well.

In approximately 1946 with the help of the big dragline they dug the Ōtaki river straight out to sea. They put stop banks on both sides and the stop banks went down around to Kapiti Lane on the northern side of the Ōtaki River. Of course they had to cut the Waitohu stream off there because they would have had all of the water ponding behind that stop bank. So that's how the reconstruction went on and I believe it has worked quite well.

Of course if you do any alteration to a stream it does alter it. So if you straighten up and take a bend out it will naturally speed up. There are all different ways you could stop the speeding. You can leave an obstruction in the cut to slow it down.

Before the reconstruction went in the water level was much higher. There was a lot more weed in the drains that fed the river. We used to get a number eight wire to catch the big eels. We put a hoop in the top of the wire and once you got a big eel you just let the eel wrap itself around the wire and just pull it out. There was no trouble getting eels. Where the Mangapouri stream discharges into the Waitohu stream, I would bet there would be some colossal eels and trout in that area, because at one time we had to use gelignite to blow these trees out. At the time there were no regulations, you just blew the tree out, as you didn't have a machine to shift it because hydraulic diggers were just a dream then.

George Gray began his work on the waterways of the Horowhenua as a young man in 1952 and was initially there for six years. He was one of very few Māori in a job with those responsibilities. He made decisions about the waterways and the farmlands in the greater Ōtaki area. In 1965 he became a pilot.

In 1965 I was lucky enough to get a pilot's licence, and we'd fly over the rivers. When you spend that much time on the river it's a photograph that's in your mind. I could fly along, use the radio and give a report straight away and that's how we would do it. The work was actioned on that report. Prior to that you'd be up and down the river looking at it. Within half an hour of us getting in an aeroplane and going up and photographing it we would have a much better idea of what was needed.

George Gray was very pleased to share his significant knowledge of rivers in the area. Since his retirement he is frequently asked to speak to groups such as historical societies, service groups, environmental education and restoration groups and individuals who have moved to this area. He is a very interesting speaker with a very quiet and unassuming presence. Locally he is respected for the knowledge he has and the long association he has had with the local area. During his lifetime he has witnessed changes that are considerable. As a young man the water in the rivers was of pristine quality while today many of the streams have degraded water quality and the abundance of fish life has been seriously diminished.

He is always pleased to talk to people and said:

It's been my pleasure to talk to you because I think it is like a lot of things, a lot of people take it to their grave and it's unfortunate. I am pleased that you have come around to interview me because I look at it as my contribution to the future.

References

Nixon (Benton) M.A.Z. (2007) *Credibility and validation through synthesis of customary and contemporary knowledge*. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand.

Royal, T.C. (1994) *Kāti au i Konei.* Wellington: Huia Publishers.

Acknowledgements

Thanks to George Gray for sharing his knowledge and memories of a lifetime spent working on the rivers in the local area. He is a very willing interviewee and I hope that other indigenous peoples throughout the world can appreciate his story.

This interview was part of a series of interviews about the changes that have occurred in the rivers and streams in this area. The tape-recorded interviews are deposited in the Oral History Centre, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand and in Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa library, Ōtaki, New Zealand. The interviews were audiotape recorded on 60-minute tapes and are available for researchers to review in the future. Caleb Royal was present at the interviews and assisted with the recording of the interviews. Ngāhuia Hemara-Wahanui transcribed the interviews. The team contribution to collecting these memories is acknowledged.

Tracing of old settlements and place names in a Sea Sámi region[1]

Marit B. Henriksen
Sámi University College, Norway
marit-breie.henriksen@samiskhs.no

Introduction

The basis for this article is my work with an old land surveying document from Finnmark, in the north of Norway. The document is named *Finnmarken Sorenskriveri Landmaalerprotokol*, which in English would be *The Landsurveying protocol of the County of Finnmark*. The main objective for this presentation is to introduce some preliminary results of my work with the protocol and I will present parts of the process, as well as maps, figures and photos showing how the process turns out.

About the region

Finnmark is the northernmost county of Norway. Finnmark was the last area that became part of the Norwegian territory. The border between the Norwegian and Swedish area was drawn in 1751 and the border between the Norwegian and Russian area was drawn in 1826. Before the closing of the borders, several nation states were interested in this area, that is for taxation purposes. Because of this, the (mainly Sámi) population of the area had to pay taxes to at least three different nation states in periods (Denmark/Norway, Sweden and Russia). Norway was a dependency (satellite state) of Denmark from 1537 to 1814. From 1814, Norway was in union with Sweden, until Norway was declared an independent nation state in 1905.

About the Sámi people and the Sámi languages

The Sámi area covers parts of four different nation states, Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia. There are ten different Sámi languages: South Sámi, Ume Sámi, Pite Sámi, Lule Sámi, North Sámi, Inari Sámi, Skolt Sámi, Akkala Sámi, Kildin Sámi and Ter Sámi. The North Sámi language is the largest of these in number of speakers. The North Sámi language is spoken in the northern parts of Norway (in the counties of Finnmark and Troms) and in parts of northern Finland and Sweden. The Sea Sámi is a dialect of the North Sámi language and the Sea Sámi speakers traditionally lived in the coastal areas from Vesterålen, northwards and eastwards to the Fisher Peninsula. Today, the number of Sea Sámi speakers is low, and in many areas the language is endangered or even extinct. This is a result of the assimilation and norwegianization politics that

[1] This short article is a revised version of a presentation given at the "*Place names and identities in multicultural contexts*"-symposium in Karasjok, Norway 17.-20.08.2006.

were led by different governments towards the Sámi people, in connection with missionary activities and for nation building purposes.

The following map (MAP 1) shows most of the Sámi area, with the Sea Sámi area shaded and marked with the letters NM.

MAP 1: NORTHERN NORWAY WITH THE SEA SÁMI DIALECT AREA (NM).

(Map adapted from Korhonen 1981)

Traditionally, the Sea Sámi area went as far south as to Vesterålen, which can be seen as a group of islands at the left part of the map.

Finnmarken Sorenskriveri Landmaalerprotokol (FSL)

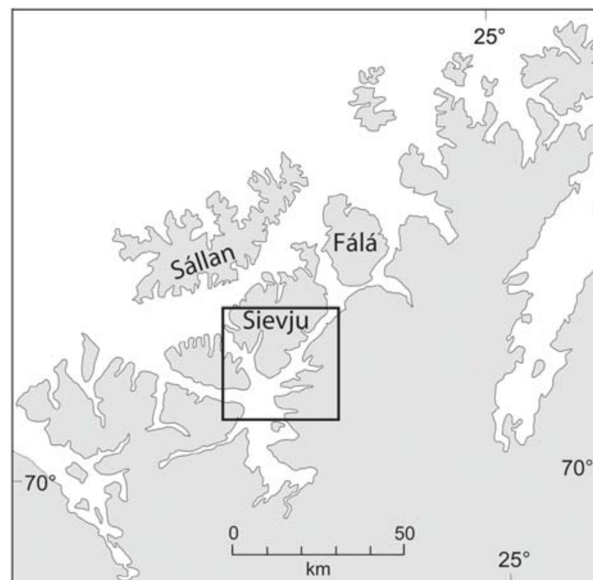
The document Finnmarken Sorenskriveri Landmaalerprotokol (FSL) is the first documentation of land measurement, purchasing and settlements in the county of Finnmark. This kind of land surveying was initiated much later in Finnmark than in other parts of Norway. The introduction page of the protocol is dated August 1778, but the text indicates that the different parts of the protocol are registered in the period from 1776 to 1845. At the time of the first registrations (1776) Norway was still a part of Denmark and the official language was Danish. Accordingly, the registrations of the FSL-document are done in Danish, or in a mix of the Norwegian and Danish languages.

The protocol is an interesting document in many aspects, mainly as a historical account of the settlements and the use of land in the area. The protocol is also a treasure when it comes to place names in general and especially as it is (one of) the oldest documents containing documentation of Sámi place names from this area.

The FSL-document contains data mostly from of the coastal areas of Finnmark, from Loppa[2] parish in the west, to Tana[3] parish in the east (both these names can be seen in MAP 1, above). There are large numbers of place names, especially settlement names and names of remote meadows belonging to each settlement. The registrations in the protocol are written in Norwegian and Danish and the place names are generally given in Norwegian. This concerns macrotoponyms in particular (villages, fjords, landmarks for sailing etc.), but also microtoponyms ("smaller" names, names of settlements).

In certain areas, though, most of the places or settlements are registered with Sámi names. This gives an indication about which areas along the coast may have had a mainly Sea Sámi population and which areas were dominated by a Norwegian-speaking majority in the late 18th century. The Alta fjord area is very interesting in this respect. The map below (MAP 2) shows an overview of the Alta fjord area.

MAP 2: THE ALTAFJORD AREA



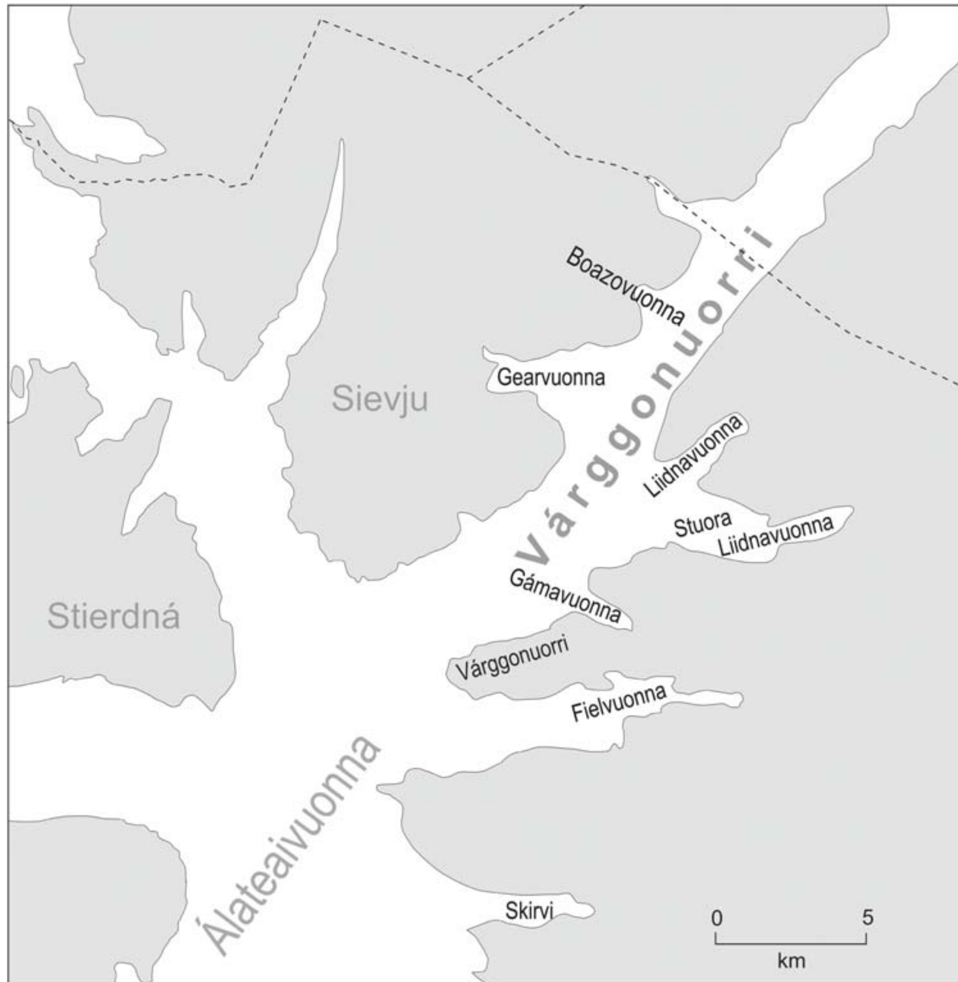
Map by Anja Kaunisoja, University of Oulu, Finland.

I have concentrated my research on the documentation from this area, more specifically the villages on the eastern side of the Alta fjord and on the islands at the outlet of the Alta fjord. The area is marked with a square on MAP 2. This area also coincides with the main research area for my PhD. project[4]. In my PhD. project, I benefit from the protocol, both concerning historical linguistic information on the Sea Sámi dialect in the area at that time and on sociolinguistic information concerning the Sea Sámi population in the area. In the small villages in this area there are registered large numbers of Sea Sámi place names. So far, I have detected more than 400 Sea Sámi place names in the protocol registrations from this area.

[2] The Sámi name of the parish is *Láhppi*, and the Norwegian name is *Loppa*. In the FSL, the name is registered *Loppens Sogn*.
[3] The Sámi name of the parish is *Deatnu*, and the Norwegian name is *Tana*. In the FSL, the name is registered *Tanens Sogn*
[4] My Ph.D-project is a phonological and dialectological investigation on the Sea Sámi dialect in the Altafjord area.

The area marked with a square on MAP 2, is shown more closely on the following map (MAP 3). The names of the fjords (*Boazovuonna*, *Gearvuonna*, *Liidnavuonna*, *Stuora Liidnavuonna*, *Gámavuonna*, *Fielvuonna*, *Skirvi*) coincide with the names of the villages, and are given in the Sea Sámi dialect. *Várggonuorri* is the strait between the mainland and the island Sievju.

MAP 3: CLOSE-UP VIEW OF THE VILLAGES ON THE EAST SIDE OF THE ALTA FJORD



Map by Anja Kaunisoja, University of Oulu, Finland.

I have found it very interesting to examine FSL from a place name historical perspective. When using the names for dialectal research, I already had to examine them linguistically and word semantically. This has been quite time consuming, as the protocol is written in old gothic handwriting and as the names are spelled "as they were heard" by the Norwegian or Danish ear of the land surveyor and lacking any norm for spelling Sámi words.

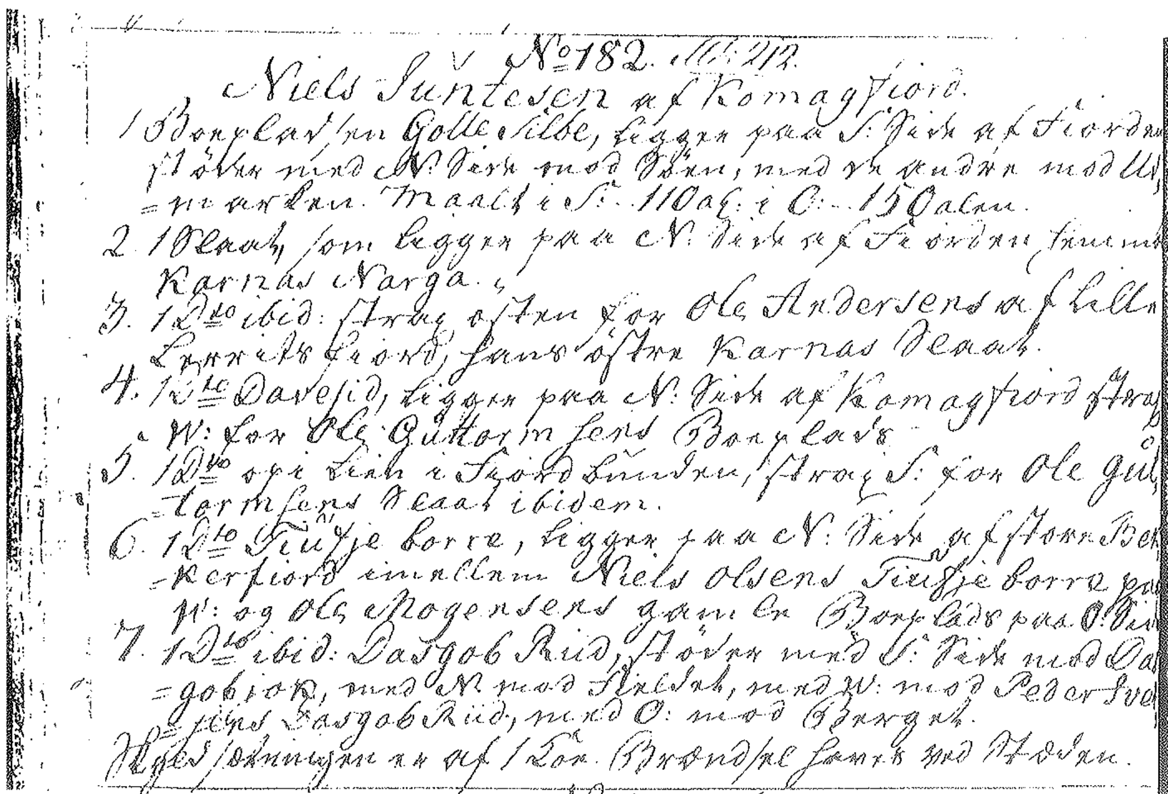
The examination of the FSL indicates a very rich Sea Sámi tradition for place naming, and it is interesting to see how the names give information that is on livelihood and on wildlife in the region at that time. I have also found that many of the Sea Sámi names are still in use in the area by people who no longer speak the Sámi language. I am also familiar with many of the names

myself because I grew up in the area (*Gámavuonna/Komagfjord*). This sparked the interest in trying to trace and identify the places and settlements registered in the protocol.

The process of tracing old settlements

The tracing and identifying process consists of several steps. The first step is the transcription of the FSL-data from the old gothic style handwriting into current writing. At this point, I do not transfer anything into current spelling. You can see the record of farm no. 182 in the figures below, first the original version (FIGURE 1 A), and then in transcribed form (FIGURE 1 B). The title of this registration tells us that the owner of this farm is *Niels Juntesen*, and that he belonged to the village *Komagfiord*. (Cf. the original text: *Niels Juntesen af Komagfiord*).

FIGURE 1 A: RECORD NO. 182, NIELS JUNTESEN AF KOMAGFIORD, ORIGINAL FORM



Each record contains a numbered list of the different parts of the settlement. Number 1 gives us the name of the settlement (in this case: *Golle Silbe*), and a description of where it is located. The following parts, numbers 2-7 are meadows belonging to this settlement, also with a description of where they are located. Usually, the meadows were named, and such names are also given in the registration.

In the transcribed version of record no. 182 (see FIGURE 1 B), the Sámi place names are highlighted.

FIGURE 1 B: RECORD NO. 182, NIELS JUNTESEN AF KOMAGFIORD, TRANSCRIBED FORM

No. 182
Niels Juntesen af Komagfiord

1. Boepladsen Golle Silbe, ligger paa S:side af fiorden, støter mod N:side mod Søen, mot W vender mod Udmarken. Maalt i S: 110 al., i O: 150 alen.
2. 1 Slaat som ligger paa N:side af fiorden henimod Karnas Narga.
3. 1 Dto. ibid: Strax Østen for Ole Andersens af Lille Lerritsfiord, hans østre Karnas slaat.
4. 1 Dto. Davesid, ligger paa N:side af Komagfiord strax W: for Ole Guttormsens Boeplads.
5. 1 Dto op i Lien i fiordbunden, strax S:for Ole Guttormsens slaat ibidem.
6. 1 Dto. Tiufje borre, ligger paa N:Side af Store Bekkerfiord imellem Niels Olsens Tiufje borre paa W: og Ole Mogensens gamle Boeplads paa O:Siide
7. 1 Dto. ibid: Dasgob Riid, støder mod S:Side mod Dasgobjok, mod N: mod fieldet, mod W mod Peder Svendsens Dasgob Riid, mod O: mod Berget. Skyldsætningen er af 1 Qoe. Brændsel haves ved …

The second step is the linguistic and word semantic analysis of the place names. The names are spelled "as they were heard" by the Norwegian land surveyor and even if the land surveyor would have been familiar with the Sámi language, there was no official norm for spelling Sámi words at that time.

We will now take a closer look at the names from protocol records no. 181 and 182. The Sámi place names in these registrations are:

FIGURE 2: WORD SEMANTIC ANALYSIS OF THE NAMES IN RECORD NO. 181 AND 182

Settlements	Meadows/ other names	Current spelling, North Sámi	Word semantic, English
181: Nordmands sete		Nordmanns/sete	The Norwegian's homeplace
	Vodnagedde	Vuotna/gieddi	Fjord/meadow
	Dasgob Riid	Dáža/goh/riidi	Norwegian/bay/grassy mountain side
	Nub Dasgob Riid	Nubbi Dážagohriidi	Second + Norwegian/bay/ grassy mountain side
	Dasgobbi	Dáža/gohppi	Norwegian/(rounded) bay
	Herkje Riid	Hearge/riidi	Reindeer/grassy mountain side
182: Golle Silbe		Golle-silba, "Gullasølvby"	Gold/silver
	Karnas Narga	Garnáš/njárga	Garnáš/cape
	Davesid	Davve/siida	Northern/homeplace
	Tiufje borre	Čukča/borri (Čufčaborri)	Capercaillie/ridge
	Dasgob Riid	Dáža/goh/riidi	Norwegian/bay/grassy mountain side
	Dasgob Jok	Dáža/goh/johka	Norwegian/(rounded) bay/ stream

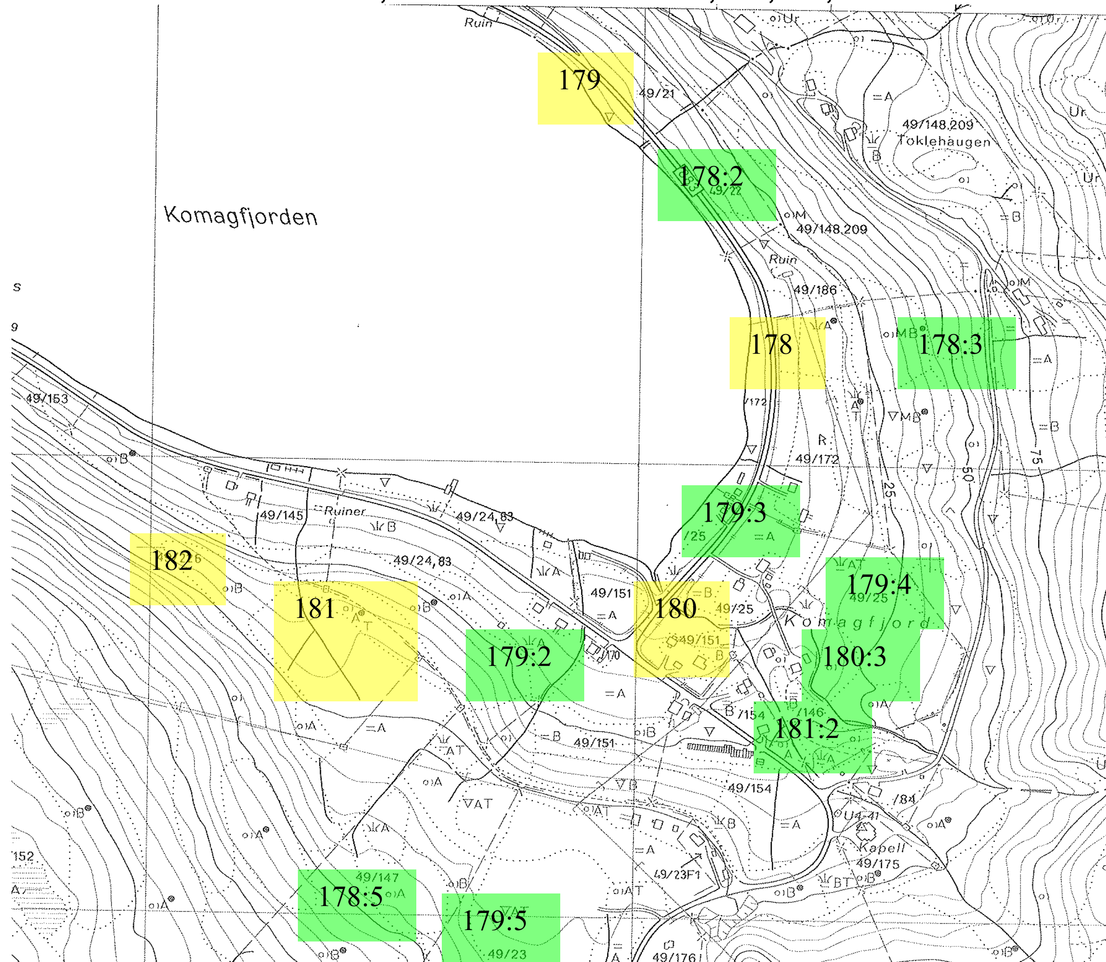
The place name *Nordmands sete* is the only Norwegian place name registered in the village *Gámavuonna*/*Komagfjord* at this time. Local informants tell that this settlement belonged to the only ethnic Norwegian in the village at this time. It is worth noticing that even though this settlement was registered in Norwegian, the belonging meadows were all registered with Sámi names.

There were never any drawn maps to go with the old protocol. Therefore, the third step is the examination of data concerning the location of the settlements. Here I use the explanations as they are given in the FSL and comparing this information to current local knowledge on earlier settlements in the area. Then I try to place the settlements and meadows on current maps. For this presentation, I have examined the records of the settlements five settlements in *Gámavuonna/Komagfjord*. These are settlement records numbered 178, 179, 180, 181 and 182. The settlements are

178 Davvesiida (northern/homeplace)
179 Áitegieddi (storehousemeadow)
180 Gámavuonbahta (head of the fjord *Gámavuotna/Komagfjord*)
181 Nordmannssete (The Norwegian's homeplace)
182 Golle-silba (gold-silver, from a small stream with the mineral mica)

The settlements are placed on the following large-scale eco-map.

MAP 4: KOMAGFJORD, WITH SETTLEMENTS NO. 178, 179, 180, 181 AND 182.



Eco-map, Fylkeskartkontoret i Finnmark (1981)

The yellow squares (182, 181, 180,178 and 179) mark the settlements and the difference in size of the squares indicates differences in the size of the settlements. The green squares mark some of the meadows belonging to the settlements. The meadows are numbered according to the registration in the protocol (i.e. 178:5 is meadow no. 5 at settlement no. 178). There were more meadows belonging to these settlements, but the other meadows are located elsewhere, outside the boundaries of this map.

In order to visualize the area, I have also added current photos to point out where the farms were at the time of registration in 1778.

PHOTO 1: SETTLEMENT NO. 178 AND 179, MEADOWS BELONGING TO 178, 179, 180 AND 181

© Ole Henrik Henriksen

The location of settlement no. 179 Áitegieddi can be seen at the lower left corner of the photo (red circle). The location of settlement no. 178 Davvesiida can be seen at the lower edge centre of the photo (yellow circle). Between these and to the right of 178, there were meadows, as well as further up in the hillside.

PHOTO 2: SETTLEMENTS NO. 180, 181 AND 182

© Ole Henrik Henriksen

In the low edge centre of the photo we can see where the settlement no. 180 Gámavuonbahta was located (red circle). To the right of this, we have no. 181 Nordmannssete (yellow circle), and to the far right edge we have no. 182 Golle-silba (white circle).

As we can see, there are still farms and homes at approximately the same locations as at the time of registration in FSL.

Conclusion

As mentioned earlier in the article, this place names research is connected to the research that I am doing for my Ph.D thesis. The main subjects for my thesis are Sea Sámi dialects and the phonology of these dialects. Meeting with local informants, talking to them and doing recordings are important parts of the dialectological and phonological research. Of course, this also means sharing their stories and their memories and learning more about local history. My experience is that local people generally are very interested in local history and in place names, and that it is easy to get in touch with people when asking about these matters.

The Sea Sámi culture and language have been very much hidden and silenced for several decades and I think that it is time for the language and the names to be heard and seen again. One way of doing this is sharing the stories and memories by publishing local information in different ways.

The stories and memories of my local informants coincide very much with those of my own family members and my work on Sea Sámi place names is also built on a strong interest in the culture and history of the area and on my personal need for tracing the history of my own family. I am very lucky to share this interest with my father and am very grateful to him for taking part in this research and for sharing his knowledge with me.

As a conclusion, I would like to give compliments to my father Arne Henriksen for sharing his knowledge of place names and earlier settlements in the area and to my brother Ole Henrik Henriksen for the photos used in this presentation. I would also like to give compliments to former place name secretary, Dr. Kaisa Rautio Helander, for bringing the FSL-protocol to my attention and for all the advice she has given me throughout the work with Sea Sámi place names.

References

Finnmarken Sorenskriveri Landmaalerprotokol. Altengaard 17.08.1778.
FYLKESKARTKONTORET I FINNMARK (1981): Økonomisk kartverk. Alta, Finnmark. Komagfjord GE 285-5-1.
INFORMANT: Arne Henriksen, from Gámavuonna/Komagfjord
KORHONEN, MIKKO (1981): *Johdatus lapin kielen historiaan*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Helsinki.
MAP 2 AND 3: Anja Kaunisoja, University of Oulu, Finland
PHOTOS: Ole Henrik Henriksen

Place and being: a process of Indigenous academic identity growth

Jennifer Dawn McAlpin
Bacone College, Muskogee, Oklahoma United States of America
jennifer.mcalpin@gmail.com

You begin by saying who you are, your tribe, where you come from and your family. You offer a gift and tell your intention. *Instructions on Traditional Introduction*. Apela Colorado (Johnson 2001 p. 56).

TRADITIONAL INTRODUCTION

For my Ojibwe/Anishinaabe relations

Aanin nijibimaadiziig.	Hello my fellow human beings.
Boozhoo gakina nindinawe maaganag miinawa niwiijii anishinbeg.	Hello all my relatives fellow (Indians).
Waabizheshi nindodem.	Marten is my clan.
Makwa nimaamaadodem.	My mother's clan is Bear.
Bangii eta go ninitaa ojibwem.	I can only speak a little bit.
Ninga-gagwejitoon ji ojibwemoyaan.	I shall try to talk anyway.
Jennifer *nindizhinikaaz zhaaganaashimong.*	In English I am called Jennifer.
Tahlequah, Oklahoma *nindaa noongom.*	I live in Tahlequah, Oklahoma now.
Miigwech!	Thank you!

And for my Diné relations

Yáátééh, shi éí Jennifer McAlpin *yinishyé. Makwa/shush dóó Ma'íí deeshgíízhiníí éí nishłí Bilagáana éí báshíchíín.*	Hello, my name is Jennifer McAlpin and my maternal clan is Bear Coyote Pass People and my paternal clan is European.
Makwa/shush dóó Tódích'íi'nii éí da shichei dóó Bilagáana ei da shinálí.	My maternal grandfather's clan is Ojibwe, Bear clan Bitter Water Clan and my paternal grandfather's clan is European from Scotland.
Diné bizaad bíhoosh'aah.	I am learning the Navajo language.
Dóó Salt Lake City, Utah *dį shi'dizchį.*	I was born in Salt Lake City, Utah.
Tahlequah, Oklahoma di shighan.	I live in Tahlequah, Oklahoma.
Ahéhee'!	Thank you!

My husband is Cherokee, Choctaw and European. His mother's family is from Northeast Oklahoma. We live in Tahlequah Oklahoma now, which is in the United States. We moved from Illinois (where I attended the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign) right before our daughter was born. Together, we have five children: four boys and one baby girl.

Ceremonies, songs prayers from our Diné, Anishinaabe, Celtic, Tsa-La-Gi relatives have protected us, sustained us, brought us here today. We give thanks and ask for trust and guidance, offering *asemaa*, tobacco.

May the songs and prayers of the past, the present, and the future ensure that harmony and balance be sustained here in this work, because I understand that there is no moral reason to have a question if it does not lead to *Hózhó*, beauty. In this way, I open myself to each of the seven directions, my research partners.

In this way, I share part of my very personal dissertation research as I sought, simply put, to find out what Indigenous/Native American/American Indian/Aboriginal students need in higher education. I reviewed all of the literature available to me at that time and I began to understand that the question must be approached in a different way, because the information yielded by Western approaches seemed to lack understanding that helped to address concerns in terms of Indigenous/Native American/American Indian/Aboriginal success in higher education. I was gifted with the opportunity to participate in a 'Decolonizing Methodology' seminar at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and the dissertation is a result of the ongoing work that the seminar participants and I continue to engage in. This approach is made possible in higher education by the establishment, development and continued acknowledgement of indigenized, sacred places that are safe for Indigenous/Native American/American Indian/Aboriginal students.

Mitig/Tree/*Tsin*

> For a Western-educated audience the notion of a tree with spirit is a difficult concept to grasp- [i.e.,] the universe is alive. Therefore, to see a Native speaking with a tree does not carry the message of mental instability; on the contrary, this is a scientist engaged in research! (Pam Colorado [Oneida] 1988 p. 26) (See Figure 1.)

***Figure 1*. McAlpin (2005) *Mitig*/dream tree**

This beadwork tree is a result of the 'Decolonizing Methodology' seminar I participated in with Dr. Larry W. Emerson, from Shiprock, Dine Nation. It is a record of my own process which may be read as a prototype for what I have found through my research to be of crucial importance to American Indians in higher education: identity support. This 'tree of life' provides a model with key components to, in the words of many Indigenous scholars, 'indigenize' the higher education experience for American Indians. I understand indigenize to mean processes that strengthen, heal, reclaim and revitalize our own collective cultural identities therefore strengthening our perseverance in higher education settings. This translates directly into a support system for Indigenous American students in higher education but also into curriculum and methodological systems.

As I engage traditional modalities, I find it important to be more explicit here in the ways that I am seeking guidance from elders. In the spring of last year I was on my way to the University's Native American House graduation ceremony to introduce my dear friend, Charlotte, who is more like my little sister, as a graduate from the Master's program in Educational Policy Studies. On the way to campus, my vision in my right eye was overcome by a shimmering being. I felt quite strange, as if the whole world were different. I was not myself. When I looked in the mirror, I did not look familiar. I thought something was in my eye. When I looked in the mirror into my eye, I thought to myself, this is not my eye. I was unsettled, yet at the same time strangely strong in my words when I got up to speak for my 'little sister' in front of all the people. After I spoke, I left, concerned that there may be something wrong with me. Being pregnant, I did not want anything to affect the baby. As I departed, the shimmering light being dissipated I was left with a slight nausea that cleared within minutes.

My husband suggested that I tell my teacher about it. When I called him, after I described the experience, he said to ask for a ceremony from 'up North' because although he would do the ceremony for me if I could not find someone else, there may be things he might miss, as he comes from the southwest. So, I started searching for someone Ojibwe to ask for a ceremony by asking my biological mother. She told me to ask for Jesus Christ to protect me then mentioned that I might want to call my Aunt Maxine. Aunt Maxine gave me the number of

her cousin, Donald Kakaygeesick and in the same sentence urged me to see a qualified eye doctor, because "vision is not something you mess around with!"

I was a little nervous, but I called Don. He told me how to go about requesting a drum ceremony from the family and he reminded us that we are cousins; we are related. I followed through with his instructions and waited. A few months later, after my daughter was born healthy, I called to check with him to see if there was anything else for me to do to follow up. There was nothing else. Because our powwow was coming up, I thought I should send some money tobacco for the drums traveling there to Warroad, although our family was not able to attend. I wrote on the envelope holding the money a note asking for prayers of guidance with my dissertation, so that this work would be done in a way to bring honor to our family and our people.

Over the summer I also contacted Wendy Geniusz, whom I had met at the University of Illinois in 2006. I was in the process of reading her dissertation for my own work. In that process I found out about Seven Generations Education Institute, which is right across the Canadian/United States border in Fort Frances, Ontario. My Aunt Maxine lives on the United States side of the border in International Falls, Minnesota. Great-great grandpa Namaypok was named as a Chief in Fort Frances Ontario, in a historical record of testimonial hearings regarding the water levels at that area. I was and am amazed that at this very place that grandpa was, there is now an institution of higher education that is home to Anishinaabe programs. I also found out that the grandma my Aunt Maxine had told me to call years ago is one of the teachers at this university.

I realized it was time for me to contact her again to ask for help. She remembers Great-Great Grandpa Namaypok as a Grand Medicine Teacher when she was a child. She grew up speaking the language, Anishinaabemowin, before she was sent to boarding school. I spoke with her before this tree process and the seminar I described here. As I was looking at information about the Seven Generations Education Institute, I saw that she was listed as a participant with the World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium (WINHEC). There was an email contact, so I pursued reconnecting with her through this email address.

Shortly I received a response from Laura Horton at Seven Generations who said she would take my email message to the grandma that evening. I found out it would be ok to call the grandma again, so I did. I described to her our conversation from a few years ago and she said I could meet her at the Fall Midewiwin ceremonies at Bad River Wisconsin. I had never been there before and had only read about the Midewiwin. I knew I must go and I thought I should also bring my beadwork tree to ask her to look at it and help me 'read' it. I thought I might offer the courtesy of preparing her for my request by sending *asemaa* (tobacco) and an overview of my work, with a color picture printed out of the beadwork tree. I imagined that we might be able to spend a few hours together and she could tell me what she thought of the tree in Anishinaabemowin and I could record it.

I thought and prayed and realized I should also bring my children, not only my baby as she was still nursing, but also my older sons, as this work was for them and their generation for generations to come. Thus, I deduced, it was my responsibility to bring myself and my children to rejoin the circle. Although my husband could not accompany me because of work, the five of us headed north.

When we arrived, I was told that Grandma would not be able to make it to the ceremonies. I was not sure what to do then other than stay and participate and listen as best I could. The next night as I sat on the floor of the Midewiwin lodge I heard the story of the Little Boy Drum as he was being dressed. Through my tears I recognized myself. The next day I was surprised when I got to meet the grandma from Ontario who remembered my great-great grandpa. I was so happy that she could make it after all. She looked into my eyes and the eyes of my daughter and told me of a drum with beadwork at Ober's Island. Also known as Mallard Island, this remote island in the Rainy Lake area of Northern Minnesota Ontario, Canada, is named after Ernest Oberholtzer. Ober studied Ojibwe language ceremonies and collected a vast array of rare books and cultural beings. Even decades after his death, this island has been visited by Ojibwe educators, artists, writers and historians. Oberholtzer's vast collections were in disarray after his death. The work of many volunteers has been required to organize the collections. The well-known Ojibwe author, Louise Erdrich, has written a book that features her work with the rare book collections in Ober's library.

As Grandma looked into my eyes she told me of how she was invited to visit Ober's Island while she was there she recognized a Midewiwin drum, dressed in beadwork, from her childhood. Grandma suggested that perhaps I could join her during the summer and help her with her work on the island with this drum. For some reason, my heart felt that this drum may have been in the hands of my great-great grandpa. It was as if the presence of our ancestor's future generations were harmonizing. I was truly humbled in the midst. Grandma then told me that she does not know what will happen, but something good will come, this is all she knows for now.

It turned out that we were not able at that time to discuss the beadwork tree itself, although my hopes for being able to hear how this tree is understood by her as an Anishinaabe grandma was not as I expected, I understand that something good will come and that is all I need to know for now. Perhaps it was the Midewiwin lodge herself who was the Grandma I was meant to seek interpretation from.

Anishinaabe Izhitwaawin

Indigenous science, often understood through the imagery of the tree, is holistic. Through spiritual processes, it synthesizes information from the mental, physical, social cultural/historical realms. Like a tree, the roots of Indigenous science go deep into the history, body and blood of the land. The tree collects and stores and exchanges energy. It breathes with the winds, which tumble and churn through greenery exquisitely fashioned to purify, codify and imprint life in successive concentric rights—the generations (Colorado, 1988, p.50)

It took a long time for me to realize that my story is my methodology. My methodology is not something to be applied from an outside source to this work. My own experiences as a graduate student which I previously defined as an excruciating identity struggle, layered with struggles to overcome my own weaknesses and build community, are part of my decolonizing methodology. I knew this intellectually but somehow did not make the connection that I did not need to engage in additional academic methodological maneuverings. I knew it was my place to learn as much as I could about the structure of other methodologies but I did not realize that I did not need to keep trying to make my own experiences fit into those paradigms.

I prayed, I worked and I asked for offered help. I read, took notes and talked with students and began to identify the need and importance for what I call a safe place. Whelshula (Arrow Lakes Nation of Colville Reservation) (1999) has also identified the need for a 'safe place' as the key for healing through decolonization. Within this 'safe place' is an opportunity to engage in balanced inquiry that includes feeling, watching listening, reflection and doing. Rheault (Ishpeming'Enzaabid) (1999) states:

> These four states of knowledge are all brought together in Ceremony (*Manidookewin*). Ceremony allows one to cross the seeming divide between physical and spiritual realms, whereby one can observe with a more complete perception. The Anishinaabeg are empiricists of sorts, going out into the world searching for knowledge. Moreover, the Anishinaabeg have the ability to search in dimensions that exceed that of the physical (p. 101).

This 'safe place' includes a place where students can develop tools to resist dominant oppressive structures and identity politics that disable the acquisition of skills necessary to successfully meet educational goals. In the case of Indigenous American students attending universities engaged in the 'knowledge production business,' this means the student must focus on developing skills to develop and add to the body of knowledge that is currently recognized as legitimate by these systems. Unfortunately, within the competitiveness of traditional university settings, Indigenous academics are often the least supportive of each other in accomplishing these aims. Collective work to disarm the oppressive structures that enable identity politics and instead allow a space for non-harmful ways of being and understanding others and ourselves are our collective responsibility. This cyclic process begins with identifying and naming oppression, but then also transcending it through embracing and accepting traditional understandings that 'interrupt' dominant narratives. Ceremonial understandings of our ancestors are effective in reclaiming a balanced way of being in the world, as articulated in tribal-specific modalities. To ignore these ways of understanding is to reify the patterns of social, political, personal and academic dysfunction present in so many academic settings. Perhaps the dismal attrition rates are indicative of this complex web of dysfunction that must be dismantled transformed within higher education.

To better understand with greater specificity what is needed, we return to the tree and being of my research. The knowledge, gently woven throughout these pages and the pages of my dissertation, point to the incorporation of an *indigenous academic growth process* (see Figure 3), which can support principles of decolonizing practice through which the growth and development of indigenous students can be supported. As such, all aspects of the tree must be intact and nurtured in order to flourish. For example, if the roots of a tree are damaged, they cannot support the trunk and branches: leaves do not grow, they wither die. Branches and bark must be strong to withstand pest infestations and ravages of lightening and severe weather damage. In this way, I offer six central principles to an indigenous identity growth process and examples of how these may be enacted.

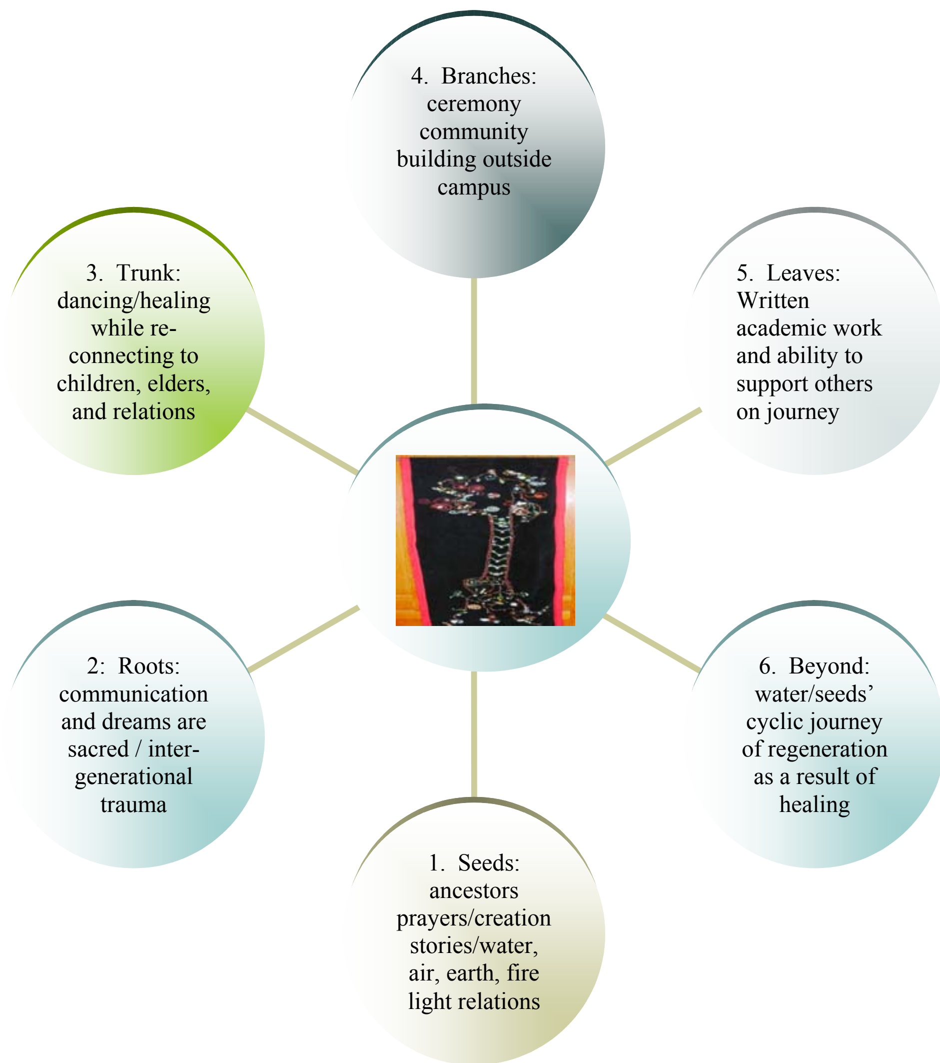


***Figure 3*: McAlpin (2008) Indigenous academic identity growth process.**

1. Seeds: Acknowledgement of students and their ancestors, along with the generations to come. Prayers and creation stories must have a place as well as an acknowledgement of relations to water, air, earth, fire and light. This constitutes an indigenous way of being in the world and is the beginning of everything that is to follow. Concrete examples of implementing this into higher education programs are as follows:

    a. A blessing for new students
    b. A blessing for new buildings that are intended to serve Indigenous students
    c. Physical spaces that are demarcated as sacred spaces both indoors and outdoors
    d. Professors and those in positions to serve Indigenous Students can introduce themselves traditionally acknowledging ancestors and future relations of students. This is a simple way to make metaphysical 'space' for ancestors.

2. Roots*/ojiibikan/bikétt'oól*: Acknowledgement that communication is sacred, dreams can teach us an acknowledgement of intergenerational trauma and can support

acceptance of the need for healing. Examples of ways to implement this into higher education settings are:

   a. Teaching staff and faculty who teach Indigenous students simple protocol and the importance of acknowledging ancestors and future generations

   b. Staff and faculty who are personally committed to decolonization and healing willing to engage honestly with students and each other and accept them for who they are

   c. Active recognition of historical and intergenerational legacies of trauma and loss, married with opportunities for healing

   d. Train for staff and faculty sensitivity toward issues of abuse (physical, sexual, emotional and chemical dependency abuse)

   e. Waiving ALL tuition and fees at ALL land grant institutions for students who have tribal affiliation to those historically connected to the land on which land grant institutions are built

   f. Incorporating accurate educational curriculum that honors and integrates the cultural and historical histories of Indigenous students.

3. Trunk/*Bizhį́'*, Bark/*Bita'shtóó́zh*, Journey: Acknowledgement and strengthening of relations and connections with elders, children and community. Dancing and healing. Learning from written oral histories about one's people, both historically and in contemporary times. DuBois' double-consciousness can be understood here as the bark and the trunk are developed. Concrete examples of implementing this into higher education programs are as follows:

   a. New Indigenous Student orientation where assessments of academic, social, cultural, physical and spiritual needs can take place. Stanford University in California does something like this a month before classes begin in the fall

   b. Recognition and support of indigenous identity growth as process, much like Johnson's (2002) "Medicine Wheel: Signposts of Remembrance"

4. Branches/*Bits'áoz'a"* Leaves/*Bit'ą́ą́* Journey: Ceremony and community building on and off campus. Written academic work, sharing physical work and celebrating.

   a. Collaboration with indigenous communities: family, extended family, clan, community involvement.

   b. Indigenous Conflict Resolution opportunities. The need for this is well documented in works that engage identity politics (Mihesuah, 2003; 2005)

   c. Staff and faculty who are personally committed to decolonization and healing and willing to engage honestly with students and each other and

accept them for who they are

d. Training for staff and faculty for greater sensitivity toward issues of abuse (physical, sexual, emotional and chemical dependency abuse)

e. Gifting, generosity and thanksgiving

f. Expressions of song, dance and ceremony

g. Whole engagement of self group

h. Maintenance of personal contact, faculty/staff eating dinner or lunch with students on a regular basis

5. Beyond/Drum/*Dewe'igan*: Acknowledgement of the cyclic spiral nature of this process, inherent in our ways of being. Regeneration and reciprocity in larger contexts of higher education and community.

    a. Recognition of students as whole beings, not stereotypes of static identities. In other words, the recognition of Indigenous academic identity as a process

    b. Curricular extra-curricular involvement with current economic, political, and environmental tribal affairs

    c. Indigenous language conferences like at Northeastern State University in Oklahoma tribal colleges in Montana.

    d. Recruitment programs that start as early as possible in grade schools, for example: University of Alaska Kuskokwim Campus talent search programs and Northeastern State University's outreach to Woodall Elementary through questionnaires and tutoring programs

    e. Improve the number and quality of native teachers who serve Indigenous students

    f. Environmental initiatives and research that serve the needs of tribes like White Earth's Mahnomen project which also has federal funding

Recommendations for faculty and staff at higher education institutions begin with the need to de-objectify the histories of Indigenous peoples as 'active agents' instead of as solely victims of western expansion. Obviously, inclusion of Indigenous Americans in decisions that will affect Indigenous students is another important step toward empowerment. This will require that the academy be willing to move away from the 'father knows best' paternalistic approaches (Williams, 2006 p. 337) that have consistently negated and dishonored the strength, wisdom, and humanity of Indigenous peoples for over five hundred years. Clearly, recommendations for future research and program development must be specific to the settings for which they are intended. Tribal Colleges are very different from large Public Institutions like the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Since my experience during this process was mostly at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, these

recommendations for future directions for research have emerged from this context, but may still be applicable given commonalities of lived experience of intergenerational trauma. They include:

1. Gather indigenous students and families to spend time together to communicate who we are in relation to our ancestors

2. Share stories with each other and continue the conversation

3. Encourage indigenous modalities in research

4. Engage students in identity healing processes through an indigenous modality (my tree is one example)

5. Examine how we relate to ourselves as we are responsible to beings around us through prayer and ceremony in community

6. Future research focused on understanding lived experiences of Indigenous Americans in higher education

7. Include Indigenous Americans in higher education as critical research members

8. Engage in indigenous decolonizing research methodologies.

These cyclic processes begin with identifying and naming oppression but then also transcending it through embracing and accepting traditional understandings that interrupt dominant narratives. Ceremonial understandings of our ancestors are effective in reclaiming a balanced way of being in the world as articulated in tribal-specific modalities. To ignore these ways of understanding is to reify the patterns of social, political, personal and academic dysfunction present in so many academic settings.

References

Colorado, P. A. (1985). *Native American Alcoholism: An Issue of Survival.* Unpublished dissertation, Brandeis University.

Emerson, L. (2006). Re: AIS 490 Seminar: Indigenous Learning Decolonizing Methodologies: Possible Grading Indicators. In i. m. participants of the seminar (Ed.). Champaign-Urbana, Illinois.

Emerson, L. W. (2003). *HÓZHÓ NÁHÁZDLÍÍ": towards a practice of Diné decolonization.* Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Claremont Graduate University San Diego State University.

Erdrich, L. (2003). *Books islands in Ojibwe country*. Washington, D.C.: National Geographic.

Institute, S. G. E. (2007). *Master's of Indigenous Knowledge Philosophy: Master of Arts Degree*. Retrieved August 4, 2008, from http://www.7generations.org/Published%20Material/brochure%20images%20pdf/MIPK2.pdf

Johnson, K. K. (2002). *On the path of our ancestors: Kinship with place as a path of recovery.* Unpublished Dissertation, California Institute of Integral Studies, San Francisco, CA.

McAlpin, Jennifer Dawn (2008) Place and being: Higher education as a site for creating Biskabii---Geographies of indigenous academic identity. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, United

States - Illinois. Retrieved October 8, 2008, from Dissertations & Theses: Full Text database. (Publication No. AAT 3314851).

Mihesuah, D. A. (2003). *Indigenous American Women: Decolonization, Empowerment, Activism, Contemporary Indigenous Issues*. Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press.

Mihesuah, D. A., & Wilson, A. C. (2004). *Indigenizing the academy: transforming scholarship empowering communities*. Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press.

Rheault, D. A., (Ishpeming'Enzaabid). (1999). *Anishinaabe Mino-Bimaadiziwin (The Way of a Good Life) An Examination of Anishinaabe Philosophy, Ethics, Traditional Knowledge*. Peterborough, Ontario: Debwewin Press.

Whelshula, M. (1999). *Healing Through Decolonization: A Study in the Deconstruction of the Western Scientific Paradigm the Process of Retribalizing Among Native Americans.* Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, California Institute for Integral Studies, San Francisco, CA.

Williams, D. (2006). Patriarchy the "Fighting Sioux": a gendered look at racial college sports nicknames. *Race Ethnicity in Education, 9*(4), 325-340.

Understanding and living respectfully within Indigenous places

Bronwyn Fredericks
Monash University, Queensland University of Technology & the Queensland Aboriginal and Islander Health Council, Australia
Bronwyn.Fredericks@med.monash.edu.au

Introduction

To many Aboriginal Australians, Country means place of origin in spiritual, cultural and literal terms. It refers to a specific clan or a tribal group or nation of Aboriginal people and encompasses all the knowledge, cultural norms, values, stories and resources within that particular area - that particular Indigenous place. The notion of Country is central to Australian Aboriginal identity, history, and contributes to overall health and wellbeing. Women and men both have a central role within Country, in terms of ownership, care and rights. With an increasing shift of Aboriginal people to urban areas or living in the Country of other Aboriginal people it does not mean that one's connections to Country are lost, or that the significance of Country is no longer present. It does mean that many Aboriginal Australians now pass through, dwell, and live within the Country belonging to other Aboriginal Australians. While we as Indigenous people might live within the Country of another Indigenous nation, they are still, Indigenous places. A map available from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (Horton, 1999) pictorially depicts over 500 Indigenous nations in Australia.

Figure 1. Dr Pamela Crofts

Dr Pamela Croft (See Figure 1) names her Country as that of the Kooma clan of the Uralarai people, South West Queensland. She lives in Keppel Sands on the Capricorn Coast in Central Queensland within the Countries of the Darumbal people (mainland and coastline) and the Woppaburra people (Keppel Islands), who are intricately linked through history and relationship (Horton, 1999). This area is known as the Central Queensland region in numerous State of Queensland documents. As a geographical area, it comprises tablelands, flatlands, plain lands, open scrub, wetlands, river and creek systems, coastal areas, islands,

mountains and now cityscapes and urban sprawl. Within broader Australia, this region is marketed and written about as the 'Beef Capital of Australia' (Forbes, 2001: 1). Sometimes uses the slogan where 'the beef meets the reef' (Great Barrier Reef) in advertising materials so that people know that it is close to one of the world's greatest wonders; the World Heritage listed Great Barrier Reef. Pamela Croft has practised as a visual artist since the mid-1980s and uses both Aboriginal Australian and Western techniques, education and style to tell the stories based on identity, sense of place, and the effects of colonisation. She was the first Aboriginal Australian to gain a Doctor of Visual Arts (Croft, 2003).

In her artworks, Dr Croft focuses on concepts of place and space and change within Country. A recent series of artworks were undertaken on the muddy banks of the upper regions of Pumpkin Creek at Keppel Sands. Pamela knows the way the moon and the sun impact on the tidal flows and how the time of year affects the temperature of the water. She has traced the tracks of animals and other people who at times dwell within the area. She has watched, observed, hunted and gathered in ways of Aboriginal women, past, present and future.

In the Creek, Pamela left special paper to capture the gentle nomadic nature of the tides which result in delicate patterns left on the mud that change with each ebb and flow of the water. The crabs imprinted their presence as they foraged for food, so too did the Ibis and seagulls. This evidence of water and animals became stories, recorded in the mud like texts that have been imprinted within the artwork. Croft later used the paper as canvases for her art works and added local ochres – black, brown and red to symbolise the water's connection to land, people, place, and a sense of past, present and future. The colours and lines flow within the artwork just like the contours of the Creek. They are tied within the artwork to a sense of Country that binds water, land, animals and us as human beings. Over time, the changes in Country became mapped in Croft's 'Mud Map' series and other artworks. Croft's Mud Map series has been exhibited in Atlanta and Houston, the United States of America.

Interview with Dr Pamela Croft

I interviewed Dr Pamela Croft in her studio at Keppel Sands to specifically talk about her research and arts practice within Country and how she incorporates a sense of Indigenous place within her artworks.

Dr Pamela Croft [PC]: I am a Kooma woman of the Uralarai people. I give honour to the Darumbal dreaming ancestors and acknowledge the Darumbal people as the Traditional Owners of the Capricorn Coast where I now live. I additionally give honour and acknowledgement to the Woppaburra people who are the Traditional Owners of the Islands and waters off the Capricorn Coast mainland where I sometimes dwell and forage for food and items for my artworks. It is important to me to recognise that the site of my home and studio and where the majority of my artworks have been carried out is within Darumbal Country and Woppaburra Country. It is the places within their Countries that inspire, motivate and give me continued purpose for my work.

Dr Bronwyn Fredericks [BF]: Pamela can you tell me about the foundations of your artworks.

PC: Most of my artworks are land-centred. They are centred on places within Country. From my positioning as an Aboriginal woman, I try to portray the importance of tradition, recognition of ancestors, respect for uniqueness in spiritual expression and facilitate an understanding of history and culture, a sense of place and connections to family and

community. It has been estimated that we have lived on the Australian continent for over 100,000 years. As a result we have a long history of relationships connected to Country: Australia's landscapes and seascapes and all the animals and plants and peoples that inhabit them. I try to honour the Countries in which I work. I undertake my research of and within the places, deep within Country and I undertake my work incorporating ceremony.[5] I try to challenge non-Aboriginal people to come to an understanding of our world. I try to show them just how long Aboriginal people have been here within Country; that we have our special places, our sacred spaces and how we have cared for and lived within Country and how we still care for and live within Country, even if it is now the Country of other nations. The history of these places within Country, are not just tied to British and European invasion, pioneer, settler and immigration history.[6] These are our belonging places.[7] I try to show them all of this in my artworks.

BF: Your Mud Map series of artworks is of particular interest. They detail the movements in the water, the tides, and the animals found in different areas of Coorooman and Pumpkin Creek. What has undertaking this type of artwork told you about this place?

PC: I see the day-to-day things, the changes in the water, along the coastline, in the Creeks and on the land that laps the water. I see what is happening to the mangrove areas. I have witnessed the removal of the areas where the crocodiles used to forage for food. The process of undertaking the Mud Maps reveals all of this (See Figure 2). Each Mud map is likened to a cultural text that records the past and present journeys of that particular part of the Australian landscape. The process maps out the connections to place revealing sets of relationships including the physical, physiological, social, spiritual and metaphysical. It also maps the botanical, colonial and the Indigenous layers of memories within the landscape sites. The tracks of animals and peoples, connections and relationships to spaces and places, symbols, patterns and colours are all recorded. It is all connected and we are connected. They are all showing me changes within the sites, within my mapping and my artwork practice (See Figure 3). To represent all of this I use different colour clays as my printing block and include a variety of mixed media in these works (clay, ochre, acrylic, charcoal, pigment, oil paints, mud).

Figure 2: Dr Pamela Croft at Pumpkin Creek making mud maps

---

[5]Carolyn Kenny (2000) describes how ritual and ceremony can be incorporated into research. Pamela Croft made reference at a later point to Kenny's work.

[6] Bird, 1999; Huf, McDonald and Myers, 1993; and McDonald 1981 all write about the history of the Rockhampton Region / Darumbal Country and other Central Queensland regions from the perspective of the pioneers and settlement of the Australian bush.

[7]Aileen Moreton-Robinson (2003) offers a powerful theoretical analysis of the differences between Aboriginal and non-Indigenous understandings of Belonging and Place in Australia.

Figure 3: Dr Crofts mud map artwork

BF: What are the changes that have been mapped and how do you know there are changes within Country?

PC: When I sit in the Creek I can feel the temperature of the water and I use to know exactly when the seasons were changing. Now days, it is harder to pick. The temperatures of the waters around Darumbal Country and Woppaburra Country have changed. The fish follow the tides and the temperature of the water. Other animals follow the fish, like pelicans, and other sea birds. With the warmer water, we now all have less fish. We have to go further out from the coastline to forage for food. The temperatures are not uniform – some areas seem to have changed more than others. The corals tell me that I am not lying. You see, the corals change colour, they become stressed and pale when the waters get too warm. This is called bleaching. Some corals might regenerate; it is hard to say. There seems to be an increase in the number of areas where you can see that the corals have been bleached. We hear on the TV in Australia that the frequency and severity of the coral bleaching is inevitable if global warming continues.[8] It concerns me that there will be further deterioration of the corals within the Reef. To me, that says that other aspects of the Reef that depend on the corals and these ocean gardens will also deteriorate and die.

BF: What about the animals within the reef, along the coastline and in the Creek?

PC: There are now not as many crabs and ibis and seagulls. In my last series of Mud Maps there were so few crab prints. It really bothered me. I will be going back down into the Creek soon to do another series of Mud Maps to see if the crabs have returned or if they are no longer there.

Fishing has become a problem. The biodiversity within the waters has been damaged by large-scale commercial fishing and by large numbers of people recreational fishing. People have fished for more than just what they need for food. There have been incidents where fish have just been left or discarded. In 2001 a big cod washed up on the beach near the Creek. It had been pulled up by a big trawler chasing smaller fish and just discarded. I tried to incorporate that incident into my artwork at Yeppoon main beach but the local Council didn't take it up. Maybe it was too political. What has happened now is that there are large areas where there are no fishing zones. This is vital if the area's ecosystem biodiversity is going to be fixed up and protected. I sent the bones of the cod to Brisbane and they have now been cast in bronze. The bronze work is now waiting to be installed along the Coastline. I wait for

[8] Coral bleaching is considered one of the biggest threats to the Great Barrier Reef. See CSIRO (2007) and Buchheim (2008) for more information on Coral Bleaching.

the time when the cod will be placed back in the position of guarding his ancestral waters, even if he will be on land and in bronze. I feel in a way that his dignity will be reinstated.

BF: You have also concentrated on the pollution that washes up on the beach in some of your other artworks.

PC: Pumpkin Creek, Coorooman Creek, Long Beach and the other beaches in the area are always scattered with litter from people on boats out at sea. Most of the litter washes up in with the tides. Over a 3-month period in 1996 I collected much of the discarded rubbish that washed up along a 20-kilometre beach line where I live. I then made a huge net (4.5m x 3.5m) with all of that rubbish. I used small bits of other nets along with small pieces of rope, twine, rubber and plastic. I also incorporated all the skeletons of sea animals that I found trapped within the rubbish and feathers were woven threw the net. I put some of the found objects into pockets that I made on the net. I assembled the net across one entire side of my house and members of my small village would watch as it progressed into this huge net (See Figures 4 & 5). Sometimes they would also bring me bits that they had found too. They were offerings and gifts for the work. The fishing net image reinforced the notion of fragmentation and slipping through the net and getting caught in the net. For me the interwoven strands of fragments became emblematic of the sometimes fragmentary interwovenness of Aboriginal life.

Figure 4: Water helping us see – close up

Figure 5: Water helping us see

Destruction has come with the western domination of water and waterways and is likened to the domination and colonisation of Country and of Australia. The ocean somehow is able to cast the rubbish out of itself as if knowing the destruction it does within the water. I have tried to push these issues with my artworks. I too try to show the dysfunctional thinking within society and encourage people to cast this out of the way they live. Just as the ocean casts out rubbish, we can cast our rubbish (or those things we thing are rubbish) from our lives too.

BF: Tell me Pamela what do you try to do in your artworks when you put them into the public domain?

PC: Through my artwork, I try to ask the questions to people about how they know about Country, how do people understand Country and how will they contribute to the care of Country for now and the future. What decisions and actions will they take that will impact on the natural activities within the Darumbal landscape, the Woppaburra landscape, Country, and

the other landscapes on this continent and on this planet? I ask how can we all best work to safeguard the landscapes and seascapes so they can continue to be enjoyed; and so that future generations will be able to see and know Country as we see it today and as it was seen yesterday? I want to ask the people who view my work, what are you doing? What are you doing to care for this place?

Conclusion

In her interview Pamela Croft, a Kooma woman of the Uralarai people has shared what she has observed, and come to understand within Country of the Darumbal and Woppaburra. Her knowledge of the environment and the ecology of Country are rich and provides a source of learning for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. When non-Indigenous people read Aboriginal art narratives and other forms of narrative, they learn alternative text and stories about their own history. Pamela Croft asserts that she wants to "raise their political unconsciousness" and "challenge the norms, values and ideologies of the dominant social order and culture". She does this through her use visual narrative (art works and art stories) as a tool for remembering, reclaiming, retelling and healing and generating alternative ways of seeing and being within Country. She shows us and teaches us how we can exist, survive and thrive within such spaces if we offer the same respect and understand her messages.

What is powerfully demonstrated through Pamela Croft's art works are the connections and relationships between all things and between the personal and the political. In her work within the Coorooman Creek and along the coastline of Darumbal Country and within the waters of Woppaburra Country, Dr Pamela Croft maps and encompasses the climate and environmental changes within Country in her artworks. In this ways her artwork storytelling embodies the repetitive rhythm of the unfamiliar, the familiar and the everyday experiences and discourses of being within land-centred spaces. She undertakes map paintings, prints and assemblages and in doing so, she challenges us all to consider how we live within the Country of other Indigenous people and how we can demonstrate respect and custodianship for Country.

Pamela Croft's work contributes to the knowledge base from within Country and informs the dialogue of what is happening in other parts of Australia and throughout the world. She brings the local to the global and instils within all us through her artworks and words what action we can take to reduce the pollution in our waterways, over-fishing and the impacts of climate change and more. Croft's works while distinctive also represent a terrain of common concerns around the environment, social justice, identity, land, and reconciliation that criss-cross boundaries between Indigenous and the non-Indigenous in Australia. In this way she is able to use her artwork as a site of communication for exchanging knowledge and understandings. Her artistic narratives and expressions conceptualise cultures in the likeness of maps of place within Country and in this way reflect far more than merely an aesthetic piece of art.

References

Bird, J.T.S. (1999). *The Early History of Rockhampton.* Rockhampton: Central Queensland Family History Association Inc.

Buchheim, J. (2008). Coral Bleaching. Odessey Expeditions Tropical Marine Biology Voyages. Accessed 28/07/08 http://www.marinebiology.org/coralbleaching.htm.

CSIRO (2007). Barrier Reef Bleaching. Ref. 07/12. CSIRO. Accessed 28/07/08 http://csiro.au/multimedia/BArrierReefBleaching.html.

Croft, P. J. (2003). *ART song: the soul beneath my skin*. Unpublished Doctor of V Visual Art thesis, Brisbane: Queensland College of Art, Griffith University.

Horton, D. (1999). *Aboriginal Australia*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal

and Torres Strait Islander Studies.
Huf, L. (1996). On the Western Line: Heritage, Icons and Monuments. *Futures For Central Queensland,* Rockhampton: Central Queensland University, pp.85-89.
Huff, L., McDonald, L. and Myers, D. (1993) (Eds). *Sin, Sweat and Sorrow: The Making of Capricornia Queensland 1840's-1940s.* Rockhampton: University of Central Queensland Press.
Kenny, C. (2000). A Sense of Place: Aboriginal Research as Ritual Practice. In R. Neil (Ed.) *Voice of the Drum: Indigenous Education and Culture*. Brandon, Manitoba: Kingfisher Publications, pp.139-150.
McDonald, L. (1981). *Rockhampton A History of City and District.* Rockhampton: Rockhampton City Council.
Moreton-Robinson, A. (2003). I still call Australia home: Indigenous Belonging and Place in a White Colonising society. In S. Ahmed (Ed.) *Uprootings / regroundings: questions of home and migration*. London: Berg Publishing, pp.66-77.

Dr Bronwyn Fredericks is an Aboriginal woman originally from South-east Queensland, Australia. She is an NHMRC Post-Doctoral Research Fellow, Department of Epidemiology and Preventive Medicine, Monash University & the Centre for Clinical Research Excellence (CCRE), Queensland Aboriginal and Islander Health Council (QAIHC). She is also a Visiting Fellow with the Indigenous Studies Research Network, Queensland University of Technology (QUT).

Accompanying Artworks

1. Dr Pamela Croft, 2006. (Photo by Kardia Stokes)

2. Dr Pamela Croft in Pumpkin Creek making her Mudmaps, 2006. (Photo by Mark Warcon)

3. *Mud Map series: landlines and watermarks*, Mixed-media monoprint (clay, ochre, oil, charcoal, acrylic, oxides, mud), 2007, 1.6m x 1m, Private Collection in Georgia, USA (Photo by Pamela Croft)

4. *land home place belong: Water helping us see, connecting the knots*, Net assemblage, feathers and ropes, 1996, 4.5m x 3.5m. Private Collection in Queensland, Australia. (Photo by Kardia Stokes)

5. *land home place belong*: *Water helping us see, connecting the knots*, Net assemblage, feathers and ropes, 1996, 4.5m x 3.5m. Private Collection in Queensland, Australia. (Photo by Pamela Croft)

Bringing it home: an Indigenous research model that supports Indigenous researchers' aspirations

Cheri Yavu-Kama-Harathunian
Nulloo Yumbah Learning Spirituality and Research Centre, Bundaberg, Australia
c.dhara@cqu.edu.au

Denise Tomlin
Central Queensland University, Bundaberg, Australia
d.tomlin@cqu.edu.au

Introduction

This paper articulates those conceptual and enacting notions of research excellence from within a framework of Aboriginal Terms of Reference (ATR). It will reflect those methodologies that incorporate Indigenous 'ways of knowing' within a proposed Indigenous Research Model. Indigenous 'ways of knowing', not only identify ATR principles but they also communicate an Indigenous position toward a way forward.

The heritage of Aboriginal peoples spans eons back in history, time, space and place. It is fair to suggest that Indigenous Australians practiced 'ways of knowing', conceptualised and enacted notions of excellence within knowledge frameworks that were culturally contextualised and culturally transferable across the diverse tribal groups. Their creaturely existence ensured their connectedness to the past and their connectedness to a role in the present. How did the first producers of the boomerang and didgeridoo or other instruments for survival discover aeronautics, medicine, nutrition, spiritual practices, socio-economics, education, art and law? How did this knowledge and these 'ways of knowing' transfer across a continent that can fit the first non-Indigenous researcher's countries into its heartland? How did Aboriginal peoples develop complex relationship systems such as kin, skin and blood relations and how were these systems able to maintain a spiritual understanding?

What Indigenous researchers are saying is that it is time for them to find 'ways of knowing' that articulate ATR for the purpose of cultural integrity and cultural valuing in the research they do on behalf of their peoples. To date, Indigenous researchers continue to use the historical models that have existed for the last two hundred years. Are there alternatives?

Indigenous academics in the 21st century recognise the significance of developing 'ways of knowing' or what is identified as methodologies and/or a research model/s. It is critical that these 'ways of knowing' resonate within an ATR framework. The wealth of Indigenous knowledge about Aboriginal Australia must be channelled or directed into research studies by contemporary Indigenous academics. In this way, the research of Indigenous academics will articulate cultural wisdom, knowledge and value, which will "Bring it Home" to the Indigenous peoples.

In making our self-representations public, we are aware that our different voices may be heard once again only in the language of the alien tongue…. that we risk their appropriation and abuse, and the danger that a selection of our representations will be to once again fix Aboriginality in absolute and inflexible terms. … without our own voices, Aboriginality will continue to be a creation for and about us…. all the more reason to insist that we have control over both the form and content of representations of our Aboriginalities…. that the voices speak our languages [and] resist translation into the languages and categories of the dominant culture (Dodson 1994, p. 39).

In deconstructing Western paradigms Aboriginal Australian scholars are articulating and constructing Indigenous distinct paradigms based upon Aboriginal epistemologies that encompass Aboriginal or Indigenous Terms of Reference (ATR). Kickett (1992 cited in NHMRC, 1997) proposed ATR as:

...a necessary paradigm for the future of Aboriginal people and, ultimately, of this country. " One of the key factors which needs to be properly considered when operating in a cross-cultural setting is values…[Researchers] will not deal effectively with Aboriginal realities if they do not incorporate processes which enable Aboriginal participants…to come to terms with their own value system…an opportunity to systematically explore options…

Research about Aboriginal Australians by non-Indigenous peoples began before 1788. Non-Aboriginal researchers have used their terms, and interpreted their research about Indigenous Australians in their own cultural contexts. Aileen Moreton-Robinson (2004, p. 128) states, "In our engagement with white Australian society, Indigenous people have learnt to create meaning, knowledge and living traditions under conditions not of our choosing….". Dodson's (1994) 'alien tongue' reinforces what Moreton-Robertson (2004) suggests about how the power of the colonial empirical studies formed the base by which colonial language and cultural processes interpreted Aboriginal Australian's cultures and lived experiences. Throughout this paper the terms 'Aboriginal' and 'Indigenous' will be used interchangeably.

Porsanger (2002, p.112) suggests:

…the most important issues for indigenous methodologies may be itemized as follows: defining the indigenous agenda for research projects; looking at research and theory from an indigenous perspective; including or consulting indigenous peoples, not as objects but rather as participants, to predict possible negative outcomes, to share and protect knowledge, to use appropriate language and form in order to communicate research back to the people…

Cook-Lynn (1997, p. 21) also advocates, "Indigenous ways of thinking, understanding and approaching knowledge have long been dismissed by the academic world because they have been considered not to belong to any existing theory." Tuhiwai-Smith (1999, p. 14) surmises that, "often, they [Indigenous methodologies - Kaupapa Maori Framework, Critical Theory] have been reduced to some nativist or even illogical and contradictory discourse". Our theoretical approach maintains Aboriginal cultural integrity in the development of a proposed Indigenous Research model that encompasses elements of Western and Indigenous research methodologies that resonate within an ATR framework.

Working within ATR requires rethinking about thinking and re-examining the processes of examining whilst reconstructing intellectual traditions, (Romero-Little, 2006) from within a cultural knowledge base. It also requires re-evaluating and reproducing the values implicitly

held within the processes of a research methodology. Furthermore, as Kahakalau Hulili suggests it is imperative that Indigenous researchers, "look critically at existing methodologies and 'tweak' them until….create truly indigenous research methodologies frame worked entirely from a native perspective" (2004, p. 20)

The 'tweaking' is necessary to substantiate cultural integrity without misrepresenting cultural context in research. 'Tweaking' implicitly integrates Indigenous worldviews, ways of 'being', sense of 'knowingness' and 'spiritualities' when an Indigenous research model is used.

Other Indigenous researchers, (Tuhiwai-Smith 1999; Kahakalau Hulili 2004) began their search for a model that expressed their Indigeninity and their own peoples' aspirations. This was a move away from the use of non-Indigenous models in research about Indigenous people. The current work builds on these and the historical studies of Indigenous Australian researchers such as Humphreys (1991 cited in NHMRC 2002; Morton-Robertson 2004; Oates 2002; Dudgeon, Garvey & Pickett 2000; Brady 1997; Dodson 1994; Kickett 1992 cited in HMRC, 1997; Brady 1992a). The proposed Indigenous Research Model has fluidity, incorporates notions of time and space and the core value of Aboriginal spirituality.

In this paper Aboriginal Spirituality means, "Creator Spirit created Creator Beings and ancestors out of the land thus ensuring the land's ownership of the people and the people's custodian relationship with the land. Creator Beings taught ancestors the 'ways of being' custodians and significantly, our Spirit and the Spirit of our Sacred Land is One" (Yavu-Kama-Harathunian & Tomlin, 2007).

The Indigenous Research Model introduces a theory – Cultural Philosophical Ethos Theory (CPE) – that allows the authentic voices of the Indigenous peoples experience to be heard. When researching Indigenous peoples CPE repositions researcher and 'subject' relationships. Aboriginal cultures, values, beliefs and mores are respected. Further, Indigenous worldviews can be more accurately interpreted by the use of non-Indigenous language that emphasises Indigenous meaning and context based upon the Aboriginal cultural core values of spirituality, morality, cultural context and life systems. These form the essential 'knowingness' of Aboriginal identity 'ways of being' and 'ways of doing' (Yavu-Kama-Harathunian & Tomlin 2007).

What is Aboriginal Terms of Reference (ATR)?

Kickett's (1992 cited in NHMRC, 1997 p.20) paradigm, proposed a generalist meaning of ATR.

ATR encompasses the cultural knowledge, understanding and experiences that are associated with a commitment to Aboriginal ways of thinking, working and reflecting. ATR incorporates specific and implicit cultural values, beliefs and priorities from which Aboriginal standards are derived, validated and practised. These standards vary according to the diverse range of cultural values, beliefs and priorities from within local settings and specific context…, which is important to their own lives.

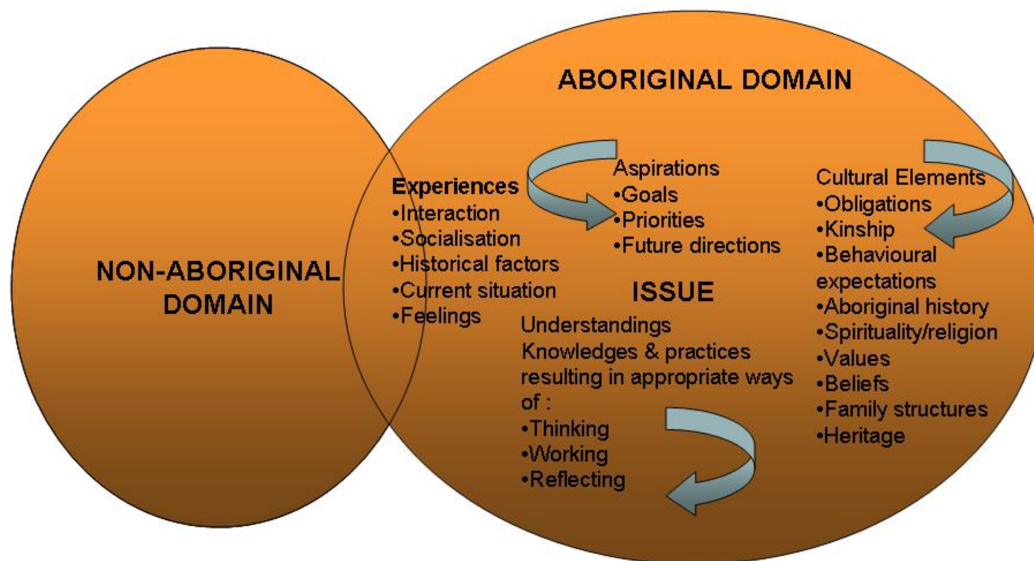
Aboriginal society is not homogenous and the principles of ATR espouse an appreciation of Aboriginal diversity. The way in which the researcher works with Aboriginal groups will differ. ATR positions a cultural framework whereby the researcher empowers the 'subjects' by working in ways that confirm the 'subject's' Aboriginality. ATR assists the researcher to

recognise historical, cultural, political and economical realities of Aboriginal people. Kickett (1992) further suggests that:

ATR is the space where equity and equality between the subjects and the researchers is formed. Both parties working together can identify from a cultural analysis, the issues from the picture that the subjects paint. The process also gives room for the voices of the subjects to articulate their cultural assessment of the researcher's values towards the available resources within the group and those the group do not have" (cited in NHMRC 1997, p. 20).

What is critical for developing an Indigenous Research Model is defining the interpretations, translations, meanings, understandings and recommendations from a cultural base and an Aboriginal ontology. Whilst developing an Indigenous theory to accommodate ATR principles it became quite clear to Yavu-Kama-Harathunian (1998) that the '*alien*' language of the non-Indigenous researcher dominated. Minimal space was given for articulating meaning and understanding of the Aboriginal English language. ATR assists researchers to investigate, examine, explore and articulate findings, results, recommendations, and outcomes from within an Indigenous (Aboriginal) cultural context. The diagram below demonstrates these essential elements.

Aboriginal terms of reference conceptual framework



Replicated from Aboriginal Community Management and Development Workbook, Workshop 2: Aboriginal Ways of 1, 1996, p. 28.

The diagram shows the non-Aboriginal Domain (NID) overlapping into the Aboriginal Domain (AD) and research principles and processes therefore, overlap into the domain of the Aboriginal worldview. The overlap does not give Aboriginal meaning and interpretation to what the non-Aboriginal researchers explore. Historical research methods focusing on the Aboriginal worldview have been the domain of Anglo - ethnic male researchers. This dominance left little room for feminist (Lather: 1991; Bowles & Klein: 1983; Stanley & Wise: 1983) or Indigenous researchers to articulate their own methodologies.

Literature Review

The Literature Review is based upon the studies of Indigenous researchers who have searched for Indigenous research methodologies (Nakata 2007; Dodson 1994; Rigney 1997; Langton 1993; Brady 1992; Oates 2000; Humphreys 2000; Wanganeen 1987; Kickett cited in NHMRC 1997; Dudgeon, Garvey & Pickett 2000; Morton-Robertson 2004; Ku Kahakalau 2004; Tuhiwai-Smith 1999). Non-Indigenous methodologies with principles that resonated with an ATR framework were also examined (Connell 2007; Johnstone 1991; Boer et al 2003; Ritzer 1996; Battiste 2000, 2001, 1987). Feminist ideology was considered (Stanley & Wise 1983; Mies 1983; Lather 1987), but feminist perspectives differed from Australian Aboriginal ontology. Feminism is not inclusive of the Aboriginal male and female duality of power and authority.

Ethnography, Action Research and Phenomenography were found to resonate with Aboriginal Terms of Reference. They are also congruent with a Cultural Philosophical Ethos Theory. Synergistically, principles and elements of these three methods could be transferred, yet in their transference, maintain the integrity of Aboriginal ways of 'being' researchers and non-Indigenous ways of 'doing' research. Authentic cultural elements critical to the formulation of an Australian Indigenous theory were identified by Humphreys (2000) providing the framework for validating the core value of Aboriginal spirituality in research. See diagram below.

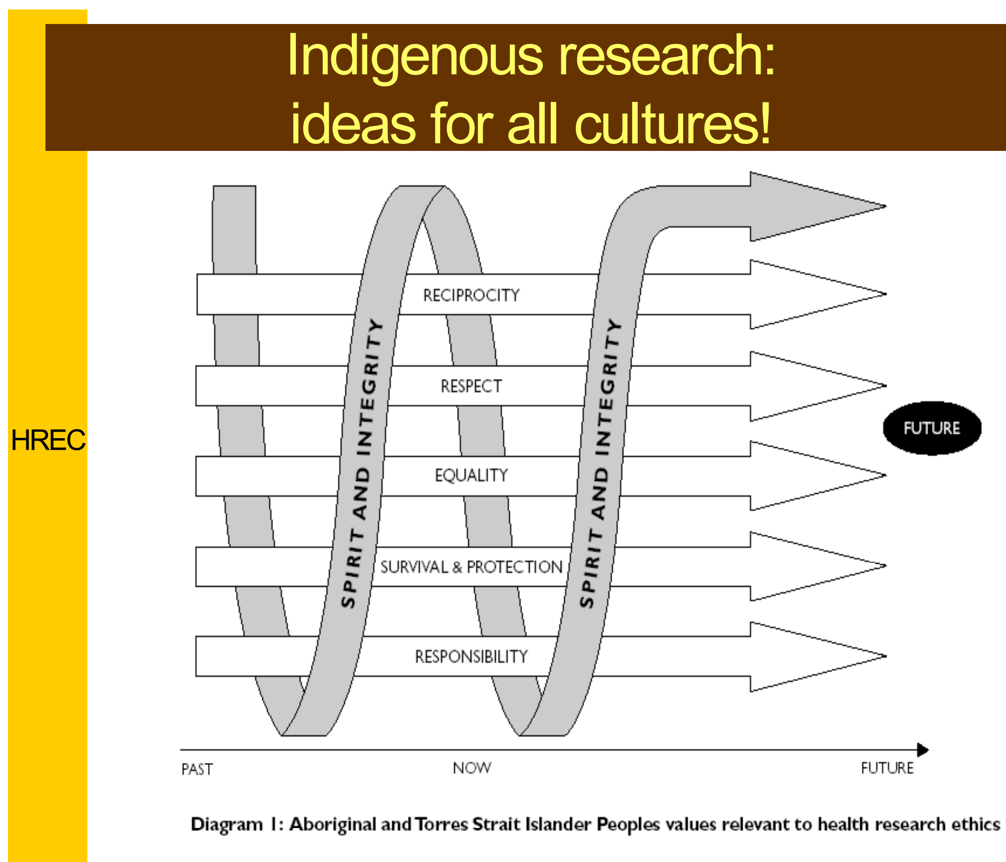


Diagram 1: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples values relevant to health research ethics

Humphreys (2000) pioneered the notions of maintaining cultural integrity and cultural respect, strongly promoting Aboriginal core values of spirituality, morality, cultural context and life systems.

Yavu-Kama-Harathunian and Tomlin (2007) suggest non-Aboriginal studies have ignored the significant meanings of Aboriginal values and ethics imposing their own non-Aboriginal meanings on Aboriginal people as 'subjects'. Aboriginal people associated these '*alien'* meanings as being the cultural context of Aboriginal values and ethics (Dodson 1994) and that these imposed meanings articulated Aboriginal ways of 'being' and Aboriginal ways of 'doing'. Humphrey's studies (2000) contextualised an Aboriginal understanding of Aboriginal people's values which then formed the emergence of the embryonic-Cultural Philosophical Ethos Theory.

WHAT IS A CULTURAL PHILOSOPHICAL ETHOS (CPE) THEORY?

Yavu-Kama-Harathunian (1998) explored Kickett's principles of ATR (1992 cited in NHMRC, 1997). His framework highlighted how process work, treatment theories, and principles were viewed by Aboriginal people. The foundation for the proposed Indigenous Research Model developed by Yavu-Kama-Harathunian and Tomlin (2007) needed to reflect ATR and CPE's validation of the integrity of Aboriginal knowledge and wisdom about researching non-Aboriginal research methods.

Gibson, Smith and Yavu-Kama-Harathunian (2003), took the work of Yavu-Kama-Harathunian and together they articulated a diagrammatical representation of the notion as an Aboriginal theory. Yavu-Kama-Harathunian (1998) suggested that,

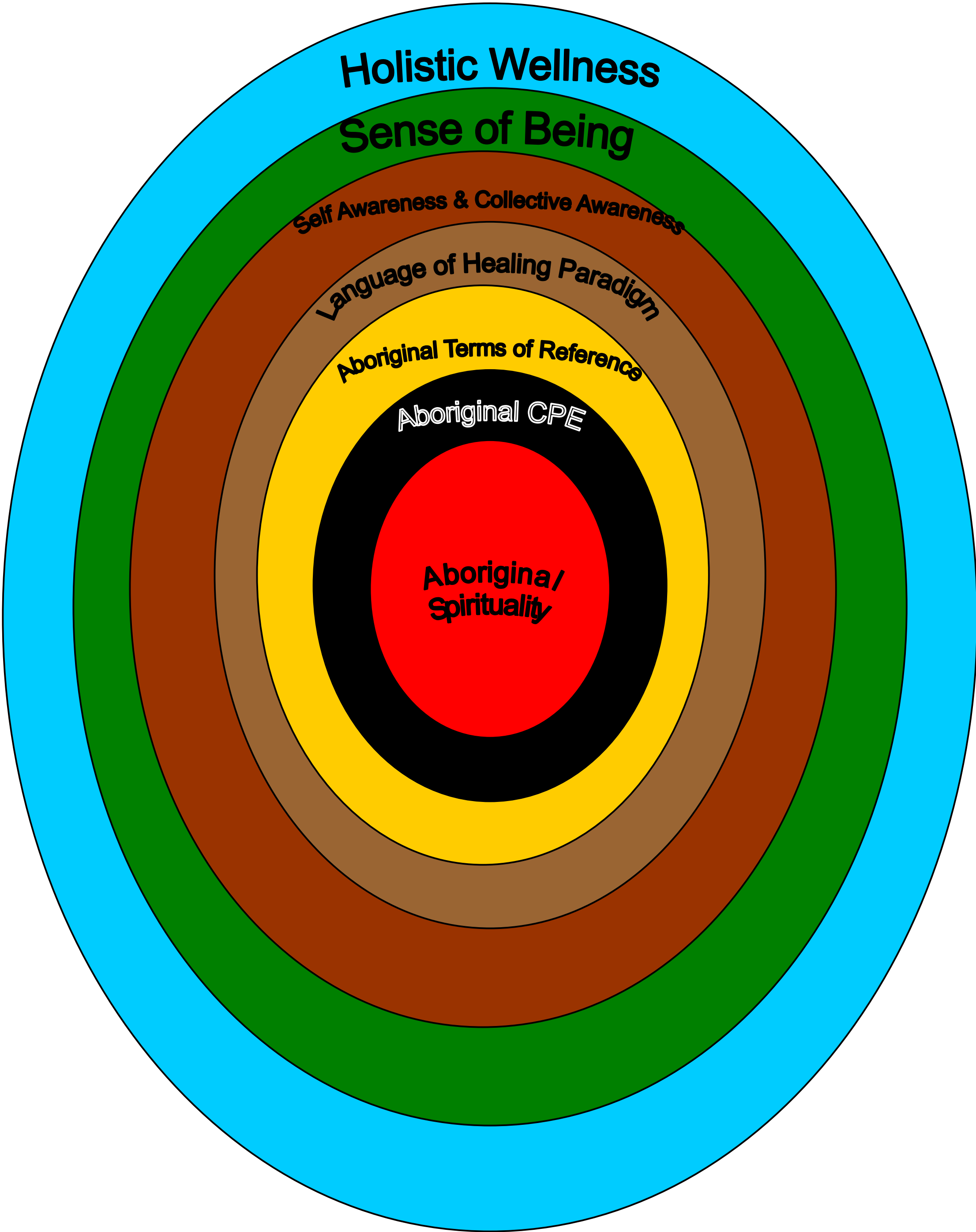
CPE is that essential spiritual sense of knowing, that underpins all that evolves from an individual's layers of understanding, histories, life experiences, knowledge, learning processes, beliefs, values, attitudes, motivations, awareness and sense of self as a human being who belongs to a particular cultural group. It is the storehouse that houses an individual's human experiences, everything that gives him/her recognition for their sense of belonging and being part of a cultural group. It connects the individual's internal and external human experiences to their spiritual and cultural identity.

CPE theory provides researchers with a tool to 'decolonise' Aboriginal meanings and understandings in research traditionally articulated in the 'alien tongue'. It's synergistic aspects: Aboriginal Spirituality, Cultural Philosophical Ethos, Aboriginal Terms of Reference, Language of a Healing Paradigm, Sense of Being and Holistic Wellness, assists in identifying the cultural identity of the 'subjects' under investigation. See diagram.

Healing Circles, Healing Ways:

Creating an Alternative Healing Paradigm for Treatment Programmes

(Yavu-Kama-Harathunian, original 1998-2003)



Any research about Aboriginal people that is conducted in the language of the '*alien'* tongue (Dodson 1994) silences the Aboriginal voice and the Aboriginal cultural meanings necessary to decolonise (Moreton-Robinson 2004) the language of the research process. Gibson (2003, p. 25) stated that:

With the support of many Aboriginal people from around Australia, including Smith (2003), Yavu-Kama-Harathunian (1998), has conceptualised a theory….that is best suited to the spiritual, emotional, psychological, and physical needs of Aboriginal people". CPE validates metaphorically the imagery Aboriginal people have developed for themselves because it is derived from values articulated within an Aboriginal culture context. At its core the Theory acknowledges the essence of Aboriginal identity as being intrinsically woven into Aboriginal Spirituality because of the Aboriginal understanding of their connection to land and the concept of the land owning the people. It is Aboriginal Spirituality that pervades the Indigenous diversity and complexity of their own cultural context. This cultural context is congruent with an Aboriginal worldview that underpins CPE.

THE VALUE OF ABORIGINAL SPIRITUALITY IN THE PROPOSED MODEL

Aboriginal spirituality culturally respects the secret and sacred nature of Aboriginal men's business and Aboriginal women's business. Aboriginal people throughout Australia have their own explanations, definitions, views, opinions and interpretations of this phenomenon. Aboriginal spirituality is not based within a religious conceptualisation. It is the core value of CPE Theory and understanding its importance is critical. As Yavu-Kama-Harathunian (1998) suggests there are seven generalist layers defined within Aboriginal cultural perspectives and maintain cultural integrity and fluidity. The seven layers are: reflection (deep insightful meditation); recherché (transcendence-the ability to bring the Spiritual world into the language of the human realm); refulgence (illumination of humanness into the Spiritual world); 'Corpo santo' (acceptance that the human body is holy); reverent obeisance (inner prostration that hallows Creator Spirit); synergistic cosmology (spirit of the earth and the spirit of the universe flows from and into the Source of 'All' Spirit) and, omniscience (spiritually enables the human to integrate into the 'All' 'knowingness' of Creator Spirit's 'Oneness').

THE PROPOSED INDIGENOUS RESEARCH MODEL: METHODOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

An Indigenous Research Model incorporating both an ATR framework and CPE Theory is proposed. These Indigenous research instruments permit the research projects' methodological, analytical, and interpretative processes together with the outcomes to remain within an Indigenous world-view. The principles and elements of an ATR framework, underpinned by the CPE Theory, will synergistically integrate the NID methodologies of phenomenography, ethnography and action research.

CPE validates the wisdoms of researchers' abilities to identify researchable phenomena from within the culture and processes of 'Aboriginal Business'. They constructively gain insight into 'others' experiences using their own language styles (Babbie 2004; Richardson 1999; Seidman 1991; Marshall & Rossman 1998; Patton 1980) and the validity of the data is maintained (Lincoln & Guba 1985). It is also essential that the natural style of language is not eliminated or over paraphrased (Tharenou, Donohue & Cooper 2007; Babbie 2004). Musson (1998) suggests that the 'subjects' language gives researchers a tool to access a peoples sense of reality about their own world thus attempting to give 'voice' to that reality. A 'subjects'

language recognises that there is a collusion of cultures in the research process (Mc Neill 1995; Symon & Cassell 1998; Denzin 1989). This is critical in that research is most commonly interpreted by the researcher's language and their perspective.

Musson (1994) and Newman (2000) infer that the researchers' assumptions are taken for granted within the research. Through the process of identifying assumptions within an ATR framework, researchers are given a space to allow the voices of Aboriginal 'subjects' to be validated and heard. Researchers, using an ATR framework have the capacity to tell the Aboriginal 'subjects' story contextualising it within the 'subjects' culture whilst fitting the information into an NID theoretical framework (Symon & Cassell 1998; Polgar & Thomas 1995).

WESTERN METHODOLOGIES THAT FIT ATR AND CPE

Phenomenography is consistent with an empirical approach that investigates a limited number of qualitative ways in which phenomena can be understood. It emphasises individuals and cultural group experiences (Richardson 1999; Marton 1986). Research exploration focuses on the nature of social phenomena rather than hypothesising (Richardson 1999; Svensson & Theman 1983). "Unstructured" data-data which has not been coded at the point of collection in terms of analytic categories-is investigated (Sarantakos 2005; Richardson 1999; Marton 1986). Analysis of data involves interpreting meanings and functions of human actions resulting in verbal descriptions and explanations (Sarantakos 2005; Richardson 1999; Ashworth & Lucas 1998). Statistical analysis is of little relevance (Creswell 1994; Denzin & Lincoln 1994; Neuman 2000) because the interpretations rely upon the researchers' immersion in social settings (Reinharz 1992; Richardson 1999; Ashworth & Lucas 2000). Cross-culturally, the research requires understanding between researchers and 'subjects' (Miller & Brewer 2003; Richardson 1999) and this is consistent with ATR principles.

ETHNOGRAPHY

Ethnography is "the art and science of describing a group or culture" (Tharenou, Donohue & Cooper 2007, p. 135; Babbie 2004, p. 289; Neuman 2000, pp. 347-348; Fetterman 1989, p. 11; Maanen 1983, pp. 19-35). A clear focus on social research methods (Miller & Brewer 2003) incorporating ethnographic principles congruently articulate within an ATR framework.

Tuhiwai-Smith's (1999) research demonstrated that ethnography is useful for Indigenous research. Ethnography is qualitative and subjective in nature (Sarantakos 2005) and trustworthiness of the researcher is judged when qualitative research is advocated for. Lincoln and Guba (1985) identified four attributes constituting research standards: credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability. They and others argue that credibility arises through prolonged engagement, persistent observation and triangulation [cross-checking] of sources and methods, participant observation, interviews and archival data (Polgar & Thomas 1995). Transferability (Hughes 1997) cannot be judged by the researcher without providing a description of the research context and the issue under investigation. Hughes (1997) states that, an audit trail allows for assessment of dependability and conformability by keeping copies and transcripts of raw data and research notes. He also suggests that, 'the credibility, transferability, dependability and the conformability principles' are used to guide the researcher's audit trail - a necessity of the research-if it is to maintain cultural integrity. Ethnographic principles that are applicable can be articulated within the Aboriginal worldview of ATR.

ACTION RESEARCH

Action research (Berg 2007, p. 224) "methodologically creates a positive social change predominantly driving the investigator and the research". There are a number of assumptions including: democratisation of knowledge production and use; beneficial knowledge generation processes aligned with ethical fairness; ecological views of society and nature; recognition and valuing human abilities to reflect, learn and change; and commitment to social change without violence (Berg 2007). He suggests two key responsibilities:

1. Disclose or produce information and knowledge useful to a group of people through research, education and socio-political action, group cohesiveness and capacity building.
2. Inform and empower the average person in the group, motivating individuals to utilise information gathered in the research (Berg 2007; Babbie 2004; Miller & Brewer 2003; Reason 1994; Fals-Borda & Rahman 1991).

Within an ATR framework, Action Research focuses on investigating the 'subject' population's history, culture, interactive activities, and emotional lives (Berg 2007). It brings Aboriginal accounts of the phenomena under investigation to the forefront.

A DIAGRAMMATICAL ILLUSTRATION OF THE INDIGENOUS RESEARCH MODEL

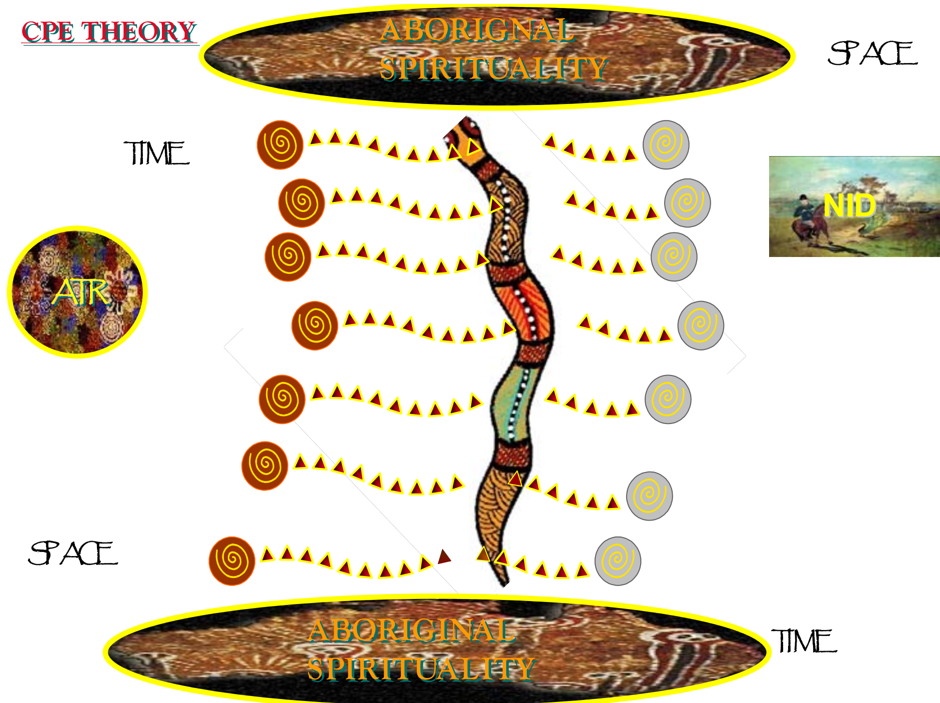
The two-dimensional illustration below, articulates the Indigenous Research Models' portrayal of the dynamic interactions between ATR, NID and CPE. CPE Theory is centred in Aboriginal Spirituality and moves the integrating essential principles and elements of ATR and NID continuously in time and space creating new information, new knowledge and new wisdoms. The ATR framework and the NID principles and elements fluidly move across and through CPE depicting how information, knowledge and wisdom are transformed into the 'new' and transference of the 'new' in time and space is also occurring.

From a three-dimensional perspective, the principles of ATR and the elements of NID revolve and evolve into the 'new' through CPE Theory. The Indigenous Research Model has elements and principles of ATR and NID that are filtered through layers of CPE Theory whilst continuously revolving around the central point of CPE Theory's connection to Aboriginal Spirituality in time and space. The revolutions take information, knowledge, understandings, meanings and wisdoms fluidly between ATR and NID across CPE Theory which is centred in Aboriginal Spirituality thus continuously changing there dynamic.

Just as DNA distributes throughout the human body the elements of life source, so too CPE Theory through time and space distributes from ATR notions of Aboriginal cultural ethnicity into the NID. Just as DNA distributes life source throughout the systems of the human body so too CPE Theory through time and space distributes Aboriginal Spirituality between ATR and NID connecting Aboriginal 'ways of doing' and 'being' with those principles and elements in the NID that will maintain cultural integrity within the research processes.

Aboriginal Spirituality will always impact on ATR, NID and CPE whenever the research phenomenon is within the Aboriginal domain. ATR takes those elements and principles of the NID through CPE Theory. The NID takes those ATR elements and principles through CPE Theory so as to ensure that the Aboriginal 'voice' is what is articulated in the research.

The model ensures that the researcher and the researched will be compelled to maintain an Aboriginal ontology accountable to the Aboriginal people. See diagram below.

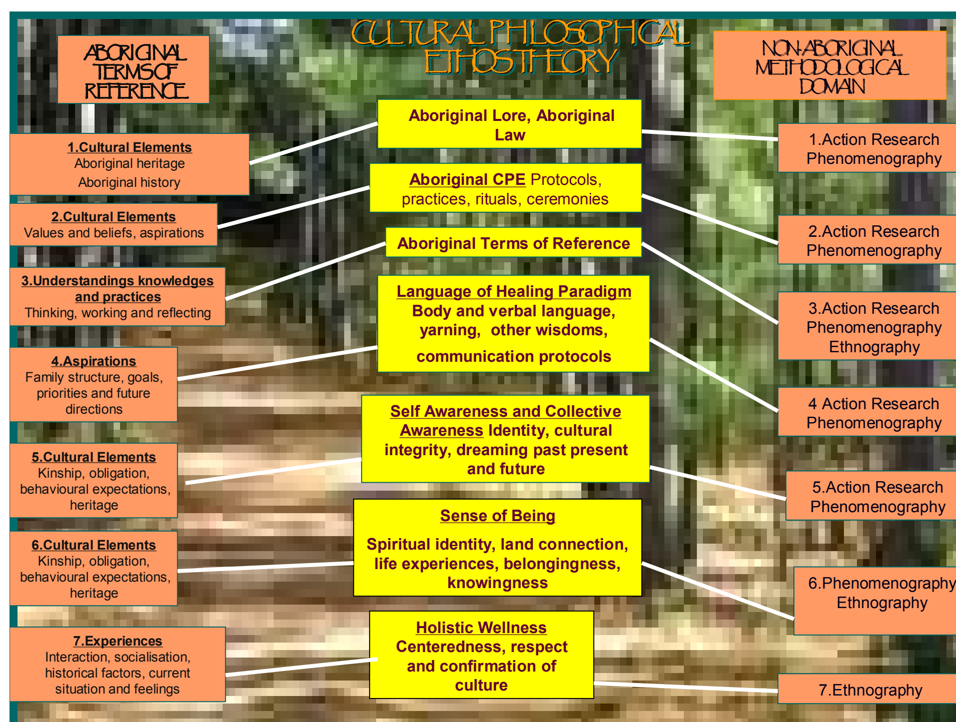


(Source: Created from the 3D DNA Double Helix Models, Indigo Instruments)

The core essence of Aboriginal Spirituality is the enigmatic 'I am" of the Aboriginal 'voice'. It is imperative that researchers consider Aboriginal Spirituality's significance in CPE Theory because if not, then as Dodson (1994, p. 39) clearly stated, "… our different voices may be heard once again only in the language of the alien tongue…"

The Indigenous Research Model is a dynamic research tool. Over time and space ATR and the NID will change just as cultures and societies change the inter-relationships ATR and NID have with the CPE Theory. Aboriginal Spirituality's timelessness does not change over time and space but when CPE Theory is applied the dynamics of ATR and NID will also change. See diagram below.

The Inter and Intra- connectedness of ATR to CPE and NID to CPE



Changes will occur as researchers credentialise their research with Aboriginal meaning, wisdom and knowledge through CPE Theory. This illustration demonstrates how the principles and elements of an ATR framework and principles and elements of the methodologies of the NID interconnect with CPE Theory. Neither remains static particularly when researching to articulate the very essence of Aboriginal Australia's living experience.

Phenomenography principles when incorporated within an ATR framework focuses upon the participation of the researcher and the 'subject' and what the 'subject' population has to say and do. Both become stakeholders thus sharing the analysis of data, interpretation of the meanings, functions of human actions, the verbal descriptions and explanations of what is being researched (Sarantakos 2005; Richardson 1999; Ashworth & Lucas 1998).

Ethnographically the elements of an ATR framework ensures that the researcher enables the 'subjects' to define the 'subjects' phenomenon for the researcher, inclusive of the 'subjects' cultural nuances within the groups' 'ways of doing and being'. Therefore, the principles that are espoused as characteristics of ethnography are also implicitly identified within an ATR framework underpinned by CPE.

Action research has been successful when applied to Indigenous community development initiatives. For example, the Bundaberg and Burnett Region Community Development Aboriginal Corporation implemented their plan to establish an Indigenous Wellbeing Centre (IWC) (2007) through the use of Action Research. What this community needed was a process whereby services that addressed critical health needs could be realised. Action Research found that the needs involved accessing, and utilising primary health care services.

When IWC considered the 'needs' within an ATR framework they determined that local cultural practices had deep spiritual significance with regard to health services. Aboriginal

men would not attend general practice services for fear of being seen by their peers or because they would be taken to the hospital. To be seen by peers was a ‘big shame’ issue and to be taken to hospital when unwell, in these Aboriginal peoples minds, meant that the person was about to die. Acknowledgement of the spirituality and the Aboriginal ‘way of doing and being’ - ‘Murrie-Way ’- which included beliefs, mores, and values of the Aboriginal community and their cultural heritage had previously been overlooked. When an Action Research methodological approach was applied to the communities’ identified critical needs, community empowerment, individual commitments and organisational planning all synergised.

Therefore, Action Research when underpinned by CPE Theory integrates the CPE Theory’s elements of self-awareness and collective awareness, sense of being and a language of a healing paradigm. This was articulated in the research conducted by the IWC.

CONCLUSION

Research undertaken within the Aboriginal Australian arena utilising the Indigenous Research Model will ‘bring home’ results that articulate Aboriginal meanings, understandings, conceptualising, knowings, wisdoms, and language. The voicelessness of the historical Aboriginal ‘subjects’ will have the capacity ‘to speak’ and ‘to be heard’ within their own ATR.

Using an Indigenous developed Research Model allows the researcher to value the cultural integrity of the Aboriginal peoples who are being researched. The researchers’ moral and ethical integrity to *“bring it home to Aboriginal peoples*” will be realised. This paper has discussed and explained the proposed Indigenous Research Model based upon an ATR framework and CPE theory and how it works with NID principles and elements whilst maintaining the integrity of an Aboriginal worldview. Over time and space new information, new knowledge and new wisdoms will continue to evolve.

References

Aboriginal Community Management and Development Workbook. (1996). *Workshop 2: Aboriginal Ways of 1*, (p. 28). Perth: Curtin University of Technology.

Ashworth, P, & Lucas, U. (1998),‘What is the world of phenomenography?’ Oslo: in *Scandinavian Journal of Education Research*. December vol. 42, issue 4

Ashworth, P. & Lucas, U. (2000). ‘Achieving empathy and engagement: A practical approach to the design, conduct and reporting of phenomenographic research, in *Higher Studies in Education*, October, vol. 25, (pp. 1-15). Sheffield Hallam University: Learning and Teaching Institute.

Atkinson, Judy (002). Trauma Trails: Recreating Song Lines, The Transgenerational Effects of Trauma in Indigenous Communities, reviewed by Antonia Esten, Curtin University of Technology, *JAS Review of Books*, Online Issue 44, July 2006, Australian Public Intellectual Network 2007. North Melbourne: Spinifex Press.

Babbie, Earl (2004). *The Practice of Social Research*, 10th Edition. Sydney Australia: Thomson Publishing.

Berg, Bruce, L. (2007). *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*, Sixth Edition. Thomson Publishing: Pearson.

Bowles, Gloria & Klein, Renate (1983). *Theories of Women’s Studies.* London: Routledge.

Brady, W. (1992a). Indigenous control of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Research. Aboriginal *Studies Association Conference,* 2, (pp. 311-315). University of Western Sydney.

Brady, Wendy (1997). ‘Reconciliation and Research’. Synergy, Issue 6 Institute for Teaching and Learning: University of Sydney.

Creswell, J.W. (1994). *Research Design: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. London: Sage Publications.

Cook-Lynn, Elisabeth (1997). ‘Who Stole Native American Studies’. vol. 12, no. 1, (pp. 9-28). *Wicazo Sa Review: University of Minnesota Press.*

Denzin, N. (1989). *The Research Act: a theoretical introduction to Sociological Methods*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Denzin, N. & Lincoln, Y. (eds) (1994). *Handbook of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Dodson, Michael (1994). 'The end in the beginning: Re (de)finding Aboriginality', *Australian Aboriginal Studies* 1, 1994. Reprinted in Michele Grossman (coord. ed) 2003, *Blacklines: Contemporary Critical Writing by Indigenous Australians*. (pp. 25-42). Carlton Victoria: Melbourne University Press.

Dudgeon, Pat, Garvey, Darren & Pickett, Harry (2000). *Working with Indigenous Australians: A Handbook for Psychologists*. Curtin Indigenous Research Centre. Perth: Gunada Press.

Fals-Borda, O. & Rahman, M.A. (1991). *Action and Knowledge: Breaking the Monopoly with Participatory Action Research*. New York: Intermediate Technology/Apex.

Fetterman, David. M. (1989). *Ethnography: step by step*. Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications.

Gibson, K., Smith, M. & Yavu-Kama-Harathunian C.D. (2003). *Principles of Aboriginal Best Practice in Therapeutic Programs. Perth* Western Australia: Ministry of Justice.

Hughes, J (1997). 'Sociological paradigms and the use of ethnography in hospitality research', *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Research*. (pp. 14-27). vol. 21, no.1. London: Sage Publications.

Humphrey, K. (2000). *Indigenous Health & Western Research*, Discussion Paper No.2. Parkville VicHealth Koori Research & Community Development Unit: University of Melbourne.

Indigo Instruments (2007). '3D DNA Double Helix Models for Teaching and Museum Display', http://www.indigo,com/models/dna-models,html, (accessed on July 2007).

Kü Kahakalau Hülili (2004). 'Indigenous Heuristic Action Research:
Bridging Western and Indigenous Research Methodologies', *Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being. (pp. 1 -15).* vol. 1. Hawaii: Kamehameha Schools.

Lather, Patricia Ann (1991). *Getting Smart: Feminist Research and Pedagogy*. London: Routledge.

Lincoln, Y & Guba, E. (1985). Naturalistic *Inquiry*. Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications.

Maanen, John Van (1983). *Qualitative Methodology*. Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications.

Marton, F. (1986). Phenomenography: a research approach to investigating different understandings of reality, in *Journal of Thought.* (pp.141-149). vol. 21, no. 3. London: Routledge.

Marshall, C. & Rossman, G.B. (1998). *Designing Qualitative Research*. London: Sage Publications.

Mc Neill, P. (1985). *Research Methods*. London: Tavistock.

Miller, Robert, L. and Brewer, John, D. (2003). *The A-Z of Social Research*. London: Sage Publications.

Moreton-Robinson, Aileen (2004). 'Resistance, recovery, revitalisation,' Michele Grossman (ed), *Blacklines: Contemporary Critical Writing by Indigenous Australians*. (pp. 127-131). Melbourne: University Press.

Musson, G. (1998). 'Life histories' in *Qualitative methods and analysis in organizational research: a practical guide*. (eds) G. Symon & C. Cassell. (pp. 10-27). London: Sage.

National Health and Medical Research Council (1997). '*A National Training and Employment Strategy for Aboriginal & Torres Strait Health Workers, and professionals working in Aboriginal & Torres State Island health'.* Canberra: Federal Government Press.

National Health and Medical Research Council. (2002). Draft Values and Ethics in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Research. Consultation paper for the revision of the NHMRC *Guidelines on Ethical Matters in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Research* (1991). Available at: http://www.nhmrc.gov.au/issues/pdf/values.pdf

Neuman, Lawrence, W (2000). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Oates, William (2000). 'Bastards of the Bush: Towards an Indigenous Australian Research Methodology'. (pp. 1-9). Rockhampton: Central Queensland University.

Patton, M.Q. (1980). *Qualitative Research Methods*. London England. Sage Publications.

Polgar, S & Thomas, S (1995). *Introduction to research in the Health Sciences*. Melbourne: Churchill Livingstone.

Porsanger, Jelena (2004). 'An Essay About Indigenous Methodology' presented at a *Doctoral Seminar*. (pp. 105-120). Tromso Norway: University of Tromso.

Reason, P. (1994). Three approaches to participative inquiry, in N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln, *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. (pp, 324-339), Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.

Richardson, J. (1999). 'The Concepts of Methods of Phenomenographic Research' in *Review of Education Journal*. Spring vol.69 (pp. 53 -82).
Brunel University London: Sage Journals.

Romero-Little, Mary Eunice (*2006).*' Honoring Our Own: Rethinking Indigenous Language and Literacy'. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*. (pp. 399 - 402). Arizona State University: Blackwell Publishing.

Sarantakos, Sotirios (2005). *Social Research*, Third Edition. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Seidman, I. E. (1991). *Interviewing as Qualitative Research*. New York: *Teachers College Press.*

Stanley, Liz & Wise, Sue (1983). *Breaking Out: Feminist Consciousness and feminist research*. Routledge: London.
Svensson, L. & Theman, J. (1983). *The relation between categories of description and an interview protocol in a case of phenomenographic research*. University of Goteborg: Goteborg Department of Education.
Symon, G. & Cassell, C. (1998). *Qualitative methods and analysis in organizational research: a practical guide*. London: Sage.
Tharenou, Phyllis, Donohue, Ross and Cooper, Brian (2007). *Management Research Methods*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Tindale, Norman B. (1940). Distribution of Australian aboriginal tribes: a field survey. Vol. 64, no. 1. Adelaide: *Royal Society of South Australia*.
Tuhiwai-Smith, Linda (1999). *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London: Zed Books Ltd.
Ungunmerr-Baumann, Mirian-Rose (2002). *Dadirri: A Reflection by Miriam -Inner Deep Listening and Quiet Still Awareness*, Nauiyu, Daly River, Northern Territory: Emmaus Productions.
Yavu-Kama-Harathunian C.D. (1998). *The Notion of a Cultural Philosophical Ethos,* (Unpublished). Perth, Western Australia.

Yavu-Kama-Harathunian, C.D. & Tomlin D.B. (2007). 'Conceptualising and Enacting Notions of Research Excellence in Working with Indigenous Communities', *Alternative: an International Journal of Indigenous Scholarship-Special Issue-Developing Excellence New Directions in Indigenous Research.* (pp. 1-34). Auckland, New Zealand: University of Nga Pae O Te Maramatanga.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors wish to acknowledge the valuable work of Aboriginal Academics and Researchers across Australia whose research studies enabled this current work to emerge. With deep gratitude recognition of the contribution to this work must be given to Ms Kelly Gibson and Mr Marshall Smith of Roebourne Western Australia

With respect and affection the support, discussions, rewrites, advice and guidance of Associate Professor William Oates ensured that the authors remained focused and committed to the task at hand.

The Minniecon family and members of the Wenitong and Lingwoodock families are thanked for their tenacity. In the face of societal progress they continue to maintain and practice their culture, keep alive their oral traditions regarding Aboriginal Law principles and Aboriginal Spirituality. Their commitment to pass their cultural knowledge on to the current generations through family gatherings occurs every year when they combine to celebrate their heritage, their culture and their history at the farm that has owned the Minniecon family for one hundred and eleven years.

"Junjarin-nga dhar'guna yau'eembai'ya ngoolam'bula dhar'kun yar war gow" These words are from a 40,000 year old blessing and they mean: "May the spiritual forces of Mother Earth guide and protect your inner self and truth". These words are spoken in the traditional language of the authors.