RECOGNITION, RECONCILIATION AND
RESTORATION: APPLYING A DECOLONIZED UNDERSTANDING
IN SOCIAL WORK AND HEALING PROCESSES

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Edited by Jan Erik Henriksen, Ida Hydle and Britt Kramvig

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INNHOLD

PART 4. RESTORATION

PART 1.
INTRODUCTION

APPLYING A DECOLONIZED UNDERSTANDING IN HEALING PROCESSES

BY JAN ERIK HENRIKSEN, IDA HYDLE AND BRITT KRAMVIG

INTRODUCTION

Indigenous communities worldwide are all tightly bound to nature and all fear the dramatic ruination of our planet. The scale and speed of destruction is a central concern of environmentalists and indigenous activists confronting the expanding extraction of natural resources to satisfy a global demand. Indigenous communities are participating in ongoing struggles to protect the land and traditional livelihood, and to reject neo-colonial politics. Indigenous people have been, and still are, central caretakers of traditional land, and of the securing of the biodiversity of our planet. Indigenous communities enact a worldview that is different from the dominant states and companies, and through this make obvious to the world its composition of many worlds (de la Cadena & Blaser, 2018).

We bring together here indigenous scholars and their alliances, who together provide ethnographic examples of colonial practices that need decolonial input. Working toward reconciliation, restorative justice and decolonization are central concerns of the scholars contributing to this book, which is built upon studies presented at the 4th International Indigenous Voices in Social Work Conference (IIVSW) in Alta, Norway 2017. During the conference we discussed how to detect, prevent and heal marginalization and exclusion, and invited participants to take part in a dialogue on reconciliation and

restorative practices. Transition, marginalization and empowerment are key terms that need to be addressed. There is also a need for theoretical tools that work in and for the best of contemporary indigenous communities and for the whole of society in a sustainable, global context. We argue that if we are to explore what participatory knowledge-production in different communities can be, then we need knowledge dialogues that take indigenous peoples' voices and democratic participation to be a basic predisposition. If we are to change the dramatic ruination of the planet, then we need to engage with knowledge that rests in indigenous communities and that supports the biodiversity we so much depend upon. To do this we need to engage *with* indigenous people's knowledge and with indigenous knowers. The International Indigenous Voices in Social Work Conference (IIVSWC) showed the need and conviction that indigenous wisdom and tacit knowledge hold the answers to some of these challenges. IIVSWS invited students, social workers, researchers, administrators and policymakers to discuss these issues, and to build knowledge and develop the empowerment methods needed to meet the global demands of sustainability and diversity.

With this anthology, we intend to provide new knowledge about the colonial aspects of our diverse stories and to enable awareness of how the legacies of colonialism operate at the macro and micro level. We are concerned with how colonial and decolonial practices are entangled in globalization and politics, and also in everyday life encounters, engagements, suffering and the ongoing efforts of formulating healing practices. The chapters in this book therefore attempt to disseminate indigenous knowledge, and discuss empirical research and practices that are well-suited to the addressing of the consequences of colonial violations, both in the past and in the way they operate in the present. We know that indigenous knowledge is being destroyed through ongoing policies of assimilation, expropriation and cultural appropriation. Contemporary national and international governance by states and companies brings about intended and non-intended disruptions of relationships and kinship within and between communities, landscapes and other earth beings peoples live with. This involves the dissolution of the indigenous knowledge practices, relations to the land, governance and protocols that have co-created and sustained healthy ecosystems over millennia (Kimmerer, 2013).

An indigenous research paradigm is needed. According to Denzin, Lincoln & Smith (2008, p.1) this paradigm is 'ethical, performative, healing, transformative, decolonizing, and participatory. It must be committed to dialogue,

community, self-determination, and cultural autonomy. It must meet people's perceived needs. It must resist efforts to confine inquiry to a single paradigm or interpretive strategy. It must be unruly, disruptive, critical, and dedicated to the goals of justice and equity' (Denzin et al., 2008, p.1). Wilson (2008) points out that instead of achieving goals of validity and reliability, indigenous methodologies (IM) aim to be authentic and credible to all of these relationships. Indigenous methodologies co-create knowledge with participants and embrace relational accountability, as opposed to trying to stay outside of the experience. IM, instead of intellectualising knowledge, is committed to dialogue, community, self-determination and cultural autonomy. It must, as Denzil et al. (2008) argue, be unruly, disruptive, critical, and dedicated to the goals of justice and equity.

We will emphasize the need for theoretical and practical tools that work in and for the best of contemporary indigenous communities, and therefore for the whole of society, in this era of climate change and mass destruction of species. Knowledge dialogues are needed that take indigenous peoples' voices and democratic participation to be an utmost challenge, and explore what participatory knowledge-production in different communities can be. New knowledge and future solutions must be respectfully embedded in communities and landscapes. We need to pay closer attention to the overlaid arrangements of human and nonhuman living spaces that Gan, Tsing, Swanson & Bubandt (2017) call landscapes. This landscape concept is fruitful, as it asks us as researchers to question what can raise the (indigenous) living spaces that are disrupted and partly invisible due to extractivism and colonial politics. *The landscape* of Gan et al. (2017) is helpful in the questioning of the neoliberal surfacing of the land and in engaging with the memories and practices of those that have been forgotten. It is also helpful in standing up to the constant barrage of messages asking us to *forget* – that is, to allow a few private owners and public officials with their eyes focused on short term gains to pretend that environmental devastation does not exist (Gan et al., 2017). This anthology is part of the effort to use our research to advance a decolonial future, and to advance just social and healing practices.

Colonialism as a political, social and cultural force has contributed to innumerable former and present conflicts, violent, armed, social and psychological – on people and land. Neo-colonisation is still in progress in many countries, even if colonialism is considered to be part of the past. Suffering, poverty and exploitation are still societal and individual threats to all, not only to those who

are directly involved. As Fanon (2008) shows, colonization can be thought of as an internalized, psychological state that distorts our relationships with others and with ourselves. Colonial forms of domination and subjugation are not dissolved by formal political independence, but remain operative in ethnic relations, education, psychosocial relations and health statistics.

Colonialism has affected not only indigenous, but also majority populations. Most countries claim that colonisation, apartheid and assimilation belong to the past. Discrimination and everyday racism, however, seem impossible to control and prevent. Lindner (2006) talks about micro-humiliation. Micro-humiliation often occurs in the context of 'racialization' (skin colour, religion, language, gender etc) as markers of unfamiliarity and otherness. Humiliation is defined as 'the enforced lowering of any person or group by a process or subjugation that damages their dignity. To be humiliated is to be placed in a situation that is against one's interest in a demeaning or damaging way' (Lindner, 2006, p.14). The central characteristics of humiliation are forcing someone 'downwards' towards a state of lowliness or submission. According to Lindner (2006, p.171), humiliation is the strongest force that creates rifts between people, breaks down relationships between people but also disrupts the connection to land and landscape. We have to continue to resist the growing tendency to make multiple worlds into one, and respect other ways of knowing and living on the land. To do so we need to tell other stories; stories of colonialism, but also stories of hope, healing and recognition.

The Compass of Shame (George, 2011; Nathanson, 1992) is a model of how we act when humiliated and forced into a position of shame. We can try to avoid shame by denial, distraction, thrill seeking or medication. Or we can try to withdraw the negative affect by severing the connection with others through hiding or isolation, to avoid their presumed scrutiny and judgement. Withdrawal scripts alleviate the negative affect by removing the person from the supposed glare of others. Sometimes people respond to an experience of shame with scripts that range from self-deprecating humour through to masochistic, self-destructive behaviours. This is the set of scripts Nathanson describes as the self-attack pole of the compass, the person attempting to regain control of the situation by at least controlling the self-condemnation. Or you can attack others. This position enables us to feel better by shifting the blame or by making someone else smaller. This set of scripts ranges from seemingly harmless banter and good-natured teasing, to malicious and hurtful insults and even physical aggression. Gilligan (2000, p.223) claims that 'The

most effective stimulus of violence is the experience of shame… all violence is an attempt to replace shame with self-esteem'. We wish to also add that shame asks us to forget, not only vital knowledge of the past, but also our dependence upon the Earth that is so vital to mankind and others that we live with.

We therefore investigate a view of indigeneity that changes the modern, administrative definitions, not only by including, but also by intersecting social with epistemic diversity and justice. Duran and Duran (1995), who refuse to accept psychological explanations for indigenous peoples being at the top of negative statistics, have coined the term 'soul wound' to suggest the legacy of a long-lasting suppression and colonization. Saus (2004) uses the concept of cultural pain to conceptualize cultural pressure, difficult local community problems, and latent and manifest conflicts in the local community. Such conditions affect the local community's forms of socialization, identity formation and conflict and problem management. How can we engage in decolonial activities that allow inter-existence of multiple worlds and knowledge production that is open to epistemic diversity and a more just world for indigenous people? De la Cadena (2015) provides a helpful concept by bringing 'anthropo-not-seen' to our attention. She wants, with this concept, to highlight world-making that is not conceived through the distinction between humans and nonhumans. Both are, however, obliged to participate in that distinction and surpass it. The anthropo-not-seen not only refers to the particles of the world that are often not seen, and which for that very reason risk destruction. The anthropo-not-seen, as Cadena formulates it, includes the assemblage of human and nonhuman that are understood as being 'articulated collectives' of nature and humans. She claims that anthropo-not-seen protests against world-making practices that insist on dividing entities into nature and culture.

The Nobel prize laureate Amartya Sen proposes another level of problem definition and empirical approach, by questioning the concept of justice. He bridges the world of ideas with the world of policy by asking whether the ideal of social justice might leave us with practical decisions. There are social, economic and political injustices and justices. Sen takes a pragmatic approach to justice, he reasoning 'as much justice as possible', participation, democracy and human rights taken into consideration. How to reduce injustice and advance justice: 'Practical concern, no less than theoretical reasoning, seems to demand a fairly radical departure in the analysis of justice' (Sen, 2009, p.12). There is a need to connect the concept of justice with acts of care, and to conceptual-

ize healing as the entanglement of justice with the recognition of indigenous people and landscape.

We suggest a potential way to approach the use of these in our indigenous context and in the restorative justice discourse in general. The handling of diversity seems to emerge as an overarching challenge. This goes well with a proposal for an alternative approach to justice, relative justice, and the acknowledging of exactly what is at stake: cultural diversity, free will and moral responsibility (Sommers, 2012). The philosopher Sommers develops a new way of thinking about culture, will and morality which takes cultural diversity into account. Like Sen, he acknowledges that there are no objectively correct answers to basic questions of justice and morality, free will and responsibility. As the culture theorist Michail Bakhtin suggested, the best answer to the notion of truth may not be a given, but a task (Bakhtin & Holquist, 1981).

Indigenous ideas (Hart, 2007) also refer to that which privileges Indigenous perspectives; the knowledge and practices that are based upon our traditional values and the beliefs and ways of being in the world that are lived out in the light of the present contexts of Indigenous Peoples, and relied upon as ways to overcome the colonial oppression we continue to face as a people. Indigenous scholars such as Turner (2005) critique classical indigenous philosophy such as Alfred (1995; 1999), and Fixico (2003). They claim that Indigenous peoples have their own perspectives, knowledge, philosophies, and practices that are built on the indigenous peoples' traditional values, beliefs, and manners and that differ from the Western. Turner (2006, p.98) instead suggests that a 'critical indigenous philosophy' should 'unpack the colonial framework of these discourses, assert and defend our 'indigeneity' within the dominant culture, and defend the legal and political integrity of indigenous communities'. We do not, however, need and do not believe in a common indigenous world view. We believe that rituals, beliefs and spiritual needs and companionships exist and are practiced differently from group to group and from person to person.

Critical indigenous philosophy points out that the failure of liberal multiculturalism to adequately address the legacy of colonialism, is caused by its disregard of the sui generis nature of indigenous rights as a class of political rights that flows out of indigenous nationhood and not bestowed by the national state. Multiculturalism does not, therefore, question the legitimacy of the nation state's unilateral claim to sovereignty over aboriginal lands and

people. More importantly, it fails to recognize that a meaningful theory of aboriginal rights is not possible without aboriginal participation.

Critical indigenous philosophy, however, shares critical multiculturalism's (May, 1999) concern with the relations between authorities and minorities; 'There are radical differences between those who 'do' indigenous philosophy and those indigenous peoples who engage European philosophy on its own terms. The asymmetry arises because indigenous peoples must use the normative language of the dominant culture to ultimately defend world views that are embedded in completely different normative frameworks. The dominant culture does not face this hurdle.' Coulthard (2014) argues that recognition cannot easily be divorced from ongoing settler-colonial attempts to acquire Indigenous territories. The granting or delegation of land and governance rights by the state upon Indigenous peoples is a form of recognition that only serves to slightly alter or modify colonial structures of power at the margins, but that leaves intact 'a relatively secure or sedimented set of hierarchical social relations that continue to facilitate the dispossession of Indigenous peoples of their lands and self-determining authority' (Coulthard 2014, p.7).

We see the need for further population-wide restorative processes such as of the reconciliation commissions in South Africa, Canada, Australia, Greenland and Sápmi, to learn and heal. The Canadian Truth and Reconciliation Commission, even though the focus is on indigenous peoples, is criticised because 'its progress is hampered by the conservative political environment, its weak public profile and to some degree its own emphasis on survivor healing, which provides a ready focal for settlers to individualize Indian residential schools' violence as something of the past. Yet, Indigenous healing is intrinsically connected to structural transformation and reconciliation depends upon remedying colonial violence in the present' (Nagy, 2013, p.52). There will, however, be no healing if the environmental threats caused by global neoliberal investment and extreme industrialization on indigenous lands and waters do not cease.

We consider healing as essential in reconciliation and restoration, and thus a part of restorative justice. We are committed to the project of promoting care as a means of positively transforming society and the condition of democracy. As Wilkinson and Kleinman (2016, p.10–11) state: 'We... see this as the fundamental requirement for the invigoration of human-social understanding. We not only argue that the value of social science should be sought in its promotion of real acts of care in society, but also that it is through the act of caring

for others that we stand to grasp how social life is made possible and sustained, most particularly in terms of what matters for people. We take the provocation of social suffering as a spur towards the alignment of social inquiry with the pedagogy of caregiving.'

One of the first central activities of decolonial theory can be summed up as being the revision of colonial cultural practices and values, undertaken to become aware of how our attitudes towards ourselves and others have been shaped by ingrained colonial conceptions. Such 'backtracking' has also had an activist edge, suggesting new strategies of resistance, empowerment and revival, not just in terms of institutional and political change but also, as Ngugi wa'Thiongo (Thiong'o, 1986) has formulated it, in 'decolonizing the mind'. One important line of critique maintains that it appears to dismiss the fact that colonial structures are still ongoing, even after the land and autonomy of the colonized has been 'devolved'. Such neo-colonization would then be understandable as new forms of hegemony within political culture, and global political and economic institutions. These subtler but perhaps even more powerful forms of economic dependency, established in and through the complex processes of economic integration, are often called 'globalization'. A post-Imperial era which Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (Hardt & Negri, 2000) have nevertheless called 'Empire'. We can assume that the current forms of anti-colonial activism would not be possible unless some sort of attempt at revising a colonial past were present, and allowed by the gradual retreat of colonialist assumptions. The word postcolonial may, in this context, still suggest an awareness of that colonialism is present, 'spectrally' or in actual forms of prejudice and inequality, and that damages individuals and the world we share. Critics of reconciliation such as Critics of reconciliation such as Gray, Coates, Yellow Bird and Hetherington (2003), Povinelli (2002), claim that the actions often take a merely symbolic form, whereas real decolonization requires reconciliation processes to be followed up by concrete measures of economic compensation and justice – also for the future.

Decolonization is, for some, a provoking concept. For others it is a re-imagination of a more just future. 'Decolonising means accepting Indigenous Peoples' lived experience as a starting point when searching for solutions to the problems and issues they face, which, in many instances, are also relevant to non-Indigenous Peoples and global problems, such as climate change, pollution, war, poverty and hunger, to name a few. It means putting people's needs, uniqueness and knowledge first and seeing all the activities in which we

engage from here on in as honest attempts to discern the nature of decolonised social work' (Gray & Hetherington, 2013, p.7).

This book is divided into four parts. The first part of this book is the introduction. This is followed by three parts, one on recognition, one on reconciliation and one on reparation. These three steps are based on a postcolonial, decolonization process. It however can, as a process, be too imprecise and therefore not binding. We will follow other scholars such as Cunneen (2005) and Muller (2007; 2014) who argue that decolonisation is a political-analytical tool to secure reconciliation. A deepening of the concept through thinking in lines of time is, however, needed. Cunneen's decolonization model is based on *the stolen generation inquiry*, of Australia. He points to Van Boven's five components of reparation. The first step is acknowledgement and apology. Acknowledging current realities highlights Indigenous Peoples' suffering, profound disadvantage and their bearing of the burden of gross social, cultural, educational, health and employment inequality. Cunneen's second step requires guarantees against repetition by public dissemination of knowledge of abuse and colonization. Muller's second step is, however, rediscovery and recovery. It highlights the need to acknowledge the process of colonization, and the rediscovery of what has been lost. The past is always in the present, and it is only by re-examining the past that we become better able to reformulate the present. Cunneen's third step is measures of restitution. This means taking control, documenting and restoring language and culture through cultural and historical centres. Muller, on the other hand, believes that this is the time to mourn. In the mourning phase, past and current wrongs need to be addressed and issues relating to grief, loss, shame and anger need to be acknowledged. Stories of mourning need to be told in public. Not only need to be told, but also need to be heard in order to have effect.

The fourth step for Cunneen are measures of rehabilitation through healing and welfare services. The fifth and last step is monetary compensation for trauma caused. Cunneen suggests establishing a national compensation fund for victims of stolen generations. Muller says that healing and forgiveness do not mean ignoring past wrongs or abandoning the right to justice, but is a stage in which persons can find a new acceptance of their losses, themselves and others. The dreaming stage comprises imagining a better future and planning how this can be achieved. The commitment stage, emerging from the dreaming phase, provides the opportunity to move towards the type of society we want to create. Change becomes possible when we accept who we are, and

commit to working towards achieving who we want to be. The last stage is action in which the 'current picture' is transformed into the 'preferred picture'.

Restorative practice is a broad term that encompasses a growing social movement to institutionalize peaceful approaches to harm, problem-solving and violations of legal and human rights (Zehr, 2014). It is a process in which all parties with a stake in an offence, come together to identify and 'resolve collectively how to deal with the aftermath of the offence and its implications for the future' (Marshall, 1996, p.17). Restorative approaches seek to balance the needs of the victims, the wrongdoers and the community, through processes that preserve the safety and dignity of all. One seeks, during the process, to build partnerships to re-establish mutual responsibility for constructive responses to wrongdoing within communities. Restorative resolutions, rather than privileging the law, professionals and the state, engage those who have been harmed, wrongdoers and their affected communities in a search of solutions that promote repair, reconciliation and the rebuilding of relationships. Such processes have been developed in Indigenous areas: Hui or Family Group processes, victim-offender mediation, conferencing and peace-making circles, and boards for community restoration.

Restorative practice and restorative approaches are therefore comprised of recognition, reconciliation and reparation. They also are comprised of a specific world view that originates from different indigenous societies around the globe. In this anthology, we have applied the principles of restorative approaches as an ordering tool to the presentation of the chapters. Some chapters have a stronger emphasis on recognition. Others highlight reconciliation or reparation in their research. Nevertheless, they all both belong, in theory and methodology, to our overall approach of decolonisation. Restorative approaches are also increasingly a part of many countries' individual and social healing processes to the harm committed. Our contribution, for example, is to highlight the interrelationship between restorative processes and decolonisation.

We present the decolonisation-ordering tool and recognition, reconciliation and reparation in the chapters that follow in this book. The chapters of Kunnie and Verbuyst first and foremost serve as an overall overview of the book's intentions. Julian E. Kunnie's chapter 'The Cost of Globalization to Indigenous Peoples: The Need for Decolonization Constructive Social Work Strategies in Turtle Island (North America)', sees the contemporary world in which we live as essentially being a historical product of Western colonization of the past five and a half centuries. Kunnie claims that he is first and fore-

most an indigenous activist. His approach, style, and orientation is therefore to deconstruct and decolonize academia itself using Indigenous cultural frameworks, everything within this (including academic theory, research, production, and engagement) having been shaped by this colonializing history. He thinks of the discipline of social work as specifically being the result of British colonialist occupation and imperialist penetration of nations in Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean in the 1930s and the subsequent imperialist project after World War II conducted by the United States. Social work needs to reflect this understanding, both in theory and practice, to be effective transformers of oppression. As humans, we need to recover our essential humanity and take care of the babies of today so that they can save us tomorrow.

The chapter 'Layered decolonization in South Africa: Khoisan strategic essentialism and the notion of incommensurability' by Rafael Verbuyst also focuses more generally on decolonisation, taking the stance from his fieldwork among the Khoisan. South African debates on decolonization tend to centre on the injustices of the apartheid system (1948–1994), rather than on the injustices of the preceding centuries of colonialism. The violent conquest and forced assimilation of the Khoisan goes particularly unmentioned. Their absence in these debates is increasingly challenged by growing numbers of people claiming Khoisan identities, who campaign for indigenous rights in the post-apartheid era. Verbuyst scrutinizes two main factors that add to the complexities of this 'layered' decolonization: the strategic essentialism surrounding Khoisan identity and culture, and the prevalent notion of an insurmountable incommensurability between indigenous people and others.

Kepa Fernandez de Larrinoa, in this book's Part 2. Recognition, takes his stance in Indigenous Amazonia and decolonizing social work. He portrays a conceptual framework and uses this to discuss the notion of indigenous social work in Amazonian rainforests. He argues that a sharply marked intellectual shift is needed in the field of social work: from a currently overall and overlapping notion of social work in indigenous communities, to one which should be rooted in native constructs of the social self. Such a framework points to a model, which he suggests designates indigenous social work in indigenously understood societies. He specifically discusses social work in the Ecuadorian Amazon, examining the later social policies of the Ecuadorian government in the Amazon region. One such is a nationwide social policy in the 2000's and onwards observed in Ecuador, which was decidedly impregnated with a conspicuous cultural patina. Another is the Ecuadorian indigenous social

movement. Its strength, both in terms of group organization and political influence on national and local governments, has been particularly noticeable in the 1980's, 1990's and 2000's. He has, from his ethnographic observations and fieldwork research at different times between 2002 and 2016, kept these questions in mind: Is there an indigenous reasoning that is specifically Amazonian? If so, how should a university program of indigenous social work in the Amazon region be organized? How should this be exercised in the social praxis characteristic of the contemporary rainforest?

Jan Erik Henriksen and Ida Hydle discuss the complexity of restorative justice in Sámi reindeer herding in their chapter 'Restoring justice and autonomy in Sámi reindeer husbandry?' They link experiences and knowledge from anthropology, medicine and social work with interests in Sámi and ecological sustainability. Their purpose is to create an alternative basis for questioning present and future policies in Sámi areas, taking reindeer husbandry as a signpost. Different types of conflicts and confrontations in the reindeer husbandry field are seen as signposts for the need of a restorative and traditional based reindeer husbandry policy. A policy which fully recognize the consequences of the forced assimilation of the Sámi. The repercussions of this are more or less hidden in present conflicts about animals and use of lands, rivers, fjords and sea. They investigate a view of indigeneity that extends the modern administrative definition not only by including, but also by intersecting, social and ecological sustainability. Currently the Norwegian Sámi reindeer policy is neo-liberal self-government, based upon the state's New Public Management polity. The authors aim is to investigate the rise in conflicts at several levels, between Norwegians and Sámi and within the siidas (the reindeer herding collectives) – both at a structural and at a local level.

Catherine McKinley and Kristina S. Laukaitis' chapter 'Elders as Conduits for Indigenous Language and Culture' examines how the promotion of resilience and the offsetting of historical oppression must be carried out by indigenous peoples themselves, for example through the intergenerational transmission of cultural knowledge. In the United States (U.S.), indigenous people experience poorer physical health than all other groups. The importance of language and intergenerational transmission of cultural knowledge has been one of the most severe and devastating casualties of historical oppression. This may give rise to health disparities. The purpose of the authors' critical ethnography was therefore to use the Framework of Historical Oppression, Resilience, and Transcendence (FHORT) to examine the roles played by tribal language, the

oral tradition, elders, and family in well-being and resilience. Thematic analysis of data from 436 participants across two tribes in the U.S. revealed the following overarching themes: a) A strong grounding in tribal languages, including concerns about loss of language and culture; and (b) Elders as the conduits for language and culture, storytelling and the oral tradition. It is important, given that historical oppression has disrupted the intergenerational transmission of cultural knowledge, to develop and support practices and community mechanisms that bridge intergenerational knowledge and that tend to include the teaching of traditions and cultural knowledge.

Child poverty and persistent low income in Norway, and with particular reference to the Sámi Indigenous Minority, is an important issue of recognition, writes Arnt Ove Eikeland. Economic inequality is increasing in Norway and creates externalization, including in the form of child poverty. Many explain this using neoliberal politics and economics. In a global context, however, the Nordic countries are still those with least economic and social inequality. This is linked to the idea of the Nordic welfare model. The characteristics of the model are universal welfare schemes, emphasis on active labour market policies, gender equality and redistribution through tax-funded welfare. Who is therefore in the lower economy of the otherwise egalitarian Norway? An exposed group is the Sámi Indigenous Minority. A total of 123 children or 22.2 percent of the children in, for example, Guovdageaidnu/Kautokeino live in child poverty. What could explain the high numbers in this Sami core area? The article places an emphasis on how relative poverty can be understood in a rich egalitarian democracy such as Norway the author, through this, mapping mechanisms that lead to sustained low income in a Sámi community.

PART 3. RECONCILIATION

'Stories, stones, and memories in the land of dormant reciprocity. Opening up Possibilities for Reconciliation with a politics that works tensions of dissensus and consensus with care' by Britt Kramvig and Helen Verran focuses on the importance of storytelling as an epistemic practice, and asks if/how storytelling can become a tool for reconciliation, specifically in relation to violent acts of past and present colonising. In Sápmi, telling stories is essential in everyday life. Stories are told to engage actively with questions as opposed to referring to an absent past or bringing forth explanations or arguments. Stories are told to bring past events and knowledge on how to live well and respectfully with

both human and non-human beings, into present knowledge. Being enacted in stories is a central part of recalling how earthlings can live together in the Sámi landscape. Stories relating to sieidies; Sámi secret stones are addressed in this chapter. The authors make evident the existence of a land of dormant reciprocity in the Norwegian present, and establish sieidies as ontologically multiple. They propose that stories, with their implicit or explicit recognition of this multiplicity, can act in the ongoing reconciliation addressed by the Norwegian government and the Sámi Parliament.

In their chapter 'Indigenisation into International Social Work', Somnoma Valerie Ouedraogo and Barbara Wedler maintain that international social work is about thinking globally in acting locally and vice-versa when conducting social work. It is a field that requires, more than anything, the acknowledgement of differences and the 'welcoming' of theories and practice models of one's singularity (cultural, political, economic) to provide direction in understanding social work. This reaffirms the context and population specific approaches that build the core identity of the social work profession. The authors follow a context and population specific approach shaped by decolonization as a community movement, to develop a theory of Indigenisation which can explain the disconnection of histories and social relations, the ways of thinking and interacting with the world of social work concepts, and methodologies in the international social work context. Their intent is a pragmatic approach that considers a dialectic of Westernisation-Indigenisation in seeking to connect the local and the global, the North and the South, through developing the concept of indigenisation into the angle of international social work.

Anne Moe and Marianne Hedlund share their 'Critical reflections on an empirical study about South Sámi and welfare services' in their chapter. The authors, after completing their empirical study 'South Sámi and welfare services' to adapt public welfare services to the needs of southern Sámi people, have subsequently critically reflected on their study approach and methodology. The purpose of this chapter is to show what can be learnt from the completed study and how methodologies chosen in the research process can obscure or reveal the power relations and knowledge of the everyday lives of South Sámi people and welfare services. It has long been a political goal of the Norwegian welfare state that all citizens in the country should have equal access to public health and social services, regardless of geographical, social and age-related differences. This goal was finally, and after a long process, con-

cretised into a specialised health and social plan for Sámi in 1995. The basis for the plan was the special position of the Sámi as an indigenous people with their own culture and traditions, this giving rise to special needs and grounds for customized services. Problems with language, a lack of understanding and of support networks that take into account culture and traditions were, and continue to be, challenging in public services for the Sámi, in Norway and in Sweden and Finland. Knowledge about experiences from welfare services for the South Sámi people was lacking in particular. Attention to cultural sensitivity in welfare services and occupations has only recently increased. This is despite Norway always having contained multicultural communities of indigenous peoples, the change being in line with modern migration and immigration in society.

PART 4. RESTORATION

'First 1000 Days: Using 'Emergence' to take social innovation to scale' is the chapter by Kerry Arabena, Luella Monson-Wilbraham, Elle McLachlan, Alana Marsh and Marion Callope. They claim that enhancing health and wellbeing outcomes for infants is at the forefront of global Indigenous social work practice. An evidence informed international 1,000 Days movement, which focuses on nutrition during the period from conception to a child's second birthday, has been expanded by the First 1000 Days Australia model to include Indigenous holistic and cultural perspectives to support First Nation infants and their families. This chapter explores how the model, which was developed and delivered by Indigenous peoples in Australia, Indonesia and Norway, works with the ecological theory of emergence, to support parents and carers enact cultural protection of Indigenous children during the early formation of their families.

The authors Antonia Hendrick and Susan Young of the chapter 'Decolonising the curriculum; decolonising ourselves. Working towards restoration through teaching, learning and practice', use the idea of 'Ally Work' in their work as non-Indigenous social work educators, predominantly with non-Indigenous students. Their framework has been constructed to assist teaching and learning: 'The 'Ally' framework helps us to articulate some of the practices of recognition, reconciliation and restoration and to encourage their use by our non-indigenous students when they are working with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. This is part of a larger project of decolonising the

curriculum in our separate institutions in Western Australia and we illustrate these practices from our experiences inside and outside the classroom'.

Suzanne Jenkins' chapter describes the history of colonization, racism and the genocide of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders in Australia. She documents how Indigenous disadvantage remains in Australia today through mortality and life expectancy 'gaps', through the Aboriginal and Torres Strait youth suicide and incarceration rates being the highest in the world, through profound disadvantage in education and health, and through the removal of more Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from families than children forcibly removed during the 'Stolen Generations' that was deemed by the United Nations to be an act of genocide. She describes how Australia was established and continues to be maintained through racism, bloodshed and violence. This racism reflects and is perpetuated by historical, social, cultural, power or authority inequalities in society that are related to colonization and the onset of capitalist industrialization. She argues that any process of decolonization must overcome capitalist imperialism and colonialism at every level. She notes that the expansion of capitalism in Australia is contingent upon the continued acquisition of land and resources. The author warns about the limitations of models and frameworks that do not engage directly with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders' resurgence. These can block genuine decolonization and consolidate state power. She concludes that constructive change lies in the active, conscious and ongoing participation of all the people at grass roots level. Decolonization demands an Indigenous framework and a centring of Indigenous land, Indigenous sovereignty, and Indigenous ways of thinking and being.

Restorative approaches, as described in the anthology's Part 4. Restoration, seek to balance the needs of the victims, the wrongdoers and the community, through processes that preserve the safety and dignity of all. One seeks, in the process, to build partnerships to re-establish mutual responsibility for constructive responses to wrongdoing within communities. Restorative resolutions, rather than privileging the law, professionals and the state, engage those who have been harmed, wrongdoers and their affected communities in a search for solutions that promote the repair, reconciliation and the rebuilding of relationships. A number of such processes have been developed in indigenous areas: hui processes, victim-offender mediation, conferencing and peace-making circles, and boards for community restoration. We hope that the anthology's chapters will strengthen some of these voices.

The decolonising, restorative thread is woven back and forth through the chapters of this book, from nation to nation, country to country across the globe. The perspective also shifts through the papers, from the recognition of harm to the different needs, methodologies and layers of reconciliation and healing, reparation and restoration. The current emerging global acceptance of climate change is strongly linked to the woven matter: the economic exploitation of people, other living beings and land. To change this is an ultimate and urgent decolonising task.

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THE COST OF GLOBALIZATION TO INDIGENOUS PEOPLES: THE NEED FOR DECOLONIZATION AND CONSTRUCTIVE SOCIAL WORK STRATEGIES IN TURTLE ISLAND (NORTH AMERICA)

BY JULIAN KUNNIE

ABSTRACT

This chapter will demonstrate the need for decolonization of social work practice especially in indigenous communities in Turtle Island (North America) and for the positive abolition of globalization, capitalism, neo-colonialism, war, patriarchal subjugation of women, and the immediate cessation of relentless extraction of fossil fuels and minerals through mining that disfigures indigenous culture and life. There is a need to halt the serious effects of global warming and climate change, as preconditions for effective and holistic social work practice. To identify strategies for constructive social work transformation and empowerment, the chapter illuminates the historical process of colonization of indigenous peoples, especially in Turtle Island and its lingering effects that have produced cultural genocide, environmental devastation, social disintegration, familial fragmentation, and personal dysfunction.

INTRODUCTION

The contemporary world in which we live is essentially a historical product of Western colonization. The colonializing history includes academic theory, research, production, and engagement. The discipline of social work specifically is the result of British colonialist occupation and imperialist penetration of nations of Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean in the 1930s and subsequently by the United States imperialist project after World War II. The objective of social work was addressing the supposed mental and social deficiencies of impoverished metropolitan communities and inculcating notions of "morality" in what was seen as abnormal behaviour of the oppressed classes, well documented by social work scholars (Haug, 2005; Midgley and Piachau, 2011; Loakimidis, 2011). Loakimidis correctly points out:

> "Historically, social work has been characterized by a contradiction…It has been developed as a means of care for the most vulnerable people in our societies while being used as a tool for social control, targeting the working classes and demonizing the poorest people" (Loakimidis, 2015, p.461).

Loakimidis critiques social work's claims of commitment to social justice as empty rhetoric and calls for "specific" and "tangible actions," echoing what Briskman urges, "Decolonizing social work…" that adopts strategies "…for the liberation project of Indigenous Peoples and a call to liberate social work from its modernist shackles." (Briskman, 2008, p.83).

Five centuries of colonization have entrenched economic impoverishment and social powerlessness especially for indigenous peoples, resulting in what indigenous Mohawk scholar activist Diana Hill refers to as "ethnostress." She explains:

> The disruption of our cultural belief has been occurring since the time of contact with non-Indigenous people, about 500 years. Over the years since that first meeting in the early 1980s, we have come to recognize that specific "hurting" behaviors associated with the feelings of fear and anger without our communities are examples that aboriginal people are suffering from "Ethnostress"; a loss and confusion of identity. When

the joyful identity of a "precious child" is not affirmed, the person suffers from both mental confusion as well as physical and emotional pain; a state of being which contributes to a person's sense of powerlessness and hopelessness (Hill, 1992, p.3)

Winona LaDuke, an Indigenous Anishinaabeg activist and community leader, notes that Agnes Williams, a Seneca social worker, constructed this term while working in the Cattaraugus community and avers:

"That's what you feel when you wake up in the morning and you are still Indian, and you still have to deal with stuff about being Indian—poverty, racism, death, the government, and strip-mining…You can't just hit the tennis courts, have lunch, and forget about it…you will still have to go home…." (LaDuke, 1999, p.91).

Loakimidis reminds us that a decolonization theory and practice in social work should be constructed so that indigenous people participate in the decolonization of their lands and cultures. Only through decolonizing social work can people become liberated and be able to exercise their humanity in a historical and contemporary dehumanizing world. Social work scholar Lena Dominelli's work amplifies the need for social workers to move beyond social charity and towards environmental and social justice, including climate change justice, so that the injustice of the wealthy elites essentially responsible for creating climate refugees among impoverished people is addressed (Dominelli, 2012). She argues for a "Green Social Work," and proposes a "holistic" theory of social work that:

"…emphasizes the connectivities and relational nature of all the earth's constituencies…and redefines the duty to care for and about others as one that includes the duty to care for and about planet Earth…" and "…challenges models of industrialization that treat the Earth as a means to be exploited by industrialists whose prime relationship with nature aims to meet their goal of producing profits for the few while the many are pauperized in ways that uproot them from their physical environment and treat them as a means to an end…" (Dominelli, Nikku, Bun Ku, 2018, p.42).

While this may sound radical to social work theory, this chapter, however, goes further than Dominelli and demands decolonization of social work, society and the world. Further, it contends that the starting point for social work should be indigenous knowledge and peoples' ways of living.

THE PROBLEM: COLONIALISM AND ITS LINGERING EFFECTS ON INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

For indigenous peoples, the struggle to be recognized as equal and assume our place at the table of nations to protect sacred sites and lands continues. Persistent and optimistic projection toward the future is needed so that the next generations could transmit the cultures of indigenous peoples into a far-reaching span of beyond. Whether in Africa, Turtle Island (North America), Central and South America, the Caribbean, Asia and the Pacific, and Europe, especially from the Sámi tradition, indigenous peoples have not surrendered cultural rights in a world pervaded by the accumulation of money and materialist possessions that have come with tremendous lethal cost to Mother Earth, what the Western world calls "ecology" and "the environment."

Scientific research is clear for all to behold, with 70–90% extinction of species of what Western society calls animals, birds, insects, plants, and other forms of life, what indigenous people refer to as "relatives." Most creatures which are classified as animals are invertebrates that include insects, worms, crabs, crayfish, jellyfish, and the like. Now many of these creatures are under threat as a result of the destructive forces of globalization. Almost 54 million sharks are killed each year for fin soup, threatening these vital sea creatures with extinction. According to Rodlfo Dirzo's global index of invertebrates, a 45% decline in these creatures was noted over the past forty years (Hunziker, 2018). The leading global entomological watch organization, the International Union for Conservation of Nature, has documented that of the 3,623 earth creatures on the organization's Red List, 42% are classified as facing extinction. In the United States, two-thirds of bees have been erased. In Europe researchers have noted that bee populations have fallen by 40%. The genocide of insects and other invertebrates is particularly disturbing to indigenous peoples and cultures that revere life on Earth as sacred, because the creatures and geological formations of the natural world are essential for the effectiveness of traditional ceremonies and practices. At this

stage of the genocide of insects and other invertebrates, the threat of human extinction itself appears stronger, with Earth heating and climate instability.

Colonialism that developed from the enslavement of indigenous people in the Americas and from the African continent, has produced a globalized world in which profit maximization is paramount. In 2017, the wealthiest five billionaires in the world (down from 8 in 2016) owned more than half of what 7 billion human beings own. The wealthiest 1% currently own 47% of the world's wealth, projected to increase to 64% by 2030 (Time magazine, February 4–11, 2019, p. 82–83). The result has been catastrophic for ecology and for human beings alike, since both have been devastated beyond repair, causing familial disintegration, social disharmony, and personal dysfunction. Many people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, still do not enjoy the rights to human existence: fresh and clean drinking water, decent toilets and sanitation, liveable housing, adequate and regular income and right to land for agriculture and housing. The lethal toll taken on women and children especially, as a result of internecine national and social conflicts, is a legacy of colonization now masquerading as globalization (Kunnie, 2015). For young people, the consequences are catastrophic: being forced to flee homes and families and then living as refugees in camps in other countries, eking out an existence with little resources, and sometimes in desperation, finding their way to crowded boats that sink in the Mediterranean or traversing the Sonoran desert. More than 3,000 people have died from heat exhaustion in the Sonora desert between Mexico and the United States since 2000. The result is torturous paths of incessant struggle to find a way to simply live. Social work in a globalized era thus has much to address with this situation of global and national familial disintegration.

Visiting with Indigenous Cree communities in 2016, this author became visibly conscious of the lethal destructive effects of tar sands oil-extraction processes. Mammoth oil corporations like Syncrude and Suncorp poison the skies with "natural gas" burning 24/7. The result is contamination of the air and probably hundreds of Indigenous people from the Mikisew Cree nation suffering from various types of cancer, with at least 47 documented cases of 51 different cancers between 1995 to 2006 (Haggett, 2009). The Athabascan River is poisoned, killing the fish and producing tumours in fish caught. Pregnant women are especially forced to reduce fish intake. The stripping of forested lands of the boreal forest has seen the loss of irreplaceable fresh water from the largest fresh water repository in the world. Four barrels of fresh water for every barrel of oil extracted is lost and wasted constantly during drilling operations. Young people

are growing increasingly depressed as they see their ancestral lands being decimated. Suicide, drug addiction and alcoholism are becoming pandemics in many indigenous communities in areas affected by tar sands drilling and mining. The Canadian government and the Environmental Ministry, however, has given the green light to energy companies to proceed with tar sands oil-extraction mining, on the grounds that the air and water quality levels are acceptable for human living (McLeod, 2013).

The disregard of the quality of life is the same for Indigenous Dinē (Navajo) people who were forced to work in the uranium mines of Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah from 1944 through the 1980s, due to heavy rates of unemployment in the region. The production of uranium was considered key to the development of atomic weapons during the cold-war between the Soviet Union and the United States. Though most Dinē people do not generally contract cancer since the use of tobacco is often limited to sacred ceremonies, and have rates lower than the white population overall, Dinē workers in the uranium mines have had rates 29 times that within the U.S. population (Loomis, 2014). Multiple members of Dinē families whose fathers and grandfathers worked in these uranium mines, have high rates of kidney cancers, kidney tumours, and a host of respiratory illnesses. Almost a quarter of the miners have died thus far. Across the Colorado Plateau, 521 abandoned uranium mines sit locked behind walls of concrete, yet the water and vegetation around these mines have all suffered contamination and arsenic poisoning, fuelling the epidemics plaguing the indigenous communities spread on 17,2 million acres of land. This is the cultural context for much of Indigenous social work practice in North America.

FIELD AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH ON ENVIRONMENTAL POLLUTION AND CULTURAL VIOLATION IN INDIAN COUNTRY

In an interview with Hathali Jones Benally, senior-level traditional Dinē healer and world champion hoop dancer, he expressed the deep pain the Dinē people have suffered since the early 1940s.[1] He lamented the fact that uranium extracted from Dinē land was used to manufacture bombs used in the war with Germany, Vietnam and Japan. His younger brother, one of the few survivors, had worked in the mine and later lost his eyesight caused by uranium dust following the death of his wife earlier. He explained that uranium mining, like all

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[1] The word "Hathali" is Dinē for "healer."

mining of minerals, drains the moisture inside the Earth and is the biggest factor in the escalation of climate change (Benally, 2018).[2] We shared his sadness about many horses dying from lack of water in Dinē country today. This recalls the same widespread deaths of horses in 2003 in indigenous Shoshone country in Nevada caused by gold mining that violated the Treaty of Ruby Valley of 1863 (Taylor, 2015). Sarah Wilce, a social worker from Flagstaff, Arizona, had this comment on the uranium poisoning of the Dinē people:

> As a hospice social worker, I met many people on the Navajo Nation whose lives were being cut short because of uranium contamination. The Colorado Plateau should not continue to be a "national sacrifice area" nor should the people who live here be told our health and well-being doesn't matter. All uranium mining and milling must be stopped NOW (Wilce, 2017).

In this globalized era, rampant materialism and obsession with monetary accumulation have resulted in deep mental depression and alienation among indigenous youth, as in the San Carlos Chi Endé (Chiricahua Apache) community with whom this author has worked. Young people experience dire economic hardship, personal depression and social alienation, compelling many to turn to alcohol and drugs for relief, that in turn often intensifies familial fragmentation, intra-familial violence and conflicts with law enforcement authorities, leading to arrest and imprisonment for many. The San Carlos Chi Endé experience encapsulates the struggles of indigenous communities in Turtle Island.[3] At a traditional cultural coming-of-age female dance ceremony in 2011, a young man clearly drunk stumbled onto the dance area. After being carefully led from the dance field, I asked the young man about his family. He told me that he suffered from alcoholism and that his brother, only 35 years old, died from alcohol poisoning. Added to this social malady is the spiritual violation of Oak Flat and Apache Leap, with plans for robotic copper mining in the sacred mountains. This mining operation undermines the female coming-of-age and crown-dancer ceremonies and destabilizes tectonic plates underground that cause earthquakes.

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[2] Interview with Hathali Jones Benally, June 20, 2018.
[3] The author has worked with the Chi Ende (Chiricahua Apache) Alliance in San Carlos, Arizona, for many years), advocating for the restoration of dispossessed lands, clean-up of rivers, streams, and vegetation from the lethal effects of the spraying of Agent Orange from the 1950s, and protection of sacred sites like Oak Flat/Apache Leap/Superstition Mountain, that are being violated by copper mining companies, Freeport McMoran and Resolution Copper at the present time.

During the author's stay at Standing Rock, North Dakota in November 2016, he participated in the prayer camp as part of a global gathering of resisters to the Dakota Access oil pipeline. Many people where arrested and shocked by the violent response of the police and Dakota Access Pipeline security personnel. The Standing Rock Sioux Nation was angered that the pipeline was in clear violation of Article II of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty with the U.S. government that guaranteed "undisturbed use and occupation" of Indigenous lands. They passed a resolution that the "Dakota Access Pipeline poses a serious risk to the very survival of our tribe and….would destroy valuable cultural resources" (Native Knowledge 360, 2016, p.1). Notwithstanding the illegality of the pipeline, it proceeded shortly after the November 2016 elections, fully endorsed by the White House. Subsequently, five oil spills occurred in 2017 and two major ones over 2018 and 2019, leaking over 383,000 barrels of oil in November 2019 (Knowles, 2019). The net result is poisoned land and underground water surrounding Indigenous communities in the Dakotas, affecting peoples' overall health and well-being. This is the context that social workers encounter, coupled with already widespread unemployment and economic impoverishment persisting in these communities and others around the country (Indian Country Today, 2013).

The Environmental Protection Agency has been slow in ensuring that the companies that were contracted by the U.S. government to mine uranium on Indian lands, clean up the mining sites and require protective gear for miners when going underground. Over 4 million tons of uranium was extracted between 1944 -1980s. The consequence was poisoning of the pristine aquifer that served almost 15,000 Dinē people (Environmental Justice Atlas, 2017). In 1979, 97 million tons of mill process effluent and 1,100 tons of tailings contaminated the Rio Puerco River in New Mexico, (Churchill, 2002). On August 5, 2015, 3 million tons of toxic acid poisons and 1,000 tons of metals leaked into the Animus River, affecting the drinking water in the region (Elliot, 2018). The Environmental Protection Agency and the Sunnyside Gold Corporation are still locked in a dispute over who's responsible for the cleanup of the Animus River spill (Associated Press, 2018; Bunyan, 2019). This seems to be the case when indigenous peoples' lives are at stake. Similarly, most governments refuse to award reparations for historical genocide. Germany, for instance, did not award reparations for the genocide of 80% of the Indigenous Herero and 50% of the Nama peoples during its colonial occupation of Namibia in the latter part of the 1800s and into the early 20th century. Germany has awarded financial reparations to victims of the Nazi-sponsored holocaust but denied reparations

to the latter (Time Magazine, 2019). At the heart of these issues, is the obdurate refusal to recognize the value of indigenous humanity. In the Amazon, deforestation and gold mining have devastated the lives of Guarani, Achuar, Aymara, Quecha, Yanomami, Seyoke, Soyinka, Kayapo, and Yanawana, and (like indigenous peoples everywhere) are all facing continuous mining occupation violence unabated (Bodley, 2008).

Sophie McKeown, an elder from the Indigenous Moose Cree community in Canada, laid out the painful truth of colonialism at a press conference in Parliament Hill, Ontario, in June, 2017, when she rebuked a white female press reporter for not understanding the plight of disappeared indigenous women in Canada (most cases going without investigation or finding the culprits responsible) when the reporter arrogantly asked whether Prime Minister Justin Trudeau was the person to blame for the missing indigenous teenagers in Northern Ontario. Missing women is now the biggest issue facing indigenous communities in Turtle Island and regular protests have occurred around Canada and the United States, demanding action that prevents the pervasive disappearance of Indian women. McKeown responded in the indigenous Cree language, outraged at the unashamed disregard of continued loss of indigenous lives and violation of indigenous peoples' humanity, and echoing her community pain:

> We are human beings and the way you are speaking shows on respect. You are a guest here, and you don't even know how to speak to us. You don't even recognize the tone in your voice, in your delivery… Five hundred and twenty four years you've been visible, white lady. Look how your white man comes and stands for you. *Where is everybody else to come and stand up for us?*. I'm still standing up for my voice and my visibility…I'm telling you there's been 524 years of holistic genocide on Turtle Island. We are the ones that are dying, it's not you that's dying. And as far as how Justin Trudeau is doing, one of the things you need to keep in mind is that we are asking the United Nations to bring charges of crimes of genocide, of war crimes, crimes against humanity, crime of brushing delayed, because your Liberal Party was also responsible, every party and every government in power…there's been a war conflict of Indian residential schools, Sixty Scoop Indian Day Schools, Million Day School. None of your governments have clean hands. All of your governments have blood on their hands….None of you are different. You haven't changed because you haven't started your healing journey… (Global News, 2017, p.1).

The above remarks serve as a reminder that indigenous people are deeply wounded spiritually by the ongoing acts of violence and disregard of the value of indigenous life. They point to the context of indigenous living within which social work interventions are needed. But what kind of interventions?

CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE CONTINUED COLONIZATION OF INDIGENOUS INDIANS IN THE 21ST CENTURY: THE NEED FOR DECOLONIZATION SOCIAL WORK THEORY

Critical analysis of the continued colonization requires an understanding of the colonial history (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014; Sale, 1991; Jaimes, 1992; Wilson, 1999). Colonization of the Americas, Africa, Asia, and the Pacific occurred because "Europe" as we know it from the 15th century, had depleted most of its natural resources essential for sustainable living and development. Most of its forests were used as fuel wood and for the manufacturing of wood products for daily use. Overfishing the coastal seas destroyed vital fishing supplies in England and in the Baltics (Sale, 1991; Kaplan, Krumhardt & Zimmerman, 2009). This exhaustion of sustainable natural resources coupled with the explosion of the European human population and dwindling animals, resulted in the European feudal and ruling oligarchies embarking on colonial invasions in pursuit of resources to support Europe's population and sustenance needs, what Eurocentric historians describe as "exploration" and "seafaring adventurers."

Colonialism has always been about looting and extraction of vital natural resources from indigenous peoples' lands and territories. The Americas symbolized this predatory process in the genocide of 100 million indigenous people. The Columbian invasion was essentially about enslaving indigenous people for forced labour in the tin, silver, and gold mines. Bolivia where indigenous president Evo Morales was overthrown in a military coup orchestrated by the United States in November 2019, is one of the largest mining extraction areas in South America (Galeano, 1997). For the colonial looters, the logic was extraction of resources essential for European industrial expansion, *the only obstacle being the indigenous people ourselves.* Hence, the policies of assimilation, discrimination, segregation, forced removals, boarding schools, incarceration, torture and violence, and assassination practiced by colonial occupiers in the Americas, Africa, Asia, and the Pacific, diverse in approach, but unanimous in its eventual effect:

genocide. More recent work by Reséndez (2016) documents the history of enslavement and forced servitude of indigenous peoples. It wasn't just indigenous Africans who were enslaved in the Americas as is so commonly held; Indians were enslaved as forced labour, for example, with most of the Natchez nation in Mississippi being shipped to the Bahamas by Europeans as enslaved people (Loewen, 1996)

The intentional elimination of the indigenous Indians in the Americas is well documented (Swanky, 2016; Gill, 2004). The colonists were determined to exterminate all the indigenous Indians regardless of who they were, *a plan that continues into the present*, because Indians sit on lands where most industrial minerals and oil and gas are located. In accounts on the spread of smallpox in North America and the indigenous uprising under Pontiac in Pennsylvania in the 1760s, two Indian representatives had asked the British to leave and give up holding stolen lands. But the British refused (Gill, 2004). Subsequently William Trent, a local trader recorded the incident on June 24, 1763: "Out of our regard for them we gave the two Blankets and an Handkerchief out of the Smallpox hospital" and "hoped it will have the desired effect" (Gill 2004, p.1). On July 7, 1763, Sir Jeffery Amherst, the commander of British forces in North America wrote: "Could it not be contrived to Send the *Smallpox* among those Disaffected Tribes of Indians? We must, on this occasion, Use Every Stratagem in our power to Reduce them" (Gill, 2004, p.1). He subsequently ordered the complete elimination of all Indians and said nobody should be taken alive.

Biological warfare has been part of historical colonial practice, recalling the intentional infecting of Black men with syphilis at the Tuskegee Institute by the U.S. Public Health Service in 1932 and deliberately withholding the antidote. Similarly so in Africa with the irruption of virus epidemics like Ebola and AIDS (Washington, 2007). *Intentional genocide* persists today because it depopulates indigenous lands with vital industrial minerals, expanding the unbridled accumulation of profits for capitalism (Bah, 2015). In 2019, a new film documenting the intentional spread of AIDS into Black communities in apartheid South Africa by members of the South African Marine Research Unit in the 1980s, substantiates this level of *intentional genocide* on the part of racist colonial systems (Telesur, 2019; Kristensen & Brugger, 2019).

This legacy of colonization and genocide of indigenous peoples is manifest in globalization capitalism that continues to lust after vital industrial minerals found in lands resided on by indigenous people (Fixico, 2013; LaDuke, 1999). This is the reason why indigenous people suffer land invasion, dispossession,

and occupation, so that "Western" economic, financial and material prosperity is assured, while Indians languish in barren "reservations" and water-starved areas. Is it any wonder Indian youth are so deeply depressed at the pain and duress from indigenous life, and that suicide for Indian youth is four or five times of the national U. S. average? The analysis of genocidal processes like colonization and globalization is key to understanding the need of decolonized social work and education.

In the 21st century, colonial globalization continues to deceptively and dubiously deploy Western technological "innovation" and "invention" to destroy indigenous knowledge and ways of knowing and being. Elder Hathali Jones Benally pointed that only 5-10% of the Dinē nation is traditional. Most Dinē are so heavily brainwashed and enslaved by capitalist technological culture, that they do not want to learn the traditional Dinē language and master the culture so that it can be preserved for future generations. This is what indigenous people refer to as "mentacide" and what this author would like to describe as "*numinocide,*" *which is the annihilation of the spirituality of a people*. Young people often turn away from traditional cultural instruction and, rather than becoming proud of their individual cultures and languages, pride themselves on mastering the programs on the internet. Ironically, applications on cellphones, the changing format of computer software and other screen-based technologies that emit blue light radiation and hasten communication, also seem to damage both the retina of the eye and the cerebral processes of the brain.

Another lethal impediment facing indigenous peoples today, especially in the U.S., is Genetically Modified Food (GMO) which causes numerous health problems, including girls and boys maturing much earlier than normal growth cycles. Social workers in the U.S. need to be concerned with the scale of nutritional deficiency, mental impairment, and overall ill-health of indigenous children. Monsanto is the world's largest GMO seed manufacturer and distributor. In the 1930's it invented the first hybrid corn seed and began manufacturing cleaning chemicals, detergents, soaps, and synthetic rubber and plastic products that were toxic. Monsanto continued to develop dioxin for use as pesticides in agriculture, followed by its 1960s partnership with Dow Chemical for the production of 2,4-D, Agent Orange, that was sprayed initially on Indigenous Chi Endē (Chiricahua Apache) lands in Arizona prior to being dumped on the people of Vietnam, resulting in 3 million people contaminated there, a half million babies born with defects, and thousands of U.S. military personnel suffering from serious side-effects. In the early 1990s, Monsanto introduced the Synthetic

Bovine Growth Hormone (rBGH), developed from a genetically modified E coli bacteria for use in cows, that the company claimed was safe for consumption by people though the evidence of this growth hormone was known to cause serious health defects (Hanzai, 2014). The sequence of this dangerous modification through growth hormones was the modification of corn, soy, and cotton and the use of millions of pounds of herbicides and pesticides in the growing of these crops, some 527 million pounds and 404 million pounds respectively from 1996–2011 (Benbrook, 2012). This information is relevant in understanding the plight of indigenous people who generally suffer from serious ill-health problems like diabetes, obesity, cancer, heart disease, asthma, and hyper-tension. The effects of this food colonization are moving many young people further away from traditions and cultures and into the clutches of alcohol and drug addiction, as well as detachment from traditional elders.

Following this foregoing analysis and description, how then do we *permanently arrest and uproot* this globalized colonization and protect Indigenous people as social work practitioners and activists? This is the first chemically based society in human history, a total rejection of the natural and spiritual ways of Mother Earth and the culture of Earth. (Shiva, 2016; Petrini, 2013). Further, how do we get to the point of *reconciliation* and *healing* in a colonial-post-colonial world that is heavily fragmented and in thorough disarray socially, ecologically, environmentally, economically, and politically? What theories and practices can one effectively utilize to understand the crisis of globalization? How can such strategies effectively contribute toward decolonization so that indigenous people are free to be who we were meant to be in the manner that our ancestors intended for us to be? How can indigenous social work play a deeper role in the decolonization processes? How does one make sense of the research with indigenous communities, reflected in this chapter in a social work framework, when all of the contemporary problems our people face, are rooted in a colonializing and now repressive globalizing culture that is responsible for destroying our sense of connection to ancestral language, culture, land, and identity? Unquestionably, social work like all academic disciplines that are products of the Euro-colonial occupation and intervention in indigenous people's lands and cultures, requires urgent rethinking and revamping of existing theories and practices. The decolonization theory of critical scholars and activists like Frantz Fanon, (the Caribbean, Africa), Albert Memmi (Africa), Vine Deloria (Turtle Island), Linda Tuhiwai Smith (Aotearoa-New Zealand), Lester Rigney (Australia), Winona LaDuke (Turtle Island), Taiaiake Alfred (Turtle Island), Maria

Yellow Horse Brave Heart (Turtle Island), Marie Battiste (Turtle Island), Marie Turuki-Pere (Aotearoa-New Zealand), Steve Biko (Africa), Ngugi wa Thiong'o (Africa), Edward Said (Palestine-Turtle Island), and Marimba Ani (Turtle Island) are keys in understanding what kinds of *strategies* are imperative to provide restoration and healing.

Alice Moore (2018) discusses the impact of ethno-stress and environmental pressures that continue to pulverize the lives of indigenous people. She proposes a model for healing and addressing the effects of personal trauma, moving from "self-seeking individualism" to "selfism" that sparks a grounded self-identity eventually reconnecting with collective identity in the community and initiating self-reflection questions on the primary causes of post-traumatic damage: the most severe effects of primary trauma, identification of personal fears, questions geared toward self-empowerment that work on minimizing effects of trauma impacts, and identification of steps that can eradicate the negative impact of trauma. Using the typology of Crazy Horse, she suggests that Crazy Horse's role was multi-dimensional: as transcendental hero where spiritual courage and love of his people moved him to transcend the limits of his physical ability; as self-creator; as warrior who maintained fitness for strength and endurance; as innovator who engaged in decisive action, not simply reflecting theoretically; and as self-healer that grounded individual wellness and health so that he was most effective in engagement with the broader community in advancing communal empowerment and transformation. Thus, indigenous ancestral knowledge and life can be instructive for people suffering from ethnostress and deep personal trauma today. Social work practitioners involved in addressing the needs of indigenous communities inevitably encounter personal and communal trauma as the result of colonization. Moore's model of warrior ethics and living embodied in Crazy Horse's life and sacrifice can do much to uproot the debilitating effects of personal trauma and environmental stress.

Indigenous scholars like Waziyatawin, Michael Yellow Bird, Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, and Michael Hart, too, are urging a decolonization of knowledge, from climate change and the environment to education, from culture and politics to social work, in ways that challenges "Western" hegemonic theoretical approaches (Waziyatawin & Yellow Bird, 2012; Simpson, 2017; Hart, 2015). Decolonization theory, while decolonizing in its thrust and purpose, is never generic; it is specifically constructed to address the particular needs of the indigenous community at a particular point in time. It is geared toward meeting specific indigenous social needs and addressing issues that occur at specific places

and times. Each situation within which indigenous people find ourselves being challenged, requires specific cultural, linguistic, and social decolonization theoretical approaches that advance the liberation and self-sustenance of the specific community concerned. In this sense, the generic association of "Western" theory as a set of principles or ideas usable in multifarious situations, is a colonial carryover and dissimilar to indigenous theories of decolonization, because the latter is contingent on the *particular* cultural and linguistic context conditioned by time and space. At the American Indian Movement West Conference in San Francisco in November 2019, Blackfoot Nation activist and educator, Theda New Breast (2019), gave a powerful presentation on 11 Blackfoot Nation decolonization principles for living as free people. She explained that these principles could be modified and used according to the language and culture of various indigenous communities:

1. Be rooted in indigenous spirituality connecting us to all forms of life on Earth, with Mother Earth and the Spirit Powers in particular places;

2. Show kindness to others that celebrates all life as sacred and assist those who need guidance or request such assistance in their life journeys;

3. Show respect for others and who they are as they are and meant to be by the Creator, Creation, and Ancestors;

4. Live with purpose in whatever you do, understanding that you have been placed on the Earth for some particular role in a particular place and time and need to do your utmost to understand and fulfil your spiritual purpose as the Creator, Creation, and Ancestors intended. For indigenous communities worldwide, initiation and puberty ceremonies are the mediums by which such purposes are determined and understood (Some, 1995);

5. Always be who you are. Never attempt or struggle to erase your identity to be someone else because others insist on or coerce you into rejecting your self-identity and community;

6. Never sell your Ancestors for anything. Always adhere to the ancestral path and honor the ancestors in you even when seemingly insurmountable obstacles compel you to do otherwise;

7. Take on tasks independently and never wait to be instructed to do so, honoring your spiritual creativity and originality while always being considerate of the broader community;

8. Be helpful in whatever way you can, an active member of society as opposed to standing or sitting around waiting for others to do what you could be doing;

9. Use your community and personal medicine to always heal others and situations provided by the Mother Earth and the Spirit Powers. For instance, the Blackfoot nation has devils club that can be used to cure all kinds of illness like unstable blood sugar, diabetes, arthritis, high or low blood pressure, coughs, pneumonia, tuberculosis, fevers, and the like. The Earth provides everything for our wellness. Always share your medicine, but never dictate the terms by which you share such healing medicine. Allow every person to use the medicine in the manner that she or he is free to do so;

10. Transfer knowledge to others with patience. When demonstrating use of technology, repeat processes several times if necessary and practically demonstrate how the particular technology should be used. Demonstrate your patience if necessary by fasting for four days if clarity on situations is needed;

11. Be aware of your surroundings and be alert always. Just as the new-born baby is aware of being in the cradle and feeding on the mother's breast milk, be aware and conscious of your environment as you live your life journey.

We need to become re-rooted in indigenous languages, cultures, and ways of understanding, being, and living free in mind, body and spirit from the colonial yoke strangling our indigenous spirits, utilizing the critical analysis and radical thoughtfulness and action of these decolonization theorists. Only then can colonizers and colonized jointly become totally liberated (Fanon, 1965, 1952; Deloria, 1995; Smith, 2012; Rigney, 2006; Alfred, 2015; Yellow Horse Brave Heart, 2000; Battiste, 2017; Turuki-Pere, 1997; Biko, 2002; Thiong'o, 1986 ; Said, 1978, 1994; Ani,1994).

THE SOLUTION: SOCIAL WORK STRATEGIES NEEDED FOR INDIGENOUS PEOPLES TO RESIST THE GENOCIDAL GLOBALIZED SYSTEM OF THE 21ST CENTURY

First, the preceding section of this chapter highlighted the lethal effects of colonization and globalization on indigenous people. Lakota social worker, Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart, conceptualized an interventionist program called Historical Trauma and Unresolved Grief Intervention that was developed following her research with indigenous communities in the 1990s. The product of

these dialogues resulted in workshops and sessions where Lakota people shared and reviewed community history, described unresolved grief, and participated in ceremonies sacred to the Lakota, the *yuwipi* ceremony led by a traditional healer, and *oinikage,* the wiping of the tears ceremony (Yellow Horse Brave Heart, 1998). This author has spent much time working with Indigenous communities in southern Arizona in addressing issues of social and economic marginalization and personal trauma. In several cases, issues of depression and intra-and-inter-familial division and fragmentation have resulted in personal alienation and withdrawal. In acute cases, recourse to unhealthy alcohol abuse has followed, with trauma and grief issues disempowering persons in the community, especially young people. Hence, the need for the role of elders in addressing such alienation.

Social work strategies need to connect our elders and our children even as socio-economic obstacles impede these blood connections. The great-grandparents and grandparents of old were all teachers and guides to the grandchildren in the generation in which this author grew. My grandmother, who lived until 94, walked on the Earth with no shoes, and walked almost everywhere before using motorized transportation in the latter part of her life. She never got sick and was only admitted to a hospital for a hip injury after a fall in the last four years of her physical life. She never knew about pesticides and GMO food and she lived eating natural fruit and vegetables and non-growth hormones in meat. This author learned much about food and gardening from his grandmother. Everything she planted grew very well and thrived. She certainly had a *green hand* – a legacy of traditional indigenous knowledge.

The Earth provides *everything* for us: we belong to Mother Earth, land and water and all her creatures. She knows every one of us individually and she protects and takes care of us. As Indigenous Yawuru elder, Pat Mamunyjun Torres from Australia teaches, "For thousands of years we lived off the land and looked after our land. It is believed that in return our land looked after us" (Torres, 2006, p.26). Social workers need to be trained in the language of the community within which they work and reinstate and reclaim our repressed and dispossessed indigenous languages and work closely with teachers who are instructing children in the languages of their ancestors. This author witnessed precisely such with the Kwanlin Dun community in White Horse, Yukon, Canada, in August 2016, teaching little children in preschool the Kwanlin Dun, Kaska, and Hutoni

languages (Kunnie, 2016).[4] The children there understood from early childhood that English or other colonial languages is not the language of their ancestors. Instead, their ancestors were dispossessed and disempowered by being forced to teach and speak a foreign colonial language, losing the foundation of the language and its connection to the overall culture. Indigenous languages signify the cultural umbilical cord and re-roots children, youth, and adults in their ancestral cultures so that they feel a sense of confidence and joy in being indigenous. The American continental land mass does not speak English, Hathali Jones laments. One cannot pray in English because the sacred land will not hear. It thus behoves social workers to become trained in speaking the indigenous languages of the community within which they work and practice. Language is cultural and the only way to respect the culture is to painstakingly learn the language of the community. Social work practitioners will be more effective if they earn the respect and confidence of the indigenous people, first by learning the respective language well and second, by being seen as *co-workers*, rather than as external "helpers" by the community.

Social work strategies in indigenous communities need to involve the elders and the inculcation of traditional indigenous values. It was beautiful to visit a Sámi Preschool in Norway in November 2017 where I met the principal, Sissel and the children who are instructed in the Sámi language (Kunnie, 2017).[5] Social work strategies require elders in all indigenous communities, as mentors, guides, and wisdom teachers for our children and youth especially. Social work theory needs to incorporate indigenous cultural approaches, working with indigenous families to highlight and live the infinite sacredness of Mother Earth. "We Belong to the Earth, The Earth does not Belong to Us," Hathali Jones Benally constantly teaches. Our children need to be protected against the colonial-globalized capitalist ideology that demands obedience to the lie that money is *everything* and the basis of life. Our children need to be taught, mentored, and guided into understanding that Mother Earth is *all* we have to live on. Social workers should know about and understand traditional protection ceremonies and rites of passage so that they can counsel people.

Humans are an integral and essential creation *within* Nature, not above Nature, and to whom we unconditionally belong. Humans are, after all, recycled Earth dust, an African bumper stick read in 2009. Our mental, spiritual, and physical health and well-being depends on how we respect and live reciprocally

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[4]   Author visit to principal preschool, Kwanlin Dun Nation, White Horse, Yukon, hosted by preschool teachers from the Kwanlin Dun Nation, August 10, 2016.
[5]   Visit to Sámi Preschool, Alta, Norway, November 15, 2017.

with the rest of our relatives in nature. We need to teach our young people to respect and take care of Mother Earth *Mni Wakan, Mni Wiconi,* the Lakota teaching goes, "Water is sacred, Water is life…" 70% of our bodies is water and when we harm and poison and contaminate the water anywhere, we are poisoning and destroying ourselves.

Women are especially sacred in all Indigenous cultures because of their life-giving and preserving power from the Earth and Creator. Horrifically, many women are globally disrespected and violated. Mother Earth too is being suffocated by the plundering of mining, relentless tar sands extraction, countless bombs being dropped on her, and the violence of capitalism. The words of Floyd Westermann, Indigenous Lakota musician, actor, and activist, has instructive teaching for all youth in this regard, addressed to Turtle Island, but relevant to all people everywhere:

> We were told that America will come and go. America is dying from within because we forgot the instructions of how to live on Earth. When Columbus came, that's what we call the first world war…. because along with him came everybody from Europe. In the second world war, we were only 800,000, from 60 million. We were almost exterminated. Everything is spiritual. Everything is a spirit. Everything was brought here by the Creator…some people call him God, some people call him Buddha, some people call him Allah, other names. We call him *Tunkashila*, Grandfather. We are here on Earth only a few winters. Then we go to the Spirit World. The Spirit World is more real than what most of us believe. The Spirit World is everything. Over 90 percent of our body is water. In order to stay healthy, you need to drink good water. When the European, Columbus, came here, we could drink from any river. If the Europeans had lived the Indian way when they came, we'd still be drinking out of this water, because water is sacred. The air is sacred. Our DNA is made of the same DNA as the tree. The tree breathes what we exhale. When the tree exhales, we need what the tree exhales. We have the same destiny as the tree. We are all from the Earth. When the Earth, water, the atmosphere is corrupted, it will create its own reaction. The Mother is reacting. In Hopi prophesy they say the storms and floods will become greater. To me it's not a negative thing to know that there will be great changes, it's not negative. It's evolution. When you look at it as evolution, it's time. Nothing stays the same…(Westermann, 2012, p.1).

This teaching about the sacredness of life desperately needs to be integrated into social work to empower and unify indigenous families who suffer from ethnostress and environmental duress and strangulation. The educational system generally, in most parts of the world, especially in hyper-capitalist countries, adheres to a capitalist ideology and teaches the students that education is about attaining more material things, acquiring a higher-paying job, and aspiring toward a higher materialistic standard of life. Few curricula of schools consist of teaching that Earth, water, and air are sacred. Although there are educational institutions that describe the cultivation of values of respect and the purpose of enabling students to become more well informed and responsible people of society, this mission statement is quite vacuous, because it is not rooted in a core indigenous philosophy. This leads us to the next point: the deification of high-technology and the normativeness of screen technology in the learning process.

As a second principle, social workers need to decolonize social work practices by protecting our children and young people against the hegemony of Western high-technology that involves wireless technology and revolves around some radiation emitting flat screen that has a direct impact on our eyes and seriously jeopardizes our health (El Gemayel, 2017). We know that all of these high-tech devices contain elements that are radioactive and poisonous like lithium and iridium, obtained from indigenous lands like Bolivia. Cellphones that are discarded into dumpsites turn into radioactive toxic waste sites, and each year, millions of cellphones are discarded so that people can acquire new phones made by giant transnational corporations like Microsoft, Apple, Google, Samsung, Hewlett Packard, and the like. These products and technologies are never designed to last. The corporations thus continue to keep consumers on edge with the constant changes in "ground-breaking technologies" that ensure that these consumers are permanently addicted to acquiring the latest gadgetry. For all parents, this is a life-long and very arduous struggle because young people are consistently bombarded with adverts on these new "revolutionary" high-tech products, and parents are often dismissed as "backward," "old-fashioned," and "behind the times". Echoing and living Floyd Westermann's words is the excruciating task; however, if we don't find a way to live his words, we will not survive into the future, perhaps not even make it to the end of the 21st century as Earth becomes hotter daily and water resources dry up around the world.

Third, social work needs to realize that this is a very slow and challenging journey to support the marginalized people. Patience is a cardinal principal, accompanied by perseverance and determination to do those things that make

the difference to these lives of perpetual deprivation and pain. Along with this struggle, social workers need to take the lessons of indigenous knowledge seriously: realizing and emphasizing in practice, *that our traditional ancestral ways are the only ways of living. Social workers working with and in indigenous communities need to take extra time to listen to the languages and wisdom of the elders. Listening, hearing, and keenness to understand where the community is coming from and the roles of the traditional elders are pivotal in all effective social work strategies with indigenous communities.* We are not going anywhere on these highways of progress; just emitting more greenhouse gases that are warming Mother Earth and shortening our lifespan quickly and effectively. We must return to the ways of *Mother Earth, true humanity as Tadodaho Faith Keeper Leon Shenandoah teaches* (Shenandoah, 2001)*, to the language and instructions from our ancestors; anything else will take us further away from the Spirit of Mother Earth and sink us into permanent oblivion.* Social work needs to take the time to redo its curricula and revamp and empower the strategies for family and individual intervention. (Linklater, 2014). This implies that social workers need to understand their own ancestral histories and in turn work effectively and tirelessly in reconnecting persons besieged by alcohol, drug addiction, depression, and a sense of nihilism and meaninglessness that often results in suicide or domestic violence. Indigenous social work theory must be decolonized so that the social workers break out of the tentacles of irrelevant classic Eurocentric academic social and family systems theory. What works for colonizers and middle class communities in social work practice, generally cannot and will not work for marginalized indigenous communities precisely because of the economic, personal, social, and cultural vulnerability experienced by the latter. Indigenous social work theory cannot operate in an amorphous generalized manner, but must be specifically construed *only after* immersion in social justice struggles and healing of individuals and communities. Positive theory after all, can only be conceptualized after the praxis and implementation of ideas and approaches have been employed in specific contexts, with no one-size fits all approach like drugstore tablets for ill patients.

Finally, indigenous decolonizing social work theory cannot afford to remain colonized in terms of singular and atomistic "individualism." Indigenous cultures have been collectively defined when it comes to individuality, the age-old Indigenous African aphorism existing in indigenous cultures in one shape or another: "I am because of us, we are, therefore I am." There is no room for elevated egos and self-seeking aspirations in decolonized social work theory and praxis. Indian commissioner John Oberly captured the white settler ideology

when he stated: "*The (Native American) must be imbued with the exalting egotism of American civilization so that he will say 'I' instead of 'We' and 'This is mine' instead of 'This is ours'* (Wilkins, 1997, p.78–81). This ideology and culture from settler-colonial culture must be uprooted and eradicated. Indigenous cultures teach humility and self-sacrifice, never arrogance and self-seeking pursuits, since we understand that the Creator and Creation are ultimate determinants of all individual and collective destiny, in the words of Hathali Jones Benally, "They (the Earth and the Spirits) own us!"

CONCLUSION

These are times of change that are beyond human control, because Mother Earth decides on everything, whether it rains or freezes today and tomorrow. Social work needs to reflect this philosophical underpinning to be effective transformers of oppression. As humans we need to recover our essential humanity and take care of the babies of today so that they can all save us tomorrow (Shenandoah, 2001). Social work too needs to honour the Earth always in our prayer, thinking, and living…living simply so that all creatures included who are struggling for life, water, land, family, may simply live. Globalized capitalism, after all, is destined to collapse, like life on Earth itself, as Floyd Westermann (2012) stated. Capitalism is an insatiable predatory system that is never satisfied with the quantity of the blood of the living it ingests daily; it is doomed to eternal dissolution. Let us let Earth be who She/They is/are intended to be by the Creator and Creation. Let social workers and their allies from all walks of life, walk on the Earth more than ever before….cut out driving altogether, minimize it, and stop the cutting of the precious trees everywhere. John Francis, now a world-renowned speaker and geographer, walked everywhere for 22 years when he refused to sit in motorized vehicles in response to an oil spill when two tankers collided in the San Francisco Bay in 1971 and killed so much of sea life there. He kept silent for 17 years, listening to Mother Earth, playing his guitar wherever he walked. (Francis, 2008). We need more walkers in defense of Mother Earth! May these words encounter good ears….in humbleness always, *Ukusi Thoba (humbleness in isiZulu)…qianxu (humbleness in Chinese)…Mitakuye Oyasin...*(All My Relations in *Lakota)…Migwetch (Thank you in Anishinaabeg).*

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LAYERED DECOLONIZATION IN SOUTH AFRICA: KHOISAN STRATEGIC ESSENTIALISM AND THE NOTION OF INCOMMENSURABILITY[1]

BY RAFAEL VERBUYST

ABSTRACT

South African debates on decolonization tend to centre on the injustices of the apartheid system (1948–1994) rather than on those that occurred during the preceding centuries of colonialism. The violent conquest and forced assimilation of the Khoisan goes particularly unmentioned. Their absence in these debates is increasingly challenged by growing numbers of people claiming Khoisan identities and campaigning for indigenous rights in the post-apartheid era. By thinking through the socio-political and academic settings in which this absence is both manifested and contested, I distil issues that deserve further attention in order for the Khoisan to be meaningfully included in debates on decolonization. I scrutinize two main factors that add to the complexities of this 'layered' decolonization: the strategic essentialism surrounding Khoisan identity and culture, and the prevalent notion of an insurmountable incommensurability between indigenous people and others.

INTRODUCTION

Decolonization, a concept that did not feature prominently in South African political discourse since the democratic transition in 1994, is back with a vengeance. Arguably no episode is more emblematic of this new drive to decolonize than the #RhodesMustFall protests, which began at the University of Cape Town (UCT) in March 2015 and quickly spread from the slopes of Table Mountain to other campuses in the country and abroad. Embodying the spectre of colonialism in Southern Africa, the statue of quintessential and controversial colonialist Cecil John Rhodes was picked as a target by a student who threw faeces at it on the 9th of March 2015. The hashtag #RhodesMustFall trended on social media and the pressure to remove the statue mounted. Significantly, it was removed less than one month later. This particular wave of demonstrations enjoyed global coverage, and sparked widespread public debate due to its mobilization and use of the term 'decolonization' in relation to education and other domains. Indeed, while #RhodesMustFall has largely receded to the background, its message continues to provoke reflections on the decolonization of various spheres of South African society. For some, this signals the dawn of a 'post-transitional era' in South Africa (e.g. Holmes 2016, p.17).

While there is no shortage of literature on decolonization and #RhodesMustFall, my experience of conducting ethnographic fieldwork among Khoisan activists in Cape Town since 2014 (Verbuyst, 2015; 2016; 2017) led me to a series of perspectives that are virtually absent in these debates.[2] Khoisan activists assert themselves as South Africa's original inhabitants and contend that their historical trajectory, identity and culture is side-lined by the commonplace definition of indigeneity in South Africa, i.e. descendants of African groups that have experienced colonialism. According to Khoisan activists, movements such as #RhodesMustFall (in)directly endorse this interpretation of indigeneity. They therefore do not feel meaningfully included in their calls for decolonization. The concept 'indigenous' is notoriously difficult

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[2]   I use 'Khoisan' as this is how the bulk of the activists I have spoken to identified as. It is a contested umbrella term referring to five groups (Nama, San/Bushmen, Griqua, Koranna and Cape Khoi) who are indigenous to Southern Africa and share cultural, economic and linguistics characteristics. While there is an ongoing debate about when which population groups arrived in areas of South Africa prior to others (cfr. Hamilton, Mbenga & Ross, 2009), the historical record is less contested with regards to the Western Cape province and the descendants of the Cape Khoi that I focus on. For more on nomenclature and terminology see Barnard (1998) and Ellis (2015).

and controversial to define (cfr. Kuper 2003, Asch, Samson, Heinen, et al, 2004). I do not attempt to resolve these complexities here. However, whether 'indigenous' or not, the Khoisan certainly occupy a unique position in that they inhabited large parts of Southern Africa prior to the arrival of Bantu-speaking peoples from Western Africa or the European settlers. Subsequently, they were the first to face the brunt of European colonialism in Table Bay in the mid-17th century. Their numbers dwindled rapidly after this brutal encounter and the remaining Khoisan were forcefully assimilated over the course of centuries under the mixed-race category that eventually became known as 'coloured'. This group included descendants of slaves and various other non-European population groups arriving at the Cape Colony (cfr. Elphick, 1977; Adhikari, 2011). Khoisan identity and culture was violently suppressed in this process. This led to the still commonly held notion of the Khoisan being, as Marks (1972) put it in an influential essay, 'assimilated out of existence'.

To the surprise of many, however, the post-apartheid era has seen the steady growth of what is often referred to as a 'Khoisan revival', or the increasing numbers of coloured people claiming Khoisan identities and campaigning for indigenous rights in the post-apartheid era. Eager to disprove being extinct as a distinct collective, Khoisan activists reject the term 'coloured'. It is seen as a derogatory term that stresses a lack of identity and history.[3] For Khoisan activists it is unacceptable that the long colonial history predating apartheid (1948–1994) — often referred to by activists as a period of cultural and physical genocide — is rarely addressed. Although political negotiations between the rapidly growing Khoisan activist movement and the South African government are underway to explore policy options to effect historical justice (see below), the bulk of the activists whom I have engaged with feel that their calls for decolonization are shadowed by the demands of other ethnic groups in South African society.[4] Khoisan activists therefore continue campaigning for their cause and attempt to garner attention through a wide range of protests. However, with little in-depth scholarship on Khoisan activism in Cape Town

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[3] Certainly not all of those currently categorized as coloured identify as Khoisan. Many even distance themselves from the Khoisan movement or proudly embrace the term coloured (cfr. Erasmus 2001).

[4] Not everyone who identifies as Khoisan does so publically or with the intention of engaging in public activism or politics. From my experiences of following up on the movement since 2014, however, I would contend that it has grown substantially in the past few years. More research needs to be carried out in order to determine precisely how many self-identifying Khoisan there are in South Africa.

and most media coverage on the issue being scarce or superficial, their griev-ances are poorly understood.[5]

In this article I therefore reflect on my fieldwork encounters with Khoisan activists and draw on literature on decolonization to explore the socio-po-litical and academic contexts in which both Khoisan activism and current debates on decolonization unfold. I begin by briefly discussing post-apartheid political developments towards the Khoisan and the grievances and motiva-tions that underpin Khoisan activism in Cape Town. Based on my reading of these dynamics, I distil two conundrums that require consideration in order for Khoisan issues to be productively accommodated within current debates on decolonization: the practice of strategic essentialism surrounding Khoisan identity and culture; and the question of whether or not the grievances and demands of Khoisan activists are incommensurable with those of others. The concepts I use and the positions I argue for all fall within highly controversial and politicized territory. With the space available, I could not do justice to the breadth of the decolonization debate. The issues I offer up for consideration deserve to be treated separately. This text should be read with these limitations in mind. It is an effort to kick-start a more comprehensive debate on the sub-ject rather than an in-depth analysis of the issues raised.

POST-APARTHEID KHOISAN POLITICS AND CAPE TOWN ACTIVISM

Many Khoisan activists felt hopeful of being attended to when Nelson Man-dela was elected as president in 1995 and pledged to establish a rainbow nation that would celebrate its ethnically diverse population and confront the injustices of the past. However, it soon became clear that the Khoisan rep-resentatives who were around at the time, would take the backseat in future political negotiations. The popular notion of the Khoisan being largely extinct as a distinct collective, informed most of the decisions relating to their fate in the post-apartheid era. The Khoisan are, for instance, excluded from one of the most vital components of South African historical justice: land claims. The cut-off date to file land claims is set at 1913, the date of the infamous Natives

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[5]   One of the earliest publications that reflected on the appearance of Khoisan revivalism and politics in the post-apartheid era in Cape Town are Bredekamp (2001), Oevernes (2002), and especially Besten (2006). Adhikari (2005) also shares observations on the subject. To date, available ethnographic accounts are Øvernes (2008) – of which a book version is currently forthcoming with Unisa press – and Verbuyst (2015).

Land Act which allocated 87 percent of available land to the white population and designated the remaining 13 percent to be parcelled in homelands for the Bantu-speaking population groups. As noted previously, the Khoisan had lost their access to the land already centuries before. Moreover, as they were at the time no longer considered an existing population group, there were no plans to establish a Khoisan homeland. While the 'National Reference Group on Khoi and San issues' was established as a parallel process to examine possibilities to accommodate Khoisan land matters in 2014, it has not been able to make any progress due to limited funds and disagreements regarding potential pilot projects (cfr. Verbuyst, 2015, p.129–132).

South Africa's post-apartheid constitution is widely celebrated for its progressive nature. Yet, the specific situation of the Khoisan is nowhere mentioned, except when it comes to the need to protect their languages from extinction in chapter one, section six. Somewhat ironically then, while *!Xam* was used for the national coat of arms, *!ke e: /xarra //ke* [diverse people unite], no Khoisan language is officially recognized alongside the country's eleven others. On the other hand, there have been state-driven efforts to deal with Khoisan issues as well. To the dismay of many activists, South Africa has not signed the 1989 Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention created by the International Labour Organization — commonly known as ILO 169 – to provide rights for indigenous people, but it is a signatory of the 2007 United Nations Declaration on Indigenous People, which has much in common with the ILO 169. In 2005, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Indigenous Issues at the time, Rodolofo Stavenhagen, visited South Africa and met with various Khoisan representatives across the country. A report was compiled that outlined some concerns, observations and recommendations (United Nations, 2005), but it has not been debated in the South African parliament as of yet. While these developments affect the Khoisan, it is telling that the Khoisan are nowhere officially designated as South Africa's indigenous people. Instead, the South African Human Rights Commission (2009) terms the Khoisan a 'marginalized community', which could potentially be endowed with 'minority rights'. This seeming paradox of engaging the Khoisan as 'Khoisan' but not as more indigenous than any other ethnic group, echoes the desire of South African multiculturalism to simultaneously encourage ethnic and national identities.

As stated before, indigeneity is taken within this framework to refer to all African groups who experienced colonialism. 'Traditional' and 'indigenous' are considered synonymous in South Africa, and traditional leaders of various

ethnic groups have even purportedly begun using the identifier 'indigenous' and deploying the 'rhetoric of the ancestral' in order to get more international attention and support (Settler, 2010, p.52, 59). This use of terminology frustrates Khoisan activists. But what particularly upsets them is that applying 'indigenous' across the board implies that all Bantu-speaking groups in South Africa have witnessed roughly the same degree and type of colonial violence, and that therefore no one is entitled to specific or preferential measures. This phenomenon has been described by Tuck and Yang (2012, p.17) as 'colonial equivocation' and examples of this in South African discourse abound. One official source, for instance, explicitly states that all 'Africans' entered South Africa more or less simultaneously and witnessed colonialism in similar ways (DRDLR, 2013). It seems that both 'colonial equivocation' and the understanding that the Khoisan require specific attention defines the ambiguity of South African post-apartheid politics on the subject.

Indeed, this understanding explains why Khoisan representatives were not invited to become part of the newly established National House of Traditional Leaders alongside representatives of other ethnic groups in 2009. Instead, the National Khoisan Council (NKC) was erected by the government in 1997 with a mandate to sort out issues of leadership and recognition within the Khoisan movement. The NKC hardly received government funding or assistance and it is challenging to find any information about it. It is nevertheless in part due to the efforts of the NKC, that the National Traditional and Khoi and San Leadership Bill (NTKLB) has been proceeding through the legislative process. The NTKLB sets out criteria for the official recognition of Khoisan and non-Khoisan traditional leadership. However, the bill does not in its current form define the Khoisan as indigenous people. It instead reaffirms the commonplace definition of indigeneity in South Africa. I come back to the NTKLB and the importance of the term indigenous further on. What is clear is that these piecemeal attempts at accommodating the demands of the Khoisan for land and the recognition of their culture and traditional leadership have left many of them largely disillusioned with the government.[6] Khoisan activists increasingly feel that they would do better to organize in various pressure groups with a more radical and international message.

As a result of this difference in approach on part of Khoisan activists, the visibility of Khoisan culture is steadily increasing. Recent events and develop-

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[6]   President Cyril Ramaphosa announced the creation of a 'Commission on Khoisan matters' to 'ensure a process of Khoisan recognition' on the 27th of February 2018. However, it remains unclear how this commission will function alongside the Reference Group or how it relates to the NTKLB.

ments such as competitions for practitioners of the traditional dance *riel*; the 2017 release of Krotoa, a popular movie about an indigenous interpreter for the Dutch colonialists; and the circulation of *Eerste Nasie Nuus* [First Nation News], a newspaper authored by Khoisan activists, have all contributed to this. There is also a burgeoning social media presence of Khoisan culture and identity. This revival is particularly vibrant in Cape Town, where, as one activist once said, 'the bomb of colonialism first fell and did most damage'. Indeed, Cape Town has seen the rise of various Khoisan activist groupings, social movements or tribal councils such as the Khoisan Kingdom or the Institute for the Restoration of the Aborigines of South Africa, which have undertaken various actions in the city and elsewhere in order to increase awareness about Khoisan issues. Examples include covering up the statue of colonialist Jan van Riebeeck with black garbage bags to mark '360 years of resistance to colonialism' in 2012; a renaming ceremony of Cape Town to *//Hui !Gaeb* [the place where the clouds gather] in front of the first colonial structure in Cape Town, the Castle of Good Hope, in 2012; and public and private *!Nau* ceremonies where people ritually affirm their Khoisan identity.

Elsewhere I explore possible interpretations of Khoisan activism at greater length (Verbuyst, 2016). Suffice it to say that the revival is, if anything, a powerful insertion of Khoisan identity and culture into public consciousness and space. At stake is a bid for self-determination, for the ability to organize Khoisan matters as they see fit. Activists feel alienated, disrespected and misrepresented as a people in history books. I constantly encountered aspirations to tell counter narratives and 'set the record straight' while doing fieldwork. As one activist put it, 'everything we do is about our history'. Of particular concern are stigmas and stereotypes, as these are responsible for people not identifying with Khoisan identity or culture according to the activists. Ruben Richards (2017), an academic sympathetic to the cause, then frames the revival as the transition of a people from feeling like 'bastaards' to nothing more, or less, than 'humans'. Khoisan activists thus not merely aim their outrage at the legacy of apartheid, but campaign for the urgent need to decolonize what they see as the colonial legacy and its reverberations in present-day issues, such as the lack of land ownership, the officially unrecognized status of Khoisan identity, and the overall lack of state support for Khoisan culture. In what follows, I reflect on these grievances by laying out two conundrums that will have to be thought through in order for the Khoisan to be included as potential recipients of decolonization.

DECOLONIZATION AND KHOISAN INDIGENEITY: STRATEGIC ESSENTIALISM AND INCOMMENSURABILITY

Reflecting on my research and the relevant literature (see below), two sets of problems are key when considering decolonization and the Khoisan. The first group of conundrums relate to the strategic essentialism that Khoisan activists engage in as a result of the context wherein Khoisan identity and culture has been, and continues to be, principally defined. With strategic essentialism, a term originally coined by Spivak (1988; see also Keesing, 1989), I refer to the (un)conscious deployment of stereotypical imagery and popular notions regarding a perceived identity or culture in order to obtain resources or political attention. Aside from thinking through this conceptual frame through which Khoisan issues are approached, a different set of ethical problems have to be addressed when considering how the Khoisan relate to other groups campaigning for decolonization in South African society. Of particular interest to me is the notion that Khoisan demands are incommensurable to those of others, as I see this as a motivation for some of the reluctant government engagements with the Khoisan. I discuss both of these complexities in turn.

KHOISAN IDENTITY AND CULTURE: STRATEGIC ESSENTIALISM AND AUTHENTICITY

One of the most recurring complaints of Khoisan activists is that their articulations of identity and culture are perceived to be judged by a higher standard of authenticity when compared to those of other groups. The argument is often made by referring to the seemingly undisputed identity of the Zulu King, Goodwill Zwelithini, arguably the most influential traditional leader in South Africa, and the fact that the Khoisan are not recognized in the census in comparison.[7] Elsewhere, I have argued that this desire to prove the authenticity of Khoisan cultural displays or claims to identity, leads activists to pursue a politics of strategic essentialism when engaging with this matter in public (Verbuyst, 2016). In Cape Town particularly — not coincidentally the area where the colonial violence was most devastating for the Khoisan — do activists feel the need to engage in politics in this fashion (see also Robins, 1997

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7   Current options in the census are 'African', 'Coloured', 'Indian' and 'White'.

who made a similar argument concerning activism in Namaqualand in the early 1990s). Significantly, most of the Khoisan activists engage in this process reluctantly and often ironically only in order to be seen or heard.

Strategic essentialism among the Khoisan is further exacerbated by the modus operandi of South African tourism and museums. Scholars have provided ample examples of ethnic groups performing 'authentic' and 'traditional' displays of culture in South Africa's many 'cultural villages' or 'living museums' to the benefit of an European exotic gaze (and the often non-indigenous stakeholders of the enterprise) (e.g. Boonzaaier and Wels 2018, p. 4–5).[8] One such place is Kagga Kamma, not far from Cape Town, where, '[t]hrough listening to "Khoisan history… condensed into a five-minute account," witnessing their nakedness, and fondling their children, the visitor is led to believe that he or she is contributing to the survival of the bushmen' (Witz, Rassool & Minkley 2001, p.281). Museums have been criticized for similar reasons. By placing indigenous objects in display cases inside museums, indigenous continuity is denied (Gibson, 2012, p.203–204). The presence and vibrancy of Khoisan culture and identity is precisely what Khoisan activists aim to establish. Not coincidentally then, Schramm (Schramm, 2016, p.133) had a similar realization in a Cape Town museum where she observed how indigeneity was effectively 'far removed in space and time from the city life of which the Museum formed part'.

More often than not, an urban/rural divide is embedded in this line of thinking, the latter exemplifying the largely 'unspoiled' indigenous who is in touch with the environment and worthy of the name, and the former in turn considered too assimilated and too Westernized to be the 'real thing' (Gibson, 2012, p.208). The Khoisan in rural areas in South Africa are studied far more often by researchers than their urban counterparts as well. This mirrors the lack of studies on mixed-race indigenous people and urban indigeneity in general (Peters and Andersen, 2014). Khoisan activists in Cape Town too feel that their urban indigenous identity is disavowed and they attempt to associate themselves with the San/Bushmen in the northern rural regions because of their perceived 'ultra-indigeneity' (Besten, 2006). Crucially then, 'authentic indigenous identity' is being framed through these dynamics in a primordial

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[8]   While activists often denounce that this dynamic indeed stereotypes Khoisan culture and identity, it should be noted that ethnic groups also often consciously play along for economic reasons (cfr. Comaroff and Comaroff 2007). Moreover, case studies from South Africa and beyond also provide examples of local communities feeling empowered through tourism or museums, by being able to critically engage with stereotypes concerning the perceived static nature of their culture on their own terms (cfr. Amoamo, 2011, p.1258; Gibson, 2012, p.206; Cassel and Maureira, 2017, p.9).

and endlessly remote, unchangeable and unattainable past (Amoamo, 2011, p.1258). The indigenous, it seems, is left to exist in specifically allocated non-threatening and 'distant' places or forms such as the museum, the rural areas, the tourist destination or the marginalized community. This competition to be the most authentic can, moreover, turn into a race to the bottom and stimulate tensions (Cassel and Maureira, 2017: 11). Indeed, the Khoisan activist scene, at least in Cape Town, is marred by intense strife between groups vying to be authentic representatives. There are currently no signs that this is abating (Verbuyst, 2015, p.117–136).

Quelling the infighting is one of the reasons why the previously mentioned National Traditional and Khoi and San Leadership Bill (NTKLB) is attempting to legally enshrine the criteria for qualifying as a Khoisan traditional leader. It seems, however, that the NTKLB has caused even more divisions between those supporting it and those opposing it. Much of the criticism has to do with the fact that the text does not identify the Khoisan as indigenous. I come back to this in the next section. More fundamentally, however, many Khoisan activists reject the text, as they feel that they have not been adequately consulted and because the decision regarding recognition will ultimately be made by the premier of the province. While there have been consultation rounds in various locations throughout the country, activists complain that some of these have been difficult to reach or that there was not enough time to discuss matters in-depth. In general then, the process should not be rushed but carefully thought through. Important in this regard is to critically evaluate old research which informs this process, such as the notoriously elusive 2001 so-called 'status quo report'. While I cannot judge the content of this report as I and most activists have not been able to access it, it would surely need to be updated due to contemporary developments.

Most notably for Cape Town, should research acknowledge the destructive history that the Khoisan faced from the 17th century onward? The context of the preoccupation with authenticity on the part of the state and the activists outlined above has to also be taken into account. At work is a process of cultural reconstruction, revitalization and reinvention. Instead of placing Khoisan culture and identity in a static, distant and stereotyped past only to be found in approximations in the present, the vibrancy and creativity of Khoisan revivalism should be publically embraced as empowering (see below). Khoisan culture and identity is not confined to the museum or the tourist site, but is entering mainstream society and public consciousness. (Urban) indigenous

identity should not be shaped as a result of criteria dictated by the state, but rather practiced through a process of self-determination. Extreme care should be taken when legally enshrining Khoisan identity and culture, especially with regards to potentially divisive specifics, such as DNA quotas (Verbuyst, 2015, p.120–136; see also TallBear, 2013). Indeed, South Africa's legacy of native administration and racialized science shows precisely how dangerous the practice of defining identity and culture in primordial, racial or pure terms can be (Dubow, 1995). If anything, perhaps it is this colonial framework which still remains to be dismantled and indeed, decolonized (cfr. Tomaselli, 2012). Yet, at the same time, working through these controversial issues might be, to a large extent, unavoidable when bringing identities and cultures into the political and legal sphere.[9] As I show next, it is worth examining the ethical implications of these controversial issues against the backdrop of current calls for decolonization.

INCOMMENSURABILITY AND THE ETHICS OF LAYERED DECOLONIZATION

Much has been written about how indigenous people could or should live together with others in the same society. This is a complex matter that I certainly do not intend to resolve here. Instead, I want to engage with a particularly well-cited text, which I have already drawn upon, entitled *'Decolonization is not a metaphor'* by Tuck and Yang (2012), as I feel that it takes somewhat of an extreme position in this debate. The arguments are powerful because they are defended in all intellectual honesty and clarity. Indeed, more than anyone else I have read so far, Tuck and Yang make explicit the ethical implications that many others are only reluctantly or implicitly arguing for when discussing decolonization. While the piece was written with the North American context in mind, many of the issues raised are relevant to understanding the position of the South African government, as well as some of the opposition to Khoisan activism that I have come across. There is much in this text to discuss in relation to the South African case. But I focus on Tuck and Yang's claim that the demands of indigenous people are ultimately 'incommensurable' to those of the non-indigenous.

As a result of the violent legacies of colonialism that continue to affect indigenous people, Tuck and Yang (2012, p.1, 4) argue that any attempt to

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[9]   I touched upon some of the historiographical, legal and political complexities that arise when dealing with the land claims of the Khoisan in Verbuyst (2016; 2017).

negotiate with indigenous communities that does not grant absolute autonomy to them to settle matters as they see fit – particularly relating to the 'repatriation of indigenous lands' – reduces the word 'decolonization' to a metaphor, an approximation of what actually has to be done. In one of the most controversial passages of the essay, Tuck and Yang (2012, p.17) even question the limits of solidarity from other groups (that experience(d) injustice), as they might not go far enough in their support for indigenous people when push comes to show. Ultimately, they might end up deflating the importance of the issue. Crucially then, Tuck and Yang argue that the only way forward is to drastically 'unsettle' the power balance in favour of indigenous people. Everything else, they argue, amounts to a waste of time and effort. It serves only to further entrench the status quo. While similar arguments are also taken up by Khoisan activists, I would contend that this is done by a vocal minority that sensationalist media tend to focus on. Judging from my personal interactions, they are not representative of the broad-based identity movement of Khoisan revivalism as a whole. Khoisan activists are in some ways distinct from other groups campaigning for decolonization in South Africa, but they have much in common with them as well.

While it is imperative to recognize that #RhodesMustFall is but one expression of the broader drive to decolonize South African society, there are telling similarities with Khoisan activism. #RhodesMustFall targeted the statue of Cecil Rhodes because he was taken to embody the enduring legacy of colonialism in South African society and academia. Much of the anger stems from a sense that African history and identity are ignored and dismissed in both university curricula, demographics and architecture. A decolonization of both the intellectual and physical landscape is pursued as a means to assert the presence of the African majority. Protesters stress the need to effect immediate change in a country judged to be working through its colonial legacy at a frustratingly slow pace. Observers remarked how the movement thereby explicitly brings the past 'back' into the present (Holmes & Loehwing, 2016, p.15). Khoisan activists engage in a similar bid to publically and assertively bring a (invisible/forgotten) past into present-day society and public consciousness through their discourse and protests. The contemporaneity of Khoisan identity and culture is continuously stressed. Their activism is as laden with symbolism as the #RhodesMustFall movement. Moreover, it is, as outlined above, similarly often practiced on specific sites of meaning.

Yet, while Khoisan activists are equally disappointed with the lack of decolonization and the rainbow ideology underpinning South African multiculturalism since 1994, they have different reasons for doing so. Their goal is not so much to effect the 'Africanisation' of society, but to decolonize the socio-economic position and colonial framework surrounding the Khoisan in South Africa that I outlined above. The role of the term indigenous in this regard might hold the biggest danger of generating 'incommensurability' with the African majority. More than geographical and temporal factors, Khoisan activists' emphasis on the term indigenous reflects a desire to be framed as distinct from other groups in South Africa due the age-old character of their culture and identity. In other words, while it is a bid to cultivate ancestral belonging, it is not so much indicative of a desire to establish who was where first. 'Indigenous' is mainly used by the Khoisan to point to the need to address a particular historical trajectory and feeling of marginalization in the present, rather than as a vessel to pursue a politics of entitlement or to assert their superiority over others. Khoisan revivalism is more of a cultural movement than a political one. Yet, the fear that privileging one ethnic group over another would stimulate conflict implicitly (and at times explicitly) guides South African political discourse on the concept 'indigenous'. This sentiment echoes common critiques of the notion of indigenous rights and identities in academic circles (Kuper, 2003) as well as the standpoints taken up in other (neighbouring) national contexts.

The interpretation and use of the concept by the majority of Khoisan activists is therefore important to take into account, as it provides pathways towards decolonization that move away from Tuck and Yang's more pessimistic ethics of incommensurability, which in fact stimulate these types of fear in my view. Decolonization as argued for by the Khoisan, is a serious matter that requires drastic and tangible change. It might be less destabilizing for South African society than some might assume, however. Considering the common ground between Khoisan activism and movements such as #RhodesMustFall, collaboration might strengthen the broader drive towards decolonization. Having said that, more research is required to look into Khoisan involvements in, and attitudes about, decolonization and related movements. In this regard it is worth looking at the reflections of Khoisan activist and academic June Bam-Hutchison on the subject. She opens her essay on #RhodesMustFall by noting that it is regrettable that the Khoisan are rarely mentioned in the movement. For Bam-Hutchison (2016, p.12–13), this is the case because 'such

an acknowledgment […] may give rise to profound questions on the unresolved and burning land question for the indigenous people of the Cape'. If #RhodesMustFall is sincere in its support of those whose histories have been forgotten and of alternative interpretations of the past, then (un)consciously ignoring the Khoisan is antithetic to its goals. Indeed, such an attitude, as argued for previously, would flatten the differences between the colonial legacies experienced by different groups. Despite different points of emphasis, Bam-Hutchison (2016, p.8) relates to the anger felt by 'young black South Africans' and the symbolic actions that are undertaken as a result:

[U]biquitous colonial monuments in urban centers have become troublesome symbols of the festering wounds of economic injustice and the still unresolved land question. They provide the spatial proximity for accessible physical attack unlike a complex historically deep and powerful economic system that is globally entrenched and inaccessible.

She clearly recognizes historical oppression and poverty among other groups in South Africa and does not suggest competing over who has experienced the most suffering. Bam-Hutchison also does not claim that indigenous identity always trumps other concerns. Moreover, she also shows that, contrary to what Tuck and Yang claim for the North American context, solidarity across groups campaigning for decolonization in South Africa is desirable and feasible. Yet, the question remains: which principles and actions could guide compensation and reconciliation with regards to the Khoisan? According to Bam-Hutchison (2016, p.24), *Lalela*; an isiZulu word meaning listening and taking someone seriously, is the starting point. She argues that Khoisan activists should be given a platform where their demands and grievances are taken seriously and not ridiculed or dismissed as opportunistic. Being in control of the story can be a form of decolonization (Amoamo, 2011, p.1268). As I noted above, dispelling the popular paradigm based on stereotypical assumptions, and recognizing the Khoisan's specific historical trajectories and attachments to particular places, are crucial steps in this regard. Indeed, more than giving a 'voice' to the Khoisan, a different mind-set is required among the general populace to promote a critical reflection on the country's colonial past, and specifically the historical predicament of the Khoisan. This would increase awareness on the challenges facing Khoisan identity and culture today, and contribute to a more informed and meaningful dialogue. Ideally, this in turn generates creative solutions to the problem.

Tuck and Yang (2012, p.10) advance incommensurability so that people can become 'more impatient with each other, less likely to accept gestures and half-steps, and more willing to press for acts which unsettle innocence'. While I support their call for far-reaching change, they do not explain how this 'impatience' would promote dialogue or bring about negotiations instead of stimulating or exacerbating conflict and a deeper entrenchment in extreme positions. They do not address how indigenous people and others are supposed to live together in their envisioned society where it seems, to borrow from Mamdani (2001: 658), the power dynamic would simply be turned upside down. Looking at #RhodesMustFall and Khoisan activism, the South African case shows that 'decolonization' can refer to different painful legacies for different people. It might be more valuable to pursue commensurability which 'open[s] communication channels' instead of the incommensurability that closes them (Ribeiro, 2011, p.287). Yet, Tuck and Yang aptly underline the dangers of engaging with indigenous people within a paradigm that is perceived as disrespectful or via policies that are not taken to be serious vehicles for change, but as attempts to stall or contain the problem. As stated before, this is a complex problem. However, I hope this text moves the discussion in a productive direction by encouraging a conversation about indigeneity and decolonization in South Africa.

PLACING THE KHOISAN WITHIN POST-TRANSITIONAL DECOLONIZATION

The main goal of this essay is to probe the complexities of current calls for decolonization made by Khoisan activists in Cape Town in relation to those expressed by other groups in South Africa through movements such as #RhodesMustFall. I began by giving some background information on post-apartheid Khoisan politics and the main grievances and motivations underpinning Khoisan activism in Cape Town. I then moved on to examine two particular conundrums regarding the inclusion of the Khoisan within wider debates on decolonization. I first made the case for a paradigm change with regards to the colonial framework of Khoisan identity and culture. I argued that this 'decolonization' can be effected by scrutinizing and rethinking the issue of strategic essentialism and its relationship with notions of authenticity. I proceeded by drawing from an influential essay of Tuck and Yang, *Decolonization is not a metaphor*, in order to examine whether or not the demands of the

Khoisan could and should be considered as incommensurable to those of other groups campaigning for decolonization in South Africa. While the insights of Tuck and Yang point to crucial matters that have to be taken into account, such as the act of equivocating the history of colonialism across all groups, I argued that there were many points of convergence between Khoisan activists and other groups that suggest potentially productive ways of collaboration. Contrary to what Tuck and Yang argue with regard to the North American context, I would contend that this would not reduce decolonization in South Africa to a metaphor.

Both Khoisan activism and movements such as #RhodesMustFall are in part expressions of anger at the lack of change twenty-five years after the democratic transition of 1994. Many have remarked that this type of growing weariness is indicative of the dawn of a South African post-transitional era, where the euphoria of the end of apartheid gives way to frustrations with the persistence of its legacies. Both Khoisan activism and #RhodesMustFall are, at their core, movements that attempt to front the physical absence and presence of these historical legacies. The African 'black' majority tends to focus on the apartheid era, whereas the Khoisan foregrounds colonial past that predates apartheid and reaches back to the mid-17th century. While Khoisan activists want the legacies of this past addressed and many aspire to self-determination, the vast majority do not desire to disengage from the South African state or to implement a regressive agenda. Crucially, however, more research is required on Khoisan activism and their attitudes towards decolonization and movements such as #RhodesMustFall to sustain this claim. I could not go in-depth into all of the issues I raised and I certainly did not cover all ground or tackle all ethical complications. For one, it is in many ways problematic to 'transfer' the perpetuation of the colonial legacy during apartheid to those who have been in charge of a democratic state that is less than twenty-five years old. However, I hope to have provided enough material for discussion and topics for further research.

The layered nature of calls for decolonization in South Africa illustrate the complexity of the matter. It will take time and effort to chart possible ways forward. However, the potential for a comprehensive bid towards decolonization in the post-transitional era might not materialize if the Khoisan are not meaningfully placed within the decolonization debate and within policies relevant to the South African context, such as land reform and the recognition of traditional leadership. With feelings of alienation on the rise among increas-

ingly larger numbers of Khoisan activists, their patience might be running out and the empowering nature of the movement might give way to resentment towards other groups in South African society and disengagement from the state. I meet more and more Khoisan activists who experience disappointment with state politics, and frame them as a continuation of the colonial politics of forced assimilation. Indeed, this 'festering wound', as June Bam-Hutchison described it, will only become deeper if it is not attended to with swift, visible and drastic state-sponsored measures.

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PART 2.
RECOGNITION

INDIGENOUS AMAZONIA AND DECOLONIZING SOCIAL WORK

BY KEPA FERNÁNDEZ DE LARRINOA

ABSTRACT

This article reflects on the need of an indigenous social work practice committed to the social, cultural, political and economic conditions of the Ecuadorian Amazon region. In case of projecting in the University system an indigenous social work training program for the peoples of the Amazon rainforest, it should promote community social action as well as being supported by key leading ideas, such as: ecological and environmental justice; cultural expertise; restorative spirituality; and political awareness of colonial and postcolonial experience of the local history. This article claims that three principles must be discussed in depth in order to prepare a university curriculum concerning indigenous social work in the Amazon region of Ecuador: one is the concept of cultural competence; another, the notion of indigenization of social work; and third, what is understood in indigenous social work by decolonizing social intervention methodologies and techniques.

INTRODUCTION

This chapter concerns social work among Amazon indigenous peoples. It portrays a framework with which to discuss the notion of indigenous social work embedded in communities in the Amazonian rainforests. It is argued that a shift of focus is needed within the field of social work; from the currently overall and overlapping notion of *social work in indigenous communities* to one rooted in native constructs of the social self. Such a framework can point at a model, which I suggest to designate as *indigenous social work in indigenously understood societies*.

In order to support such a change, several concerns need attention. The first consists of examining the later social policies of the Ecuadorian government in the Amazon region. During the 2000's and onwards, a nationwide social policy decidedly impregnated with a conspicuous cultural patina, has been implemented. In addition, there is a need to consider the Ecuadorian indigenous social movement strength, both in terms of group organization and political influence on national and local governments. In this chapter, I ask the following questions; is there an indigenous reasoning embedded in the Amazonian communities? If so, how should a university program of indigenous social work in the Amazon region be organized? In addition, I ask how to exercise it in the social praxis characteristic of the contemporary rainforest?

This article departs from two interconnected political debates that circulate around social work. One is the assertion that social work is a historically determined Western social device to solve Western-rooted social issues. The other focuses on social work in indigenous communities, and to what extent social work pursues just sociocultural adjustments to political processes of westernization. Thus, when indigenous social work is understood as ideological decolonization from western conceptions of the individual, nature and culture; then social workers frame their praxis in terms of re-appropriation.

INDIGENOUS SOCIAL WORK

In the following, I will present a framework with which to reflect on the need for an indigenous social work that is committed to the social, cultural, political and economic conditions of the Ecuadorian Amazon region. Research carried

on this issue makes us conclude that, in the case of projecting a university curriculum pushing forward an Amazon-oriented indigenous social work system, it should promote community social action as well as being supported by key leading ideas, such as: ecological and environmental justice; cultural expertise; restorative spirituality; and political awareness of colonial and postcolonial experience of the local history. In other words, three principles must be discussed in order to prepare a university curriculum proposal on indigenous social work in the Amazon region of Ecuador. One is the concept of cultural competence; another, the notion of indigenization of social work; and third, what is understood in indigenous social work by decolonizing social intervention methodologies.

The arguments that follow are inserted in the milieu of university-taught social work and in everyday social work practice in indigenous sociocultural environments. I depart by focusing on proposals claimed for indigenous social work that have been formulated by indigenous lecturers and researchers who are assigned to Social Work or Indigenous Studies departments at universities in Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian countries. In the field of social work, there is an increasing literature on decolonization. This is particularly true in the case of indigenous social work in Anglo-Saxon and Arctic Scandinavian colonial settlements where international networks of collaboration, debate, thought and common action are important. These networks involve indigenous academics and social work professionals committed to a renewal of indigenous approaches to social knowledge, including its application to indigenous social, community and political action.

> While the bulk of the work of bringing forth and centering Indigenous knowledge and practices into social work rests, rightfully, with indigenous people, it is clear that settler societies also have work to do. This work is ideally anti-colonial and decolonizing, and involves settler societies working collaboratively with indigenous people to challenge the boundaries implicit in colonial mindsets (Hart & Burton, 2016, p.4–5).

These countries have lately debated social work teaching and professional practice, relating to scenarios of social intervention in indigenous communities. No doubt the notion of "indigenous research paradigm and knowledge methodologies" has been a key issue. Within this approach, there is a call to

reformulate western epistemologies by adopting decolonizing and emancipating frameworks to and for human knowledge and interpretations of the world. Decolonizing theoretical and methodological proposals within social work are sustained in the following observation: the notions of indigenous, native and aboriginal have been forged in combinations of geographic spaces and historical times precisely linked to situations of overseas coloniality. However, the epitome of social work is embedded in a rather western process of modernization and industrialization.

Significantly, decolonizing theoretical and methodological approaches to social work underline that both the Euro-American modernization process and the colonial geography of marginality are co-dependent. Western and later on Westernized makings of modern and industrialized nations, and the worldwide spreading out of indigenous colonialities, are not but a progression of reciprocal feedbacks, i.e., a conjointly operating political-economic process. As Colombian scholar, Arturo Escobar explained years ago, Euro-American modernity, economic development and third world underdevelopment and poverty are the two sides of the very same coin: the emergency of capital economies and capitalism expansion over the globe (Escobar, 1995).

Social identity categories as 'Indian', 'native' and 'aboriginal' came to birth in situations of political and economic coloniality. Social work, however, emerged inside processes of Western national modernization. Therefore, when we analyze the colonial praxis *vis à vis* the rhetoric of modernity, we discover that Indian, native and aboriginal are categories that emerged in situations of domination, i.e., in situations in which the dominant metropolis projected ethno-racial criteria of classification upon dominated local populations. As a result, "indigenous identity" becomes synonymous with "subaltern identity". Hence, the importance given in indigenous social work to theorizing about intervention schemes and cultural action experiences oriented toward the decolonization of mind, thought and social life (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 1995; Mezzadra, 2008; Gray, Coates, Yellow Bird, & Hetherington, 2013).

Many authors have analyzed the issue of colonial praxis *vis à vis* the rhetoric of modernity in Latin America. They have shown that "indigenous" is an expression by means of which relations of political, economic and cultural control and authority are imposed. Consequently, it has been argued that contemporary indigenous identities must be seen and studied as subaltern iden-

tities (Bonfil, 1987; Quijano, 2000; Mignolo, 2007). As this subalternity is deeply rooted in national and international policies of economic growth and profit maximization largely based on the exploitation of natural resources, the conclusion can be drawn that indigenous social work ought to come to the fore attached to philosophies of thought-decolonization, as well as promoting social practices directed at cultural emancipation.

CULTURAL CRITICISM OF SOCIAL WORK

According to what I have disclosed above, in this section I address social work expertise in the context of indigenous societies and populations. To this end, I distinguish two regions of inquiry. One is related to the practice of social work in indigenous communities. The other is connected to the creation and transmission of social work knowledge in research and higher education centres. On the whole, I discuss several understandings of indigenous social work. However, my focus is on a specific understanding recently formulated by indigenous teachers and researchers assigned to social work departments in universities of affluent Anglo-Saxon countries with a native population in their midst.

Elsewhere I have addressed the study of Western notions of epistemology and research methodologies inside indigenous social work in English-speaking university education and effectiveness-oriented job performance (Fernandez de Larrinoa, 2016). By so doing, I intend two things: first, to put a distinctive emphasis on the departing point in this chapter; and second, to draw a theoretical picture wherein we could subsequently discuss shared bonds and disconnections between Anglo-Saxon and Latin American indigenous peoples' experiences in social action, in particular those of the Amazonian rainforest. Academics such as Smith (1999); Gray, Coates, & Yellow Bird (2008); Gray et. al. (2013); and Hart & Burton (2016), underlined that social work with indigenous communities must be carried out in terms of human rights and cultural empowerment. To be more precise, they have promoted examinations of social work by means of which it becomes fully discernible that a clear-cut political dimension accompanies the learning and praxis of social work, most noteworthy in the context of indigenous peoples, communities and societies.

A CULTURAL CRITIQUE OF SOCIAL WORK

Social work has become internationalized and globalized: from European and North American cities, neighbourhoods to rural towns, then travelled to the countries of the South, and now fully enters indigenous communities. Gray, Coates & Yellow Bird (2008) ask if social work is a western invention linked to the central ideas of nation-States, such as, the idea of modernity and individualism; a productivity-industrial economy; and the social caring political ethics attached to democratic-Christian and social-democratic parliamentary parties? They argue that the internationalization of academic social work, in addition to the globalization of its practice, are not but effects of late-modernity and late-capitalism.

The global economic expansion of our times has been accompanied by another expansion, that of social work. This internationalization of social work, establishing itself in countries of the South, entails the danger of imperialism resulting in professional colonization. One can put it this way: like many other modern Western professions, social work has been incorporated into the memorandum of globalization, uncritically agreeing with a unifying and universalizing view of social and cultural life, one which inspires to implement social interventions of the same kind, even in unmistakably dissimilar cultural situations and contexts (Midgley, 1981).

Challenging the view, Gray Coates and Yellow Bird, (2008) call for a form of social work that has to be consistent with the local society and culture.

> The real issue with which we are dealing with is the development of culturally relevant social work practice and education around the world [...] Claims to 'global' and 'universal' social work present to paradox for those concerned with social work's responsiveness to local cultural contexts [...] Most who are involved in international social work are mainly concerned with developing models of culturally relevant social work practice in local contexts, among cultures with varying degrees of difference from their own [...]. Thus we believe that claims to 'global' social work are not only an exaggeration of the reach of social work but also deny the importance of nongovernment organizations, community and social development which play a greater role in working with the majority of the world's population who are in need (Gray, Coates and Yellow Bird, 2008, p.25).

INDIGENOUS CULTURAL SYSTEMS AND SOCIAL WORK

Most indigenous peoples live in ecosystems sui generis with languages and cultures that are embedded in the land. Worldwide human worries such as global warming and climate change have provided native peoples with the position, as guardians, of endangered environments as well as stewards of scarce natural resources. In consequence, new expressions have been coined, e.g., "ecosocial work" (Molyneaux, 2010; Coates & Gray, 2012). Even so, indigenous cultural frameworks and social life interpretive systems are still subjects of controversy and discussion among scientists (Peat, 2012; Hendry, 2014). Weaver (1999) argue that; "I have not been able to identify any empirical work on cultural competence with Native Americans" (Weaver, 1999, p.218). Another argues that;

> The reconciliation of social work theory and practices with Indigenous peoples of Canada is currently in critical dialogue due to the social work profession's historic and ongoing contribution to colonization […]. Although some footing has been made through innovative, Indigenous centered curriculum and university safe spaces where social work is transmitted to next generation of students, contributions in the field education remain scarce. (Clark, Reid, Valley, Drolet, Walton, Peirce, Charles, Vedan, Samuel, Matyhews, Bruke, & Arnouse, 2012, p. 115–116).

With regard to the meaning ascribed to cultural competence in social work, native scholars have observed outstanding deficiencies even during the last decades. However, it would be unfair to conclude the inexistence of indigenous social work experiences based on indigenous cultural conceptions, carried out by indigenous social workers. On the contrary, as Munford & Sanders (2010) argue from the position of Maori social workers: "Of particular importance for Maori, and central to achieving wellbeing, is the connection with one's ancestry and a foregrounding of cultural meaning systems, including spirituality" (Munford & Sanders 2010, p.3).

> The commitment of social and community workers in New Zealand to embrace new ways of working and to be challenged by alternative frameworks is part of a search for models that can more effectively

support families and communities [...]. A notable example of this is Te Whare Tapu Wha model [...] Frameworks of practice such as this are now used widely and Maori understandings of social and health experiences increasingly inform the approach to practice of state and non-government agencies (NGOs) (Munford & Sanders, 2010, p.3).

INDIGENOUS RESEARCH PARADIGM

The examples given above illustrate the fragility of indigenous cultural systems, epistemologies and methodologies in the building of social work university knowledge. We should distinguish between these two separate terminologies: on the one hand, culturally competent or sensitive social work; and, on the other, radical indigenous social work. The former – as explained above – reflects on fragmented and disconnected assimilations of one or several cultural fundamentals attributed to given indigenous systems of sociability and knowledge of social work practice and job education. The latter means something quite different: the process of thinking of, training in, and carrying out social work in the context of indigenous peoples from their perspectives and methodologies.

> Things are changing in the realm of research. While at one time, we, as Indigenous peoples, were faced with leaving our indigenity at the door when we entered the academic world, several of us are actively working to ensure our research is not only respectful or 'culturally sensitive', but is also based on approaches and processes that are parts of our cultures (Hart, 2010, p.1).

In the best of cases, indigenous interpretations of mutual aid might be incorporated into social work knowledge and interpretation, by following a politically correct rhetoric of respect and tolerance of cultural difference. When this happens, cultural sensitivity and competence consists of selecting the indigenous cultural pieces that best fit Western scientific knowledge.

In contrast, Hart (2008) defends the existence of a specifically indigenous research paradigm outside Western conceptions of scientific knowledge. Notwithstanding the ideal of universality that governs Western scientific thought, disparity – if not contradiction – prevails within it. Similarly, there is dispar-

ity and inconsistency within indigenous worldviews and cosmologies (Parkin, 1982). However, group sociability inside indigenous societies is culturally constructed upon a common principle: relational reciprocity.

Indigenous knowledge conveys a particular research paradigm linked onto an ontology, which indigenous peoples conceptualize in relation to domains of spiritual relationships, which at the same time are connected with domains of relationships. Both domains materialize themselves and interact, one with the other, by following patterns of reciprocity ordered and structured in the course of ritual ceremony. Second, there is an epistemology that reflects an indigenous thought system with its own logic of knowledge production and reproduction, where creation, experimentation, and transmission are collective processes. Third is the methodology, which rests on the idea of reciprocity of life implying a relational and collective accountability. Namely, knowledge acquired within systems of reciprocity between humans, spirits, and physical objects established in rituals and ceremonies, is prearranged to be of practical application in community relationships. Finally, indigenous research paradigms bear an all-encompassing ethical dimension. Since indigenous knowledge is tied up with community making. Research methods are intended to benefit the community. Ethics in the indigenous research paradigm is not but the subjective recognition of the creative process of the person who creates knowledge and transmits it in a collective context (Hart, 2010).

TOWARD AN INDIGENOUS SOCIAL MOVEMENT

Is there any model of indigenous research action that is specifically indigenous in Latin American social work practice? I will attend to this question, by a discussion of the relation between social work, society and culture in Ecuador, followed by reflecting upon ethnic and cultural difference in social policy in the Amazon basin. Hence, I address hereafter the concept of cultural competence, the notion of indigenization of social work, and the idea of decolonizing social intervention methodologies as they have developed in the context of Latin American social work and social work policy.

Latin American social work of the 21st century calls for models of professional practice and university education allied with social justice-oriented scientific research, knowledge transmission and job instruction (Cifuentes, 2013). Since its first formal establishment in Chile in 1925, Latin American

social workers have been generally trained in schools, centres, and departments attached to universities, that have learning routes that shift according to country, type of government, and lapse of time. Nevertheless, social work has been characterized by its commitment to social change and the transformation of society.

When examining change induced by social workers, it is important to be aware of the kind of change they are specifically pointing to. Namely, they should think of the how and why of the change that is aimed at. Hence, the question: has any specific model of indigenous research paradigm entered Latin American social work? What is striking in the recent history of Latin America is the strength, both political and social, with which in the late 1990s and early 2000s indigenous movements forced national governments and international institutions to recognize them as citizens who carry rights of their own.

Latin American indigenous knowledge systems, languages, and interpretations of social reality, along with indigenous models of sociability and human interaction with the ecosystem, have captured national and international political attention. Do these most recent indigenous social movements contribute to reformulate spaces, times and processes of creation and dissemination of university knowledge? Is it reflected in the organization and conceptualization of the teaching and job practice of social work with and/or for the native populations of Latin America?

> It is a challenge for Social Work to question the hegemony of those who sustain their knowledge in criteria of validity that are established by and for themselves; a challenge that increases if we take into account that in general the profession is formed and exercised in two key spaces of hegemony of modern forms of rationality: the university and the State (Gómez Lechaptois, 2014, p.92).

The question remains unanswered; does social work act upon knowledge structures and methods concerning indigenous research paradigms and thought systems? In the search for answers, we must look at three realms: Latin American social work history and current training; current Latin American indigenously rooted social movements; and social policy and social work performance in the Amazon *vis á vis* nationwide discourses of welfare and wellbeing.

CONCEPTUALIZING SOCIAL WORK

In the 1960s and 1970s, Latin American social work took a rebellious and subversive course. Until then, social work was operating according to the charity-welfare, aseptic-technocratic, developmentalist and integrative models imported from Europe and America (Ponce, Malvina, & Paiva Zuaznábar, 2001) and was subordinated to developmental projects linked to North American political economic interests (Smith, 1999). In the 1960s and 1970s a breakthrough materialized in social work in Latin America. This happened in accordance with an ideal of solving human misery by transforming social order (Quezada Villegas, 2001). To change socioeconomic structures, social work intellectually censured the national and international, political and economic causes that generated poverty in Latin America. This, however, in praxis advocated both social commitment and politically active collective participation. *Reconceptualization of social work* was the expression that broke the rupturist current (Ander-Egg, 1984).

Reconceptualized social work puts the emphasis on social activism and collective learning through practical social action framed in social mobilization. Reconceptualized social work aspires to redeem Latin American society from its social, cultural, economic and political history of exploitation and external dependence. Transformative social action presents an interpretation of social intervention based on the identification of class interests (Navas, 1990). Reconceptualized social work proposed to operate by means of collective social work workshops (Quezada Venegas, 2001). It was understood as being based on participatory action research (Fals et al., 1986). Remarkably, this was a strategy of and for collective social intervention conceived both to create shared knowledge and to complete collective and participatory analysis of social reality. Presented in public at the end of 1969 in a Latin American congress, this philosophy of liberation arrived as a prelude to present-time postcolonial studies of subalternity and decolonization:

> Globally it [philosophy of liberation] is the emergence in the periphery of a critical thought that will develop up to the present. It is about the awareness of reality in the peripheral world, on the horizon of the countries that were colonies of Europe, where sciences in general, and social sciences and philosophy in particular, also had a colonial character, repetition of the categorical and methodical horizon of the metropolitan sciences [...].

The philosophy of liberation is then the first philosophical movement that begins the epistemological decolonization of philosophy itself, from the world periphery, criticizing the claim of universality of European and North American modern thought located at the center of the world-system. At the time of its birth, neither its creators nor its critics were aware of this global meaning, which makes more sense than ever at the beginning of the 21st century (Solis, Ortiz, Zuniga, Galindo & González Melchor, 2009, p.399–400).

In short, the reconceptualization of social work consisted of a Latin-Americanization of social action. It happened in the 1960s and 1970s. It deployed a revolutionary banner attached to a well-felt goal on the continent, liberation, which in the context of that time sank its roots in a specific philosophy. This philosophy received ideas from social Christianity, humanist socialism, and cultural memories and imaginaries of the pre-Columbian mythical world.

SUMAK KAWSAY AND WELFARE STATE IN LATIN AMERICA

A conspicuous topic in Latin America during the 21st century has been the progressive indigenous protagonism in the political, cultural and economic life of the States in which they reside. As social movements that bring together marginal and oppressed ethnic groups, they have constructed a particular view of how to understand social policy and cultural difference within Latin American nation-States (González Piñeres, 2004). This has been especially true in the Andean region, and prominence must be given to the indigenous political organizations of Bolivia and Ecuador whose dynamism has put indigenous men and women in politically meaningful government posts. A consequence of the Bolivian and Ecuadorian indigenous later social movements has been the shaping of a way of thinking about social policy and State-designed social intervention that sharply contrasts previous Latin American perspectives on induced social change (Gudynas, Guevara, & Roque, 2008). Such a way of thinking social policy and intervention is known in the Quichua language with names as *Sumak Kawsay*, or *Sumak Kuasi* [Good Living] (Huanacuni, 2010).

Sumak Kawsay and its Spanish translation, *Buen Vivir*, are fashionable expressions in current Latin American Social Policy Studies (Fatheuer, 2011). The latest significance of this notion for social policy planers and human development researchers rests on several circumstances. Particularly important is that Sumak Kawsay has not entered the domain of parliamentary speech, academic dissertation and domestic law regulations in Latin America out of the blue. On the contrary, the actuality of its present-day strength is a consequence of a variety of social, political and cultural forces. A point to be emphasized is that Sumak Kawsay is a peasant Andean notion whose conceptual transference to the Spanish-speaking world stems from radical political activism carried out by indigenous organizations and social movements in Bolivia and Ecuador since the 1980´s onwards (Schavelzon, 2015). Therefore, not only is Sumak Kawsay a foreign expression, but also a foreign concept in Western and Westernized societies.

In regard to the argument in this essay, suffice it to say that Sumak Kawsay is an expression selected from peasant Andean culture in order to advance social welfare policies in Latin American society based on a non-Western understanding of human wellbeing and progress (Acosta & Martínez, 2014). Hence, Sumak Kawsay has moved in from its original peasant Andean community-bounded realm of social relationships, to the much wider pan-Hispanic sphere of social policy planning and thinking. Moreover, being an indigenous proposal for collective social change, Sumak Kawsay reflects a cultural interpretation of an ideal of people's welfare that contrasts sharply with the ideas and attitudes hitherto sustained by university lecturers and professional social workers and by State politicians and civil servants. For instance, the notion of Sumak Kawsay gave to Ecuador a new Constitution that acknowledged the "rights of the nature" (Gudynas, 2009).

However, further than the *Rousseaunian* exotics of primitivism and the politically interested discursive recognition of the expression, the indigenous peoples of Ecuador have felt that Sumak Kawsay faces strong opposition to the concept's practical implementation in indigenous communities and elsewhere. This is particularly manifest in the period 2007–2009 and beyond when President of the Republic Rafael Correa and CONAIE (Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador) stopped collaborating with each other and started a political pulse and mutual conflict still in force (Resina de la Fuente, 2012). As said above, Sumak Kawsay [Good Living] is a conception

of human and social well-being that originated in the bosom of Latin American popular culture of the Andean region. Rooted in the indigenous peasant worldview of Ecuador and Bolivia, it came to public knowledge and collective demand throughout the political struggle. In particular, in Ecuador it is Pachakutic who better represents indigenous claims for self-determination and genuine ethnic interculturality and State plurinationality. In this sense, Pachakutic has been an indigenous political organization calling for factual changes in cultural and social policy regarding the social and cultural needs expressed from within indigenous communities (Becker, 2015). Now the question arises: How does Ecuadorian present-time social work connect with the proposals of Sumak Kawsay and Interculturality that reach the spaces of political decision and public relations through indigenous political wrestling with the State?

Several reasons support the relevance of this question. First is that Ecuador includes indigenous rights in the Constitution of 2008 (Walsh 2010; Martínez, 2009). Second is that the later Ecuadorian government has betrayed the indigenous worldviews previously accepted as central in national politics, after having appropriated them discursively (Walsh, 2010; Domínguez & Caria, 2014). Third is that such institutional appropriation is subject to contestation on the part of the leaders and activists of the social movements, mostly on the part of indigenous organizations and community representatives (Resina de la Fuente, 2012). Fourth is that there are intellectuals, academics, university professors and non-university teachers who contest either the politically appropriation of indigenous knowledge and cosmologies or their institutional rejection (Walsh, 2012). Finally, there are those who disapprove of the inclusion of indigenous knowledge and cosmologies in the national charter of citizens' rights, and persist against their governmental implementation because they profess ideas still embedded in historical-cultural structures of racist and colonial thought (Gros, 2000; Zambrano, 2002).

A FUTURISTIC INDIGENOUS SOCIAL WORK IN AMAZONIA SOCIETY?

I have pointed out the emergence in Latin America in the 1960s and 1970s as a way of thinking about social work in which two situations became interweaved. One was an ideal economic growth following from development policies toward industrialization and technology-based agriculture and livestock production. Another was the rise of socialist and communist societies as a

political guarantee of individual and collective social justice. The result of that conjunction was a conceptualization of social work linked to Karl Marx's critique of capital: social classes immersed in an antagonistic structural conflict, concluding with an upcoming revolutionary social change. On the other hand, perspectives such as Sumak Kawsay invite us to think about social work from another point or view, that of the rural-peasant and Andean highlander of Ecuador and Bolivia, which runs *tête a tête* with ongoing neoliberal liberal schemes of local development, mainly based on mineral, gas, oil, and timber extraction. As a rule, neoliberal understandings of social work are directed to efficiency management thought: to obtain maximum material benefit on a minimum economic cost. In sharp contrast, indigenous social work at the present time in opulent countries instead is connected to community healing from colonial cultural stress through narrative (Fitznor, 2012), ceremony (Wilson, 2009) and cultural heritage repatriation (Peers, Reinius, & Shannon, 2017).

In Latin America Sumak Kawsay, not without controversy, difficulties and opposition, outlines a high mountain Andean model of indigenous sociability and relationships with nature and the local peasant ecosystem, a kind of knowledge that indigenous peoples of Ecuador tried to formally establish in the so called Amawtay Wasy Indigenous University [Home of Knowledge], which CONAIE (Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador) organized in order to develop indigenous research and methods paradigms, not in academic campus, but in the indigenous communities where indigenous social life and indigenous knowledge is created and transmitted. However, the President of Ecuador Rafael Correa reformed university policies in Ecuador and this, being grounded in Western notions of university excellence, led him to decide to close Amawtay Wasy Indigenous University (Davalos, 2013).

Finally, lowland Amazon ecosystems vary from Andean landscapes. Whereas Bolivian and Ecuadorian indigenous ecosystems are of peasants' design, Amazon rainforests are home to small populations of hunters and gatherers. Is there any formal social work approach to Amazonian hunters and gatherers from policymakers, university lecturers, and in situ social workers that could be related to cultural competence, decolonizing social intervention, and indigenous research and methods paradigms? My examination of the matter in the field tells me that there is no such a formal attitude from either the public administration or university instruction.

In the 1960's and 1970's, a reformulation of social work took place in Latin America. It developed within the framework of a philosophy of liberation of the oppressed popular classes. Today, this is felt in the Amazon region by the lack of a serious debate on how to understand social work from within the cultural history of colonization and the domination of the indigenous peoples of the rainforest, first by foreign Spaniard conquerors, afterwards by native nationals who happened to became *Spaniardized*, and lately by the global rulers of the economics of extractivism.

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RESTORING JUSTICE AND AUTONOMY IN SÁMI REINDEER HUSBANDRY

JAN ERIK HENRIKSEN AND IDA HYDLE

ABSTRACT

In this chapter, we link experiences and knowledge from fieldwork conducted between 2014 and 2018, with methodological and theoretical grounding in social work, anthropology and medicine. Our interests are decolonisation, the Sámi as signposts of indigeneity and ecological sustainability. Our research questions the present and future policies in Sámi areas, by investigating decolonising initiatives and measures, and by taking conflicts within reindeer husbandry to be a signpost. We question whether conflicts and confrontations in reindeer husbandry exemplify neo-colonisation and therefore the need for alternatives to present state policies and practices. One alternative that we suggest is the implementation of restorative justice in reindeer husbandry conflicts. Restorative practices (embedded in local indigenous knowledge) may act as an important decolonising tool.

Conflicts and their aftermath arose in Norwegian reindeer herding with assimilation (Norwegianisation), the loss of pasture through forced migration and the implementation of national regulations that arose from the state settling regime. These ruptured Sámi traditions and rituals, not least reindeer husbandry and herding from the 18th century. We therefore investigate, in our work, a view of indigeneity that extends the modern, administrative definition

by not only including, but intersecting, social with ecological sustainability. Norwegian Sámi reindeer policy is currently conducted as *self-government*, based on the state's explicit New Public Management (NPM) polity. Our aim is to investigate the rise in conflicts between the Norwegian authorities and Sámi, and within the Sámi *siidas* (reindeer herding collectives) at both a structural and local level, to argue that the explicit NPM focus on fixed limits and maximum numbers leads to an increase in conflicts. Reindeer husbandry management should, instead, take traditional knowledge into account. As one reindeer owner said to us: "One year is not the previous year's namesake or brother. A living nature requires flexibility and adaption".

INTRODUCTION

Reindeer herding and its multiple traditions (such as the knowledge of handling animals, land, climate, and grazing) are generally acknowledged to be a primary historical basis for Sámi languages, culture, traditions, cosmology and communication. The herding of reindeer is also of key importance to survival and income. It is a way of life, reindeer until recently being a crucial source of meat, of hides for clothing, of antlers and bone for tools and jewellery and for transport (Riseth & Lie, 2016; Sara, 1992; Sara, 2013)

Reindeer herding is considered to be the primary reason for Sámi language survival in Norway during 'Norwegianisation', which took place from 1850 onwards. It also played a decisive role in the formation of what became Finnmark and the existence of this county's population. We consider that the governance of Finnmark County has played a significant role in the development of the conditions for reindeer herding development. This also true in the other five Norwegian counties and parts of Northern Sweden where there is Sámi reindeer herding. We therefore claim that our research is applicable to other reindeer herding landscapes. According to The International Centre for Reindeer Husbandry (ICR), established by the Norwegian Government in 2005 in Guovdageaidnu/Kautokeino (Finnmark), there are '24 different Indigenous Peoples which base their lives on herding domesticated reindeer today. These nomadic reindeer herders live across the entire circumpolar Arctic and Sub-Arctic region, including areas in Sweden, Finland, Norway, Russia, China, Mongolia, US/Alaska, Canada, Greenland and Scotland. These groups

currently herd around 2.5 million domesticated reindeer, and are altogether close to 100 000 people, all included'.

These man-animal traditions and herding relationships represent a considerable proportion of global Indigenous Peoples' knowledge and traditions. Veterinaries, climatologists, ecologists and biologists now, furthermore, see reindeer as an indicator of global climate change and the Arctic as the most vulnerable area to CO_2 emission and to the consequences of temperature increase (Cassella, 2019).

Conflicts between private and state-based enterprises and reindeer husbandry have increased after the Second World War. This is due to the growth in industries such as hydroelectricity, wind power, mining, oil and gas, national and NATO military geopolitical strategic use of territories and tourism. Many of the most major conflicts between nature conservationists/Sámi and the Norwegian authorities after World War 2 relate to the traditional lands that are important to herds and herders. A significant example was the construction of the Alta – Kautokeino dam in the 1980's. Reindeer and salmon are key resources (and animals) for the Sámi. The reindeer is also an important figure, as in Santa Claus' reindeer Rudolf. The reindeer, however, is also an important carrier of Sámi traditions, culture, language, identity and income. State requirements that only view reindeer herding as an economic resource are seen to be counterproductive.

The case we describe below is therefore one that is of crucial importance. A recent lawsuit was brought by the Norwegian government concerning the size of reindeer herds. The defendant, a young Sámi reindeer herder (owner), however won the case at two court levels. The state appealed the case to the Norwegian Supreme Court, and won. The reindeer herder appealed the case to the European Court of Human Rights, supported by The Norwegian Sámi Parliament, which also demanded a revision of the Reindeer Husbandry Act. The Ministry of Agriculture and Food did not take into consideration that these appeals were in progress, and demanded the herd be reduced to 75 animals. This is not a size that is economically viable for a family. The argument presented by the Ministry of Agriculture and Food was that the conflict should be handled internally in the siida (reindeer pastoralistic district). This case and the cases we describe later in this chapter, point to two crucial problems. One is the question of territorial borders and maximum herd numbers. The other is the clash between two governing principles, NPM and traditional, flexible Sámi reindeer herding (Larsen & Røyrvik, 2017).

Norwegian legal scholars, local and national politicians, and the Norwegian reindeer herding organisation (NRL) are currently discussing the reasons why the Norwegian government regulation of Sámi reindeer herding has gone so wrong, and why there are conflicts over land and grazing areas. The traditional ways of organizing herding and the semi-nomadism this requires, has almost been destroyed and the ecological and economic basis of herding equilibrium has also been severely damaged. The consequences of this impacts the people, animals and grazing areas of six of Norway's 19 counties. It also impacts a wide area that includes the Arctic areas of Sweden, Finland and Russia. The failure of these four Arctic state's attempts to achieve 'modern regulation' is widely known and accepted by both central and local authorities. Attempts to restore or improve conditions in the last decade have, however been unsuccessful. The poor conditions therefore continue.

Countless research documents produced by lawyers and social scientists across *Sápmi*, (the indigenous Sámi populations of Russia, Finland, Sweden and Norway) in the last three centuries disclose how state governance has not been built on Sámi herding expertise and legal and traditional use of and rights to the land. It is instead based on racism and illegal confiscation of civil rights lands, rivers and fjords (see e.g. Bjørklund, 2004; Bjørklund & Marin, 2015; Dahlstrøn Nilsson, 2003; Elenius, Allard, & Sandstrøm, 2016; Hydle & Henriksen, 2016; Ingold, 1996; Riseth, Tømmervik, & Bjerke, 2016; Riseth & Lie, 2016). State policy seems to aim to promote the growth of Sámi autonomy as signified by, for example, the Sámi Parliament and the Finnmark Act. Double-bind governance however seems to exist, NPM policy colliding with the traditional procedural and flexible reindeer Sámi way of thinking. Reindeer Sámi applications for support to cope with these contradictions are also rejected by the state, the state arguing that such dilemmas are not part of public legal solutions. The state stipulates that this should be resolved by the reindeer Sámi themselves, and through the involvement of lawyers. We question whether double-bind governance has, over time, expanded the conflicts in reindeer husbandry?

Our fieldwork and this chapter describe what happened when we suggested restorative justice as a way of handling these conflicts. This approach informs and links the conflicting parties through an experiment at the Norwegian Mediation Service. Restorative justice is a theory and practice of conflict resolution within the civil and public societal sectors. Its aim is to involve those

involved in the conflict, in democratic processes and to through this achieve a peaceful resolution. Our research in this field started with the question: Can the application of restorative justice contribute to the better handling of conflicts in Sámi reindeer herding?

There is a growing need to find sustainable solutions. This includes within the handling of the new public management of the state, which privatises conflicts that are part of past and present state governance. These conflicts are therefore privatised into so-called private civil legal cases, which are handled by the courts. This 'solution' is often extremely costly to Sámi reindeer owners, their families and local communities. State governance furthermore becomes, through treating each as an individual case or lawsuit, invisible and free of all responsibility. Our data also shows that court decisions only occasionally solve these conflicts at the person or community level.

METHODOLOGICAL AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

We are two scholars whose professional and personal backgrounds, experience and positions inherently comprise a wide range of representations. This is of importance to the research described in this chapter. A short excerpt of our biographies is therefore an inescapable part of the empirical basis of the ontology and epistemology of this presentation, as underscored by the American anthropologist Renato Rosaldo for example (Rosaldo, 2017). We are both professors of the same university department, in the same fields of restorative justice, indigenous studies and marginalisation. We, however, have built a bridge between what separates us – ethnicity, cultural heritage, geographical home, age and gender. The aim of restorative justice is to create a relationship and a dialogical process between stakeholders and the local community that is both acceptable, and leads to an agreement between the parties involved. This process is not per se about achieving agreement, but about achieving a resolution in peace. Stakeholders who are directly involved may play an active role in the dialogue, including presenting resolution proposals. Conflict transformation can be achieved quickly and directly or across a number of stages over time. This can be in the form of payment, work carried out in lieu, or in any way the parties agree. Directly involved stakeholders (victim and offender), the indirectly involved (family, friends or others), and

primary stakeholder support persons are all seen as being (perhaps secondary) stakeholders of the conflict, and thus also of the solution (Hydle, 2013; Hydle, Foss, & Lønneberg, 2014; Zehr, 2014).

We follow anthropologist Phillip G. Gulliver's approach to dispute management: 'Negotiations do not occur in a socio-political vacuum. They are intricately enmeshed in ongoing, wider social processes that constitute their essential environment and to which negotiations themselves contribute and often modify' (Gulliver, 1979; 1988, p.249). The negotiation cases presented here must, therefore, be understood as being extended social processes, and not separate entities.

Our ongoing and common research planning, participant observations and analysis in the multi-sited fields of Sápmi and the nation states' context, are results of this particular mixture of personal, professional and disciplinary breadth. We, together, therefore not only encompass these research areas, but also the Sámi language, practical reindeer herding experience, ecology and sustainable knowledge. As academics and socially engaged professionals, we also share knowledge about the political and structural conditions of our society. We are both keen to convey the experiences that take place between the system of governance and the reindeer-based world of living. As 'word-warriors' (Turner, 2006), we are both concerned with knowledge that might contribute to conflict resolution and change.

The interlocutors of our fields of interest include: 1) Sámi reindeer herders, 2) representatives of the reindeer herding organisation, 3) Norwegian state representatives of the Ministry of Agriculture in Oslo and Finnmark, 4) members of the Sámi Parliament (the special legal authorities for the governance of Finnmark county), 5) representatives of the local Norwegian Mediation Service and secretariat coordinators in the Ministry of Justice in Oslo. We also include in our study public documents, laws, court decisions relating to reindeer herding conflicts, and debates in local and national newspapers. The difference between interlocutors' facilities and resources are huge. Sterile glass and concrete offices in high rise buildings surrounded by heavy traffic, knowing hardly anything about reindeer or Sámi culture as opposed to the Arctic tundra in minus 30 degrees C, on a snowmobile with a herding dog on the back seat, surrounded by reindeer looking for food. We have, with Judge Knut Petterson who is a specialist in Sámi court cases, analysed 29 court cases

that relate to reindeer herding conflicts. This forms the backdrop for the four cases, which contain generalisable experiences.

The mixture of our origins led us to the construction of a particular network and to multiple site Nordic reindeer herding fieldwork. The anthropologists Biehl and Petryna (2013) describe the crucial role of ethnography in global health research, and argue for a comprehensive, people-centred approach. Our way into this field was through meeting people in their field, with or without reindeer around them. Reindeer, if not literally present, were 'there' on screens, pictures on walls or as food being offered and shared. We followed Biehl and Petrynas' and Geertz's 'thinking-in-cases'. There is a shortage of both anthropological and social scientific studies of present-day reindeer herding. Using ethnographic case studies as an approach to the field should therefore make an important contribution. We identify the policies that supposedly 'work' or, as we show, do not 'work', through the analysis of our data and to a certain extent evaluation. Our explanatory model should be able to replicate or scale up 'across a range of often widely divergent social contexts and geographic locations' (Biehl & Petryna, 2013, p.12). Following this, we share Biehl and Petrynas' thoughts on ethnographic case studies, which 'brings granular ethnographic evidence to the forefront of analysis and enables analogic thinking'. We use their advice to pay 'close attention to particular realities on the ground and to the metrics in which they are cast' (Biehl & Petryna, 2013, p.13) to highlight the productive and uneasy coexistence between the Nordic neoliberal systems' design of reindeer herding polity and the alternative models crafted by the people for 'engaging the real… worlding world" (Cadena, 2015).

This approach coincides with and works well within Indigenous Methodology, and is applied to marginalised research areas that are often excluded from mainstream research issues. The aim of this approach is, for example, to change perspectives, turn viewpoints into new positions, and challenge academic thinking and expressions (Drugge, 2016).

DATA PRESENTATIONS, CASES FROM OUR FIELDWORK

FIRST CASE: CARTOGRAPHY

A number of scholars at a meeting at the Sámi University College in Guovdageaidnu/Kautokeino mentioned the problem of cartography:

> 'There are many examples of this, meetings where the authorities have taken control of the local siida management, demanding siida owners 'draw the border of your siida!'. Many lines here or there, without sense. The authorities behave as if they have no knowledge. The reindeer herders also get the impression that they themselves have no knowledge of their own. …There must be borders. But those borders are not drawn on a piece of paper. They are verbally justified. An example is that 'this coombe has always functioned as a fence'. Traditionally people did not use maps. This is a new medium that contributes to an increase in the level of misunderstandings and conflicts… A map only functions if reindeer movement reflects this. If not, a map is of little use, because there is a big disparity between reality and a map', to quote several of the discussants at the meeting.

We have observed, throughout our fieldwork, the overall and consistent use of maps as a method in the authorities' governance of reindeer herding. They use maps because it is an easy, straightforward and neutral way of following up their rules and regulations. Reindeer owners and herders do not, however, recognize themselves in the authorities' maps and descriptions of the terrain. The understanding of owners and herders is based upon the migration of the reindeer, climate, snow, ice, wind, rivers, creeks and lakes, which vary from year to year, season to season. The authorities have four seasons. Reindeer herders have eight. This is impossible to draw on a two-dimensional piece of paper.

Maps can be used to conquer. They can be used to govern peoples' opinions, actions and understandings of a terrain, a landscape and a policy. They have also been used to govern and administer colonised land in all European acquisitions of former and to some extent remaining colonies. Cartography is the science of mapping, a western scientific way of reading a terrain. A

terrain may, however, be read in at least three different ways. A map can be a cognitive system, which differs from culture to culture (Ben-Ze'ev, 2012). We gradually saw, in our work, how two different systems for understanding the terrain were incongruent. A map can furthermore be an expression of material culture. We saw this when the authorities named a mountain or a particular space which the Sámi held as holy, due to religious, historical experiences or burial sites. A map is also a social construction. It is socially created. Someone has agreed upon the interpretation of drawings, lines, colours and how to read them (Hunt & Stevenson, 2016; Woodward & Lewis, 1998).

SECOND CASE: CROSS-BORDER REINDEER HERDING

Nomadic reindeer herding has become more and more trapped by state borders as the Norwegian, Swedish, Finish and Russian lands have been gradually nationalised into nation-states. This was particularly true in the 1800s. It is, however, still today the cause of considerable problems to man, animal and state authorities. The shifting and closing of borders between the Fennoscandian nation states followed as result of several wars. Sámi reindeer herding, which was traditionally defined by grazing land within Sápmi (Fennoscandia as a whole), was therefore gradually locked in and defined as either Norwegian, Swedish, Finish or Russian. The Skolt Sámi group was divided into two by being forced to choose to remain in Finland or Norway. Herders found themselves under surveillance by state authorities, trapped between nation states' differences in the legal acceptance of Sámi civil rights, and in states' theft of these rights on both sides of the borders. We travelled to meet Sámi reindeer owners and villagers on both sides of the Swedish-Norwegian border, whose grazing land of times immemorial were now defined as being either on the Norwegian or Swedish side of the nation state border. The old reindeer husbandry agreement between Norway and Sweden from 1751 was not extended beyond 2005. Reindeer herders could therefore no longer pasture their traditional land. We found consequences, whilst carrying out our fieldwork. Sámi reindeer owners were fined in a number of counties, for herding in areas that were now *claimed* by municipalities, state or private industries, farmers (that had been given the land by the state) and the armed forces to be *their* property. Each fine has to be responded to by the Sámi herders, through lawyers and court cases.

"Two of my brothers have committed suicide during one of these court cases", one herder on the Swedish side said desperately:

> We don't know how far this will go. The Norwegian municipality has fined us more than NOK 8 million, in spite of us winning the Norwegian supreme court case against them many years ago.

The Swedish political scientist Anette Löf similarly underscores, in her PhD study, that the governance of Swedish Sami reindeer husbandry remains mainly hierarchical and is characterized by inconsistencies. 'In contrast to well-established narratives of increased participation and indigenous peoples' right to self-determination…there are large differences in understanding between key actors and, over time, only marginal change – in governing structures and meta-images. Thus, reindeer husbandry actors appear to be locked out of essential governing functions and locked into a system that is proving hard to change' (Löf, 2016, p.426).

The Swedish head negotiator of a new reindeer herding treaty between the two states, Lars Norberg (Sámi name: Udtja-Lasse), was a skilled and respected diplomat. He had been Sweden's lead negotiator during the Balkans war. He described his negative experiences with reindeer authorities on both sides. His conclusion was that the Swedish state had been trapped and thereby given away the grazing rights for the Swedish Sámi on the Norwegian side. And in that trap the Swedish stated had fastened (Udtja-Lasse, 2007). Udtja-Lasse's book on the negotiations is symbolically part of the same title as "Bury my heart at Wounded Knee" by the native American Dee Brown (Brown, 1970). It bears the same message of state governance as neo-colonialisation of the Sámi people by Norwegian and Swedish state authorities. Udtja-Lasse thereby compares the negotiation and its background history with the American government's continuing effort to colonise culture, religion, and the way of life of Native American peoples. The Nordic case does not contain the same level of violence, murder and rape as the American. The way that the land is exploited is, however, the same. The consequences for people, animals, culture and way of life have much in common.

THIRD CASE: WHEN A FENCE TURNS FRIENDS INTO ENEMIES

One of the cases we studied relates to an area that is used for summer grazing by one siida and for moving a reindeer herd by the neighbouring siidas. We studied this case using text analysis, interviews and by being in court. The two neighbouring siidas were friends, and had a joint secretary 15 years ago. The authorities had, however, interfered in the Sámi traditional land use at least twice, causing pressure and conflicts on other neighbouring areas. Some of the siidas managed this through cooperation. Others built fences to keep out the neighbouring siida. In this case, siida A set up a long illegal fence. Siida B protested and claimed that the fence prevented their traditional moving pattern. Siida A was forced by the reindeer authorities to remove the fence. Both siidas engaged lawyers and expert historians and brought the conflict to the courts. Siida B won the case. Siida A, however, appealed and won in the court of appeals. The siida who lost the case is now claiming a miscarriage of justice. They are now bitter enemies after having been close friends for at least three generations. Both parties have also spent millions of krone on lawyers and expert witnesses. All those who know a little about this case say there are no winners, that the case should never have been brought to court, and that it could have been solved by mediation. The Norwegian mediation system, however, lacks Sámi knowledge and the reindeer authorities have not prioritised the development of the promised reindeer mediation system.

Our data shows that court decisions do not solve conflicts. One of the representatives of the county reindeer herding authorities explained how the case was dead now. At the same time, he had not heard that they (the litigants in court) had a reasonable dialogue. This often ended up with people not talking to each other, and sending sarcastic e-mails.

We met with positive and knowledgeable people from both siidas. A number of people in the community also said that they did not agree with the court decision. Some were angry and would never agree to reconciliation. They also claimed that the Norwegian state was responsible for the overall scenario of such civil law suits and cases between the siidas. Its governance of Sámi reindeer herding brings siidas into impossible deadlocks. The state and its authorities, however, make themselves invisible in this through direct or indirect governance. The local authorities have, furthermore, no means to adapt, intervene or give a helping hand. Some told us of their helplessness and sadness at being in such a squeezed position.

FORCED REDUCTION OF REINDEER HERDS: THE JOVSSET ÁNTE SARA CASE.

The state's lawsuit against the young herder Jovsset Ánte Sara has received international media attention. Sara refused to comply with the demands of the state authorities to reduce his reindeer herd from 116 to 75. This demand was articulated as being a part of the authorities' long-term struggle to reduce the numbers of reindeer, due the much-discussed introduction of reindeer numbers per acre of grazing area and calf weight combined with an NPM model, the state setting a fixed maximum number of reindeer for each district. In the 2007, the Reindeer Husbandry Act introduced a clause that stated that if all reindeer owners in a district did not agree to reductions, then the government would stipulate an equal percentage reduction for all siida shareholders. Sara won his case both in the District Court and in the Court of Appeal. The District court claimed that the state's demand for a reduction violated property protection according to The European Convention on Human Rights P 1-1. The Court of Appeal rejected the state's appeal, based on the UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, article 27. The state's decision on reindeer herd reductions meant that the reindeer owner no longer could achieve economic surplus. There is a threshold which defines whether an intervention can be seen as being legitimate, even though the Reindeer Herding Act's provision on reindeer numbers and reductions is based on what the Norwegian state regards as reasonable and objective grounds. This also relates to the state's reindeer herding governance. The threshold for illegal intervention was exceeded in this case. The state appealed the case to the Supreme Court, which upheld the state's claim on reduction. The Sámi Parliament supported Sara, who appealed the case to the United Nations Human Rights Committee in Geneva, and which is still in progress (Dec. 2019). The Ministerial authorities threatened the forced slaughtering of Sara's reindeer. The case resulted in demonstrations in front of Parliament and considerable support from many different population groups, particularly artists. The arguments from the state (the Ministry of Agriculture and Food) were based upon arguable assumptions relating to ecologically, economic and cultural sustainability and animal welfare. These arguments were, however, rebuffed by professors in the environmental sciences as a policy that was arrogant, lacking in knowledge and that bore no relation to the facts.

The resistance and demonstrations forced the authorities to await further decisions. Just before Christmas 2019, Sara's sister told us that a solution to the conflict seemed to have been achieved. This arose not out of the authorities' willingness to resolve the issue, but through dialogue with another siida. Jovsset Ánte Sara has re-branded his reindeer and transferred them to his mother's siida. A reindeer herder in this siida had ceased reindeer herding and there was now sufficient quota to incorporate Sara's reindeer and him as the herder into this siida.

We experience, in this case, that the Ministry of Agriculture and Food reproduces the 'Norwegianisation' of Sámi reindeer herding and furthermore prolongs the 'Norwegianisation' of the Sami people, its language and culture. The District Court and the Court of Appeal upheld Sara's claim that he cannot exist and exercise his human rights with only 75 reindeer. The Supreme Court used other premises in arriving at its decision. Sara has a collective right to exercise his culture. This is the guiding principle. The state, at the same time, sees itself as the defender of sustainability principles. It is therefore a fundamental paradox that reindeer herding has been given administrative rights, but within principles that are so narrow that this right cannot be exercised.

NPM VERSUS A TRADITIONAL REINDEER HERDING PERSPECTIVE

Cartography is an example of the state's neoliberal governance, and is a tool which reindeer owners can use to map borders of reindeer tracking as a part of a governmental agricultural and homogenising policy. It is, however, not a useful tool for Sámi reindeer herding. All four cases clearly illustrate the crucial problem of fixed borders on a map materialising as high fences in the terrain and a fixed maximum number of reindeer in each siida. As one of the reindeer owners said: "Next year is never the namesake or brother of the recent year", in the sense that natural, climate variations demand variability and flexibility in herd numbers and borders. All the cases therefore reveal the fundamental categorical mistake in the state's governance.

Does restorative justice have a role to play in reindeer herding conflicts in Fennoscandia? If we keep to the term neo-colonialism, then most of our state representative informants do their very best (and as a part of a civilizing mission) to educate, convert, and assimilate the other, i.e. to include Sámi and

their reindeer herding traditions into the empire of the state and the NPM of agricultural governance. This acts as an indirect part of the 'Norwegianisation' of the Sámi. They, in other words, try to convince the Sámi that they will benefit form being a standard Norwegian 'farmer' and 'one of "us"', if they accept the conditions that relate to bordering, herding, grazing, slaughtering and marketing. The mechanisms of this type of neo-colonialism today seems to include state subsidies, taxation rules, changing legal provisions and regulations. They are therefore not attuned to practical reality, distribution of part-governance locally and nationally, to Sámi institutions such as the Sámi parliament (without parliamentary power), the Norwegian reindeer herding association, and to the reindeer herding districts and siidas (the collectives). This is reminiscent of the pre-colonial time. The colonizers not only intended to dominate, but also to 'civilize' and 'save'. Civilising in this context also means 'modernised agricultural reasoning and praxis', although this reasoning and praxis has an unsurpassed power to ruin climate, soil, forests, animals and man. There are all in all therefore a number of categorical mistakes in play. Firstly, adjusting the herding of nomadic animals to a non-nomadic herding praxis. Secondly the forcing of Norwegian (or Swedish or Finish) language, social, cultural and religious traditions upon the Sámi population (up to the late 1960s). This broke the Sámi cultural ground and partly shattered and turned them to shame, to social, material and welfare decline.

One example is the Programme for Change for Inner Finnmark. The Norwegian state spent NOK 330 million in the period 1993–2000 on this program. The aim was to retrain reindeer owners out of reindeer husbandry, and to improve education, competence and welfare in reindeer husbandry. This was prompted by difficulties relating to resources, economics and the social situation within reindeer husbandry. The results were disappointing, both for the industry and their welfare (Angell, Karlstad, & Nygaard, 2003; Bergland, 2005). Today, 2019, our experience of the conflicting parties is that they live with a great deal of insecurity and lack of clarity. There is also external pressure on grazing areas and contested ownership, both for land and reindeer. This also leads to feelings of symbolic violence, considerable stress and a number of suicides in the herding population (Kaiser & Salander Renberg 2012; Kaiser, Sjølander, Liljegren, & Jacobsson, 2010; Møllersen, 2018; Møllersen, Eira-Åhren, Stordahl, & Tørres, 2013; Stoor, 2016)

The rising level of internal and external conflicts can be measured in the courts. The media and non-Sámi residents describe reindeer husbandry in

negative terms, alleging 'backwardness', harm and violence (Henriksen, 2008). Increasing the numbers of conflicts brought to court does not solve the multi-layered nature of the conflicts. The conflicts continue after court decisions have been pronounced. The conflicts are also shown to be both socially and economically disastrous for owners, families, siidas, and communities. The lawyers are the only people who benefit from the cases, through the fees they charge. This fact is much discussed and regretted by both Sámi and public authorities, and is very well known to all locals. (For a later empirical presentation: "the authorities escape the responsibility for keeping/upholding the state of law, and push us over to private civil legal solutions that cost us millions of kroner"). Even if reindeer owners and public reindeer authorities regret this development and see the detrimental effects, they still seem to accept it. We, as participant researchers have followed these processes closely in Finnmark County in recent years. Also some examples from Troms and Nordland county and from Northern Sweden, where *samebyar* (reindeer herding collectives) have, for example, summer grazing areas on the Norwegian side of the national state border. Cultural, social and symbolic power are hidden. Reindeer herders, at the same time, face greater hindrances, in almost impossible demands from state authorities for participation in hearings on societal changes. These claims for participation in the development of society, or what we refer to as the 'protection of this vulnerable Indigenous way of life' take almost all their time, leaving too little time for herding. The siidas have started a so-called complementary branding practice, in an attempt to fight the 'bit by bit' expropriation or destruction of grazing lands for electric power, mining, cabins or tourism. The siida now point out previous destruction every time the authorities use the term *development* within the pastures of the siida. Comments previously only related to the specific case, the result often being that grazing land was destroyed 'bit by bit'. Reindeer husbandry hopes that complementary branding practices can reduce the burden of destruction and create a better understanding of why they often say no to '*development*'.

Responsibility for harm and suffering is left to the lowest part of the governance chain. The contexts, structures and processes leading to the harm and suffering seem, therefore to be invisibilised. The book 'Samisk Reindrift – norske myter' (Sámi reindeer herding – Norwegian myths, our translation) (Benjaminsen, Eira, & Sara, 2015) is an attempt to deconstruct the arguments of the Norwegian authorities on 'unsustainable' Sámi reindeer herding, and its implementation through the laws and rules of a NPM regime. Many siidas

and reindeer herders do not acknowledge this, and reject these reforms using arguments based upon tradition and experience. Our data show that they are indirectly forced into destructive conflicts and into paying for private legal advice, both in and outside of court. The Norwegian parliament approved the Reindeer Husbandry Act in 2007. The act contains an article on mediation. This is has only rarely been used, due to a lack of the statutories promised in the Act. When we ask state authority representatives why nothing has been done over the last nine years, they say that there have been so many other challenging tasks relating to the reduction of reindeer herds, processes in the market to, for example, increase the demand for reindeer meat, reorganization of the reindeer authorities and increased self-determination of reindeer husbandry. These priorities of the Norwegian agricultural authorities has clearly increased the conflict level in Sami reindeer husbandry.

We see that part of the neo-colonial and NPM system development is to expand juridical power, juridification, and the growing importance of law, legal discourse and legal institutions in Sámi and in general, such as within Norwegian welfare institutions. Sieder in her chapter 'Legal cultures in the (un) rule of law: Indigenous rights and juridification in Guatemala' uses the definition of juridification by Guillermo O'Donnell: 'the mounting degree to which social relations, formerly left to autonomous and/or informal regulation, are being textured by formal legal rules' (O'Donnel, 2005:293 in Sieder 2010:161). She develops this by stating that: 'Broadly speaking, in Western Europe and the United States, juridification signals Weberian processes of bureaucratization and the expansion of law into more and more areas of social life, such as industrial relations, social welfare provision, and economic production'(Sieder, 2010, p.161).

A number of recent ongoing law cases at all three administrative levels manifest the superiority of national legislation over Sámi traditions. This includes ecological or social judgements. There may, however, be a pitfall in oversimplifying the negative force of national law as a paradigm of power and domination. Law may not only be used as a matter of negative or suppressive social control or governmental power. Law may also have the 'capacity to provide a meaningful map or a model for the world'. Law has, to a certain extent, been shown to act as an instrument of social change, such as the Indigenous rights of the Sámi in Norway. The nationwide and partly illegal demonstrations in 1979 -82, that include serious hunger strikes, imprisonment, high fines and social and personal suffering, led to the establishment of the Sámi

parliament. This parliament has consultation rights to the national government. It illustrates that legal structures can represent a landscape of possibilities for disadvantaged groups [20]. Sámi reindeer herders now see themselves as fighting against 'the system'. They, however, also use the tools provided by this very 'system' in this fight. To some extent, 'the system' also gives them tools to undermine the 'system', in this case the Norwegian NPM of reindeer herding, as shown by our data presentation. Indigenous rights, when or if implemented, may therefore be a powerful instrument of social change[21]. The law may, in that context, be seen as facilitating social cohesion. In other words, the cases that we present not only relate to the outcomes of legal disputes or restorative justice efforts, successful or not. Single outcomes may not be of crucial importance in the long run. Gulliver recognises that a majority of social scientists who study negotiations, search for an explanation of outcomes. Our work has been led by the ambition to find explanatory powers and to tracing as far as possible 'all the serious interactions which precedes, affects and sets up the end-game' (Gulliver, 1988, p.251). They are personal stories, experiences in Norwegian reindeer herding, Sámi policy and history, climate and areal changes. Histories of significant localities. Aspects of which are not only a background for negotiations and outcomes, but of significant players.

CONCLUSION

The most recent Norwegian Reindeer Herding Act from 2007 may be regarded as a reform that aims to regulate both man (Sámi owners) and animal (reindeer), the relationship between them and the political and social changes required to achieve these aims. Our study of such a political, social and cultural reform cannot be limited to the study of organizational changes from the perspective of just Norwegian reindeer herding act institutions and governmental bodies. It must include the individual, the subjectivity and the narrative, including the transnational pattern of Sámi reindeer herding. Through this we can bring critical insights into questions on how policies translate into the lives of the people that they aim to address.

Our aim was to approach the Sámi reindeer herders understanding of themselves as 'owners' with 'Sámi rights' and to explore how both reindeer owners and reindeer bureaucrats actively engage with the socio-political categories and labels, and use them to interpret or cope with the social and polit-

ical culture of suspicion that we have shown to exist in the cases. We have focused on reciprocal relationships between social categories, herding behaviour and identity by looking and listening to their everyday practices and ways of dealing with traditions, laws, rules and mistrust. Our final analysis looks into the transformative powers of bureaucracy and law, in particular questioning ourselves as researchers. Given the present political situation, could our quest for the use of a restorative justice approach be transformed into a legal instrument that the state could use to continue the neo-colonisation of Sámi and Sámi reindeer herding? If the answer to this is yes, then 'restorative justice' can be turned and used to achieve the opposite of that intended. It can be converted into a tool that can disguise Sámi civil rights and their national and international citizenship.

Sámi from the Swedish, Finish and Norwegian sides, have demanded that their governments establish a truth commission for past colonisation of Sámi heritage, culture and language. The Finish and the Norwegian governments have recently established a Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which will investigate the consequences of the assimilation of the Sami as an Indigenous people and the Kven people as a national minority. Reindeer herding and husbandry is seen to have a crucial position in Sámi cultural and language traditions. We therefore believe that truth commissions must include the consequences of past and present state governance of Sámi reindeer husbandry, which our findings show have seriously damaged shared traditional knowledge and herding practices. The question however remains of the extent to which this governance is assuming new forms and is continuing to harm indigenous ecologically based practices and traditions. Our work on finding new ways to achieve justice and autonomy in reindeer husbandry conflicts, may serve as an empirical example in similar conflict fields.

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ELDERS AS CONDUITS FOR INDIGENOUS LANGUAGE AND CULTURE: PROMOTING RESILIENCE AND OFFSETTING HISTORICAL OPPRESSION

BY CATHERINE E. MCKINLEY AND KRISTINA S. LAUKAITIS

ABSTRACT

The disruption of language and cultural traditions has been one of the most devastating casualties of historical oppression, which may give rise to health disparities. The purpose of this decolonizing critical ethnography was to use the Framework of Historical Oppression, Resilience, and Transcendence (FHORT) to explore the roles that tribal language and the oral tradition, elders, and family may play in wellness and resilience. Thematic analysis of qualitative data from a sample of 436 participants across two tribes in the U.S. revealed a strong grounding in tribal language(s) and elders as the conduits for language and culture as critical themes.

INTRODUCTION

Western and Indigenous notions of health and mental health differ, with Indigenous peoples tending to view historical oppression and the devastating, chronic, and intergenerational disruptions in cultural practices brought on by colonization as driving forces for negative physical, social, and behavioural health disparities (in contrast to the more isolated and compartmentalized views of health in conventional approaches) (King, Smith & Gracey, 2009). Despite treaty agreements between the U.S. government and the 567 federal sovereign tribes (known as American Indian and Alaska Natives or Native Americans, who for the purpose of this article will be identified as Indigenous peoples of the U.S.[1]) as stipulated by the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs (Bureau of Indian Affairs, 2017) to provide for the health and wellness of Indigenous peoples of the U.S. (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 2004), disparities[2] persist across physical[3], mental (e.g. substance abuse, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression, and suicide (Burnette & Cannon, 2014; Burnette & Figley, 2017; Sarche & Spicer, 2008)) and social dimensions.

Scholars link disparities to the context of historical oppression, which is broader (i.e., also includes contemporary trauma and oppression) but inclusive of historical trauma. *Historical oppression* describes the chronic, pervasive, and intergenerational experiences of oppression, which, over time may be normalized, imposed, or internalized into the daily lives of many Indigenous American peoples (including individuals, families, and communities) (Burnette, 2015a; Burnette, 2015b). Kirmayer et al. (2011) state this oppression includes "deliberate human actions and policies aimed at cultural suppression, oppression, and marginalization" (Kirmayer et al., 2011, p.63).

We use the "Framework of Historical Oppression, Resilience, and Transcendence" (Burnette & Figley, 2017) (FHORT), which proposes that historical oppression has contributed to health disparities, whereas resilience and transcendence are strikingly apparent as well (Burnette & Figley, 2017). The FHORT (Burnette & Figley, 2017) approaches wellness and health with a

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[1]   Native Hawaiians are another Indigenous group of the U.S. but operate under distinct rights in relation to the U.S. government, warranting the examinations of such groups be separate.

[2]   Intimate partner violence (IPV) is 1.7 times higher than for non-Indigenous women (Breiding, Chen, & Black, 2014), whereas child maltreatment is 1.5 times higher than non-Indigenous children) (US Department of Health and Human Services, 2013).

[3]   Indigenous peoples have, on average, a 4.4 higher mortality rate than the general U.S. population, with leading causes including cardiovascular disease (CVD), unintentional injuries (often related to violence, and substance abuse), cancer, and diabetes (Indian Health Service, 2017).

non-linear and relational ontology, which includes the social environment as well as mental, spiritual, emotional, and, physical dimensions (Burnette & Figley, 2017; Fleming & Ledogar, 2008). Figure 1 displays this framework and how it relates to wellness and health (Burnette & Figley, 2017; McKinley et al., 2019).
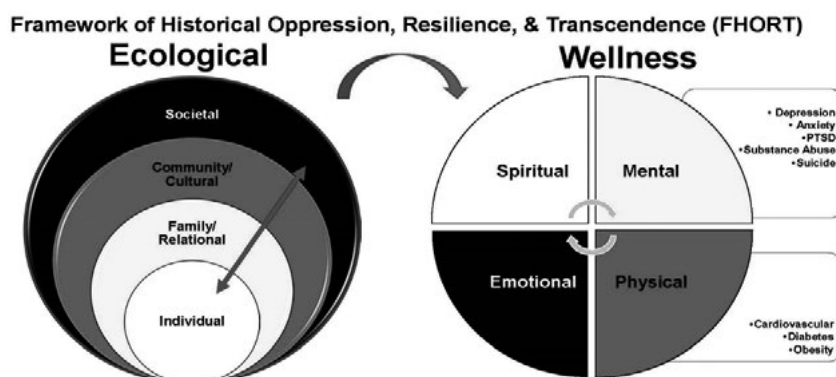
Figure 1. The Framework of Historical Oppression, Resilience, & Transcendence (FHORT)
Note. Table has been reprinted with permission from McKinley et al. (2019). The arrow represents interaction across ecological levels, which predicts whether one experiences wellness using the Medicine Wheel, and key behavioural and health outcomes.

The FHORT fills the gap in culturally based frameworks to understand resilience and wellness and address disparities (Burnette & Figley, 2017; McKinley et al., 2019). HO expands on the prominent concept of historical trauma by being localized to specific contexts and inclusive of the proximal factors that perpetuate oppression. The balance of risk and protective factors across multiple ecological levels predicts whether a person experiences resilience, transcendence, and wellness (balance across physical, mental, emotional and spiritual health).

Historical oppression, in the forms of historical traumas (e.g., religious suppression, environmental injustice, the Boarding School Era, land dispossession, forced migration) and chronic poverty, discrimination, and marginalization is thought to be intricately connected to the health inequities experienced by Indigenous peoples (Burnette & Figley, 2017; Wexler, 2014). The timeline of historical oppression has been comprehensively documented

through an Indigenous lens elsewhere (See https://Nativephilanthropy.candid.org/wp-content/themes/Native-philanthropy/timeline.pdf by Walters, 2019). As indicated by this timeline, historical oppression has been legally sanctioned through governmental policies, such as the Indian Relocation Act of 1956 (also known as Public Law 959 or the Adult Vocational Training Program), which was a U.S. law intended to encourage Indigenous peoples to leave Indian reservations, acquire technical skills, and assimilate into the general population (Stubben, 2001).

The Boarding School Era was another federally sanctioned form of historical oppression, in the form of assimilationist U.S. policy (Burnette, 2015c; Haag, 2007). The curriculum of boarding schools was largely developed by Captain Richard Henry Pratt, who, in 1879 founded the notorious Carlisle school, modelled off the prison camps Pratt supervised from 1875–1878 (Haag, 2007). In 1891, the U.S. Congress funded this school and others, with other funding coming from the sale of land referred to as the 'surplus' land from the General Allotment Act of 1887, another assimilationist policy which led to massive land loss, fragmentation, and cultural loss (Haag, 2007). Boarding schools were located distances away from reservations, and children were oftentimes forcibly removed from their homes and educated in a 'Western style' (Haag, 2007). Sub-standard schools were characterized by poor ventilation, hazardous and unsanitary conditions, and no indoor plumbing. Children received poor nutrition and were made to work, stripped of identity and language, given English names, Christianized, and forbidden from speaking their tribal languages and practicing their tribal cultures (Haag, 2007). Much abuse (e.g., sexual, physical, and mental) occurred in these contexts, along with stripping Indigenous families' ability to socialize and transmit culture to their children (Burnette, 2015c; Haag, 2007).

This historical oppression has resulted in widespread disruption in families and communities, undermining parent socialization, expressions of emotional warmth, Indigenous identity, and the transmission of values, languages, and traditions (King, Smith, & Gracey, 2009). As a result of these and numerous other federal policies, one of the greatest negative effects of historical oppression has been a breakdown of communications and language traditions across generations and relationships, known protective factors against health disparities (Goodkind, Hess, Gorman, & Parker, 2012). Thus, rebuilding this connection is needed to repair the negative effects of such oppression (Mohatt, Fok, Burket, Henry, & Allen, 2011).

Both resilience and negative outcomes, such as health disparities, are documented for Indigenous peoples; however, negative outcomes gain more media attention, perpetuate negative stereotypes, and contribute to subtle forms of discrimination (Fast & Collin-Vézina, 2010). Reasons for this imbalanced portrayal may include the necessity of demonstrating the severity of health inequalities experienced by Indigenous peoples to facilitate policy changes to address such disparities (Fast & Collin-Vézina, 2010; US Civil Rights Commission, 2004). Yet, more bridges in research are needed to facilitate a more balanced perspective, taking into account the devastating impacts of historical oppression, while acknowledging the variability across tribes and the resilience and transcendence demonstrated by Indigenous peoples (Burnette & Figley, 2017; Fast & Collin-Vézina, 2010).

Research indicates that involvement, identification with, and engagement in cultural activities (i.e., enculturation) tends to be protective, or to buffer against negative behavioural outcomes (Fast & Collin-Vézina, 2010). The denial of language and intergenerational transmission of cultural knowledge has been one of the most severe and devastating casualties of historical oppression and may give rise to health disparities. As such, the purpose of this inquiry is to examine the roles that tribal language and the oral tradition, elders, and family may play in wellness and resilience. We focus on protective factors to offset the aforementioned imbalanced portrayal of much of extant research.

LANGUAGE, ELDERS, AND FAMILY TIME PROMOTING ENCULTURATION AND RESILIENCE

Historical oppression, in its many forms, has created significant adversity; through the very act of survival and continuance, Indigenous peoples have demonstrated decolonization and resilience. Indigenous notions of resilience tend to involve holistic, complex, and interacting relationships (Kirmayer, Dandeneau, Marshall, Phillips, & Williamson, 2011). Historical oppression is thought to have disrupted cultural continuity and awareness of Indigenous people's interconnection between the physical, mental, spiritual realms and relationships (Mohatt et al., 2011). The focus now turns to prominent forms of cultural protective factors: language, elders, and the oral tradition, which are thought to give rise to Indigenous resilience.

ELDERS AND THE ORAL TRADITION AS PROTECTIVE FACTORS

In a review of protective factors to enhance the mental health of Indigenous youth, emphasis was placed on the importance of place and culture, as well as, history, language, and family/social support systems (MacDonald, Ford, Willox, & Ross, 2013). Storytelling is a significant medium for transmitting knowledge inter-generationally among Indigenous cultures. The Nuu-chah-nulth people residing in the Pacific coast of Vancouver Island in Canada call their tradition of storytelling and conveying community narratives of history to future generations "haa-huu-paah"(Corntassel, 2009, p.137). This experiential knowledge creates "lived values that form the basis for Indigenous governance and regeneration" (Corntassel, 2009, p.138). Indigenous storytelling traditions are significant to fostering Indigenous resilience as the foundation for Indigenous healing and rebuilding in the face of colonial oppression.

According to King et al., (2009), identity is a precursor to positive mental health, and despite experiencing historical oppression, Indigenous peoples continue to transmit knowledge, traditions, values, and language to the next generation (King et al., 2009). In Indigenous communities, elders tend to be tasked with cooperating with youth to transmit such cultural knowledge, beliefs, and principles, so that youth can translate such culture onto the contemporary social environment (Kirmayer et al., 2011). Intergenerational transmission of Indigenous worldviews and values from elders, such as discipline and spirituality (Wexler, 2014) provides psychological guidance on how to navigate oppressive policies and living conditions under colonialism, and fosters resilience among Indigenous communities.

In a qualitative study (Wexler, 2014) on cultural protective factors among three generations of the Inupiaq (an Arctic Alaskan Indigenous community), many elders described how their cultural knowledge enabled them to cope with the devastating effects of colonialism and oppression. Connection to Indigenous culture and traditions fostered less isolation and linked individuals to their greater community; elders' narratives emphasized how ideas of culture linked them to family, home, and tradition, and importantly, to feeling they were part of something intergenerational and larger than themselves (Wexler, 2014). Indeed, within an Indigenous worldview, people are often considered extensions of and integrated with families, communities, tribes, and the universe (Hill, 2006). A sense of belonging has been found to be protective for health (Hill, 2006). Thus, elders, language, and the oral tradition are important protective factors.

INDIGENOUS LANGUAGE(S) AS PROTECTIVE FACTORS FOR MENTAL HEALTH

Cultural protective factors are important, and may include spirituality, engagement with traditional activities (enculturation), language, and healing modalities (Fleming & Ledogar, 2008). According to Kirmayer et al., (2011), a fundamental source of Indigenous resilience is in efforts to, "revitalize language, culture, and spirituality as resources for self-fashioning, collective solidarity, and individual and collective healing (Kirmayer et al., 2011, p.89)." Indigenous languages do not simply serve a practical purpose of communication in Indigenous communities, but also affirm ethnic identity and inter-generationally transmit cultural concepts, which may not be present in Western worldviews. The Indigenous Métis people of Canada experience a strong association between their tribal language and Indigenous worldview (Iseke & Ndimande, 2014). An elder study participant elaborated (Iseke & Ndimande, 2014), "Because the way we speak is the way we think. ... But when you speak English, you're thinking in an English perspective…And that's not a feeling language. It's not a verb-based language, a feeling language, like the Aboriginal language" (Iseke & Ndimande, 2014, p.154).

Out of all aspects of enculturation, Bals et al., (2011) found that the factors most associated with positive mental health outcomes were (a) knowledge of Indigenous language and (b) engagement in traditional cultural practices, which may be related to enculturation increasing self-esteem and self-efficacy while promoting group cohesiveness and mutual support (Bals et al., 2011). Research has identified that cultural continuity, or cultural resilience, buffers against suicidality – a key disparity affecting Indigenous populations (Chandler & Lalonde, 1998; Hallett, Chandler, & Lalonde, 2007). Hallet et al., (2007) conducted a survey of over 200 distinct Indigenous communities in Canada and found that communities with a higher level of language knowledge also had significantly lower rates of suicide among youth. Suicide rates were six times greater in the Indigenous communities with low levels of language knowledge. For communities in which at least half of its members speak the tribal language, in contrast, the youth suicide rates dropped to zero (Hallett et al., 2007). Moreover, among Indigenous Sami youth of Arctic Norway (Bals, Turi, Skre, & Kvernmo, 2011), Indigenous language competence was found as a protective factor against anxiety and depression. The available research highlights the importance of language to promote mental health, and offset suicide, anxiety and depression, indicating the promising role of language in the promotion of wellness.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Using the FHORT, this critical ethnography focused on culturally-relevant protective factors for Indigenous wellness. Our overarching research question was: What roles do culturally relevant protective factors, such as tribal language, the oral tradition, elders, and family, play in wellness and resilience? The scope for this study was themes related to elders, storytelling, and the oral tradition. Critical ethnographies focus on power dynamics and triangulate many forms of data, such as existing data, self-report, and direct observation (Carspecken, 1996). This decolonizing research highlights the voices of participants through the culturally relevant oral history method (Smith, 2013). Decolonizing methods embrace Indigenous knowledge and critically evaluate power inequities – transforming oppression to liberation and transcendence (Smith, 2013). We employed a decolonizing and culturally relevant relational methodology by engaging in long-term liberating research, focusing on strengths, incorporating tribal partners throughout the research process while promoting tribal self-determination and research through reciprocal relationships (Burnette, Sanders, Butcher, & Rand, 2014). This inquiry focuses on interview data from participants across two south eastern tribes in the forms of focus groups, family interviews, and individually focused interviews.

SETTING

To enable an understanding of commonalities and differences across Indigenous populations, two tribes were included in this research process: one that is federally recognized (termed "Inland Tribe" to protect anonymity) and the other (termed "Coastal Tribe") that is state, but not federally recognized. As indicated, tribal recognition can have a substantial influence on resources, social and health outcomes, and community infrastructure. For the protection of the community identity, the names of these tribes are kept confidential. Both tribes are located in the south eastern U.S. and have enrolled tribal populations of over 10,000 members. The Inland Tribe is located several hours from the Gulf of Mexico coast. It has experienced significant economic development, with tribal schools, tribal health care and medical services, and a tribal police force, fire department, as well as health and family services. The Coastal Tribe

is state-recognized and located in proximity to water and the Gulf Coast. The Coastal Tribe has constrained economic revenue, and the absence of federal recognition has limited the ability to develop infrastructure for tribal members. The Coastal Tribe provides employment, educational, and other individual programs for tribal members of all ages.

DATA COLLECTION

After tribal approval and local University IRB approval was gained, recruitment included posting fliers on social media, websites, in agencies, and in the community newsletter(s), along with word-of-mouth recruitment. To account for participants' time and contributions, a $20 gift card was provided for individual and focus group interviews, whereas, families were provided a $60 gift card. We followed a semi-structured interview guide developed to address the research questions. Following a culturally sensitive interview protocol (Carspecken, 1996), we took a life history interview approach for individually focused interviews, a component which professionals could opt into (in addition to commenting on their perspectives with working with community members). All participants who were reachable received a copy of the life history interview to keep. All study materials were geared for comprehension at ages 11 and above, or at a fifth-grade level, to account for different educational backgrounds.

SAMPLE

The sample for this study included 436 participants, which included (a) 254 individual interviews (n=145 Inland Tribe; n=109 Coastal Tribe); (b) 217 people across 27 focus groups (113 Inland Tribe participants and 104 Coastal Tribe participants); (c)163 family interviews (80 Inland Tribe participants in 34 family interviews and 83 Coastal Tribe participants in 30 family interviews). We included 70 professionals, 105 elders[4] (55 years or older), 147 adults (24–54 years of age), and 114 youth (ages 11–23 years of age). The duration of individual interviews was about an hour (64 minutes), with family interviews lasting 70 minutes, and focus group interviews lasting almost an hour (57 minutes).

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[4]   We use the term elders to be culturally congruent with the terminology used by tribal members.

DATA ANALYSIS

Collaborative team-based data analysis was used, which included Masters of Social Work (MSW), PhD students and Indigenous tribal members from the communities included in this study (Guest & MacQueen, 2008). After being professionally transcribed and transferred into distinct NVivo[5] files for each tribe, thematic data analysis involved reading transcriptions and listening to audio files two to four times and collaboratively completing low-level coding and developing a hierarchical structure of codes and sub-codes. For interrater reliability, Cohen's Kappa coefficients were calculated (McHugh, 2012), which always exceeded the threshold (i.e., .80 or higher). Sections were examined for in-depth analysis, with interpretation of explicit and implicit meanings of data. Original categories of themes were provided to a research team of the first author's MSW students, who provided an additional layer of analysis, independently analyzing the data and bolstering the rigor and credibility of results. This article focuses on traditions and themes related to elders, language, and oral traditions. This theme was coded across 245 interviews (186 individual, 30 family, and 17 focus group interviews). The overarching themes for this article were coded across 101 Inland Tribe participants (79 individual, 17 family, and 5 focus group interviews) and 144 Coastal Tribe participants (107 individual, 27 family, and 10 focus group interviews).

RIGOR

A summary of results, a copy of individual interview transcripts, information about follow-up, and the opportunity to make changes to interpretations were provided to all participants who could be reached. During this member checking, no participants changed interpretations, but rather, many affirmed and extended interpretations. Results were disseminated to tribal community members on more than 10 occasions through training sessions, agency reports and presentations, presentations to tribal councils and community groups, along with facilitating community group dialogues. Research team peer debriefing occurred weekly. Consistency checks were completed by the first author throughout the interviews by encouraging participants' perspectives on thoughts and responses. Finally, 72 Inland Tribe participants (31.6%) and 50 Coastal Tribe participants were interviewed multiple times (24%).

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5   A qualitative data analysis software program.

RESULTS

Several culturally relevant protective themes emerged across tribes including: (a) A strong grounding in tribal language(s), including expressed concerns about losses of language and culture; and (b) Elders as the conduits for language and culture through storytelling and the oral tradition. Although the overarching themes are present across tribes, the specific content for some themes varied by tribe. We report results for each tribe separately under their broader themes. In total, 47 participants of the Inland Tribe spoke about language, whereas 42 from the Coastal tribe spoke about language. The number and percentage of these total participants for each theme are identified for the reader. The focus now turns to these themes.

STRONG GROUNDING IN TRIBAL LANGUAGE(S)

INLAND TRIBE

The Inland Tribe participants commonly discussed the tribal language as a significant aspect of their cultural traditions regarding communication. Thirty-two (68%) of the Inland Tribe interviewed mentioned or discussed the tribal language. Most of the Inland Tribe interview participants described a strong grounding in their tribal language and being exposed to speaking this language in their family growing up. Several participants expressed that their first language was their tribal language and that they did not learn English until they went to school. A participant specifically described not understanding teachers when first attending an English-speaking school as a child: "We grew up in the home speaking our language. We were sent to school, my first day I did not know how to speak English and relate to the teacher." Living in an area with a large tribal community appeared to be beneficial in retaining tribal language and continuing to speak it with family and other tribal members. Those who had moved away from the Inland Tribe community had more trouble holding onto the language. A participant explained:

> When we lived out of state, we only spoke English… When we moved back home is when we got our tribal language back. If we didn't move back home, I would have never gotten my language, I mean, our tribal language back.

One participant also expressed a pride in the language and a passion to become a linguist to continue to preserve this aspect of their culture, "Wanting to become a linguist has been a part of me now, and now I feel that if I approach a non-Native or non-[tribal member] I believe in them learning a few words of my words." However, studying and preserving the tribal language appears to be complicated in that it is mostly a spoken language versus written, which hinders its preservation other than passing it down through the spoken word. A participant explained that the tribal language: "…is not a written language. It's more verbal and passed on by word of mouth." Thus, living in the tribal community offered the opportunity for exposure to the tribal language, which was not available in non-tribal cultures.

CONCERNS ABOUT LOSSES OF LANGUAGE AND CULTURE.

Several of the Inland Tribal participants expressed their concern about the loss of language and concomitant belief in the importance of passing down the tribal language to the younger generation. 15 of 47 (32%) participants, when speaking about tribal language and culture specifically, discussed the ways in which language was transmitted to them as well as the significance of passing down the language to the younger generation. A participant emphasized, "Children need to be more taught their tribal language." Many participants expressed disappointment about how much of the younger generation is having difficulty holding on to the language. As a participant stated, "My son understands, but he basically doesn't speak it. My daughter doesn't speak either." According to study participants, it is also common for the younger generation to mix the tribal language and English in their speech. A participant describes this phenomenon, "I mean, you know, uh, that [tribal language] was my first language, and I learned English. But I think there's a lot of kids that are speaking English, or they call it '[removed for anonymity]' – mixing English and [the tribal language]."

The tribal language seems to be transmitted first through families as well as, more recently, through other institutions, such as schools. A participant asserts:

> I want to see more cultural language taught in the school… I think that's taking place as of right now…Where each, um, all tribal employees must take tribal language courses… For the kids to expand their language and learn their culture.

COASTAL TRIBE

Language appears to be a significant aspect of the Coastal Tribe's culture when it comes to traditions surrounding communication. However, because of historical oppression and cultural loss, the original tribal language of the Coastal Tribe had been replaced by a non-English colonized language with aspects of the tribal language infused into it. Tribal members tended to think of this non-English language as their tribal language and take much pride in speaking it, with 26 out of 42 (62%) participants discussing language in their interviews. Nine of these 26 (35%) participants specifically discussed how their tribal language was their primary spoken language growing up and that they did not learn English until they entered the school system. As a participant described, "I spoke nothing but [the] tribal language. When I went to school – I didn't speak English. So my second language is English. My first language is [the] tribal language."

CONCERNS ABOUT LOSSES OF LANGUAGE AND CULTURE.

Although language continues to be transmitted across generations, many people also spoke about loss of language and tribal ways due to historical oppression. Participants elaborated on the difficulty of integrating into the mainstream school system. Not knowing English resulted in struggling academically as well as often being harshly reprimanded by the school teacher for conversing in tribal language. One participant stated, "I failed the first grade because I wasn't speaking English." A few study respondents described the way they would be punished in school by the teachers for speaking in the tribal language. As a participant explained, "Well if you answer a question in [the tribal language] they would hit you with a paddle or a ruler, a stick, or a branch, whatever they could get."

Although several participants discussed their fluent tribal language and the language being a significant aspect of their cultural identity, five out of 26 (19%) respondents who discussed language in their interviews expressed that they did not speak tribal language. However, most of these participants had been exposed to the tribal language growing up through their family and could understand it, even if they could not speak it. A participant explained, "I understand it all. My words don't come out right. I talk to my grandma in English, she answers me in [tribal language], and we're good like that." Similarly, a participant stated:

"Five grandkids that don't really speak [tribal language], but they understand. … All my kids do speak tribal language. Then the girls all spoke to their kids in [tribal language]."

A focus group participant stated:

> Yeah and so it's up to you when you go in to either stick to [traditions] or you go with the new, but even storytelling, I'm sorry Indian people have lost a lot of their culture because of White man. Storytelling, they have to learn how to go into storytelling and develop their own stories about their tribe, about their family life, their own songs. Each community should be working on their own songs for their community and they can't say they don't have anybody to write these songs because they do.

Two additional participants discussed their thoughts around the loss of their culture. A focus group participant stated, "We'd love to get our language back, get people to learn that because it's true, we're losing our tribal language." Yet another focus group participant emphasized how ultimately, the loss of culture could mean the loss of tribal identity, and this was somewhat contingent on elders passing on language and culture to a receptive younger population. As stated: "Because once I'm gone everything's gone, you know . . . Yeah. Pass on those traditions."

ELDERS AS CONDUITS FOR LANGUAGE AND CULTURE THROUGH STORYTELLING AND THE ORAL TRADITION

As indicated, elders tended to be the primary conduits for language and culture, and the focus now turns to such themes espoused by participants.

INLAND TRIBE

The Inland Tribe participants often expressed learning about their family history, ancestors, and traditional tribal stories and myths from the elders in the community. Although, several study participants spoke about traditions being passed down through family in general, 10 out of 47 (21%) participants described the family history as well as traditions being passed down through community elders and through elders' storytelling. Storytelling is considered

a valuable cultural art to transmit knowledge intergenerationally, and many expressed how certain elders held reputations as storytellers in the community. One participant described her great-grandmother's gift for storytelling, "My grand great- grandmother … they called her the famous storyteller around here." Yet another elder elaborated on the skill of storytelling espoused by her grandmother: "She is really a storyteller. She's a good storyteller, I'm not doing it justice … but she is a huge storyteller and it's a huge gift and she is quite animated in the way she speaks."

Participants often expressed the importance of the oral history tradition in making time to sit down with grandparents and other elders in the community and listening to intergenerational folklore and stories. One participant described learning cultural traditions through directly interacting with elders of the community:

> Tradition is something that … it's morals, it's handed down, you have to sit and listen to it. You have to understand it. You have to ask me, and I'll tell you. My grandma ain't gonna [*sic*] text you. Sorry. If you want to talk, well then call to talk.

Speaking with elders is often the only way to receive these histories. However, participants also expressed that it is not uncommon for elders in the community to be closed off about and wary of cultural information spreading to outsiders. One participant explained how elders do not usually want their stories, folklores, or prophecies to be video- or audio-recorded:

> Stories and all that. There are still people around that tells it, but they don't want to be … exposed, because some people do believe that … telling stories to people it might get into the wrong hands kind of thing; so a lot of our elders today are so closed because of that. Because it's one of the prophecies, I believe that once it gets into the wrong hands that person might make money off of our ways. I believe they grew up knowing that, so most people can't even allow a recorder to be laying here or video to be on them. A lot has changed.

Although the content of oral traditions may often be kept within communities, some of the participants chose to elaborate about the types of stories their grandparents and other elders told them while growing up. A participant from

a family interview described the folk stories a friend's grandmother would tell them as children, illustrating themes of parental monitoring:

> About raccoons, just stories that ... She told us one time that it was around a lake where the Indian women used to wash the clothes, and they'd have to watch their babies because if they didn't watch their babies this big old bird used to come and snatch their babies. Sometimes the mother used to cry while the bird takes their baby up. Just little stories like that and I remember her grandmother telling us stories like that.

Participants further described the way their elders held oral history of not just general cultural myths and stories, but also information about their ancestors and their respective roles within the tribe. A participant recounted information received from family elders on the family's traditional position and roles in the society: "Yeah, like I said, my grandfather being the last war chief of the tribe ... My grandmother was ... titled a princess."

COASTAL TRIBE

As indicated, elder family members tend to transmit language and culture, with 14 out of 42 (33%) study participants from the Coastal Tribe talked about the importance of elders in communicating traditions to future generations. A participant related: "I think that the elders are the people who … [have] been through everything. Like where our history lies. I think we can learn a lot from our elders." However, this participant perceived less respect for elders as stated, "I feel like its lost respect… towards elders."

Elder communication and passing down of traditions through storytelling appears to be an informal process in the Coastal Tribe culture, that emerges in the context of spending time with grandparents or other older relatives on a regular basis. One participant explained:

> I was really close to my grandpa . . . Just go sit down and listen to his old stories. We would sit on the steps, me and him. He only talked tribal language ... Either we had to learn it, or just didn't understand him. I mean, I understood what he was saying, and I would talk a little bit, but not much. I used to just love going to sit there. He would

cook pancakes for me. Just listen to his old stories about when he was growing up and stuff. It was just amazing. I miss him.

Another participant described the way she used to chat with her grandmother every night: "Well, we used to lay in bed and she would talk about the old time when she was growing up. That was very interesting… She had a lot of stories to tell." Another participant emphasized the importance of storytelling and the oral tradition:

> Everyone has a story, and everyone has things that they've been through. … My dad has some information, and he would tell it to us. Everything's pretty much passed down word-of-mouth, and that's what's messed up about the record-keeping and having the paper-work, because a lot of the Indian stuff, it was just word-of-mouth and passed down, so that's hard to prove.

DISCUSSION

Parallel to the FHORT, results reveal several culturally relevant protective factors at the family level with implications for social work with Indigenous peoples. First, despite experiencing historical oppression in varied forms, both tribes were able to retain a strong grounding in their contemporary version of their tribal language, a protective factor in its own right (Hallett et al., 2007). Although one tribe experienced the loss of their original tribal language, they were able to retain their non-English colonized language, which had aspects of their original tribal language, demonstrating adaptation, ingenuity, and resilience in response to efforts to completely assimilate them. The ability of members to retain their tribal language understandably related to the extent they were exposed to their tribal languages in their homes and communities. Tribal members who had moved away from their tribal community had a hard time retaining language customs. As such, governmental policies such as the Indian Relocation Act of 1956, not only held important ramifications in terms of communities, customs, and families, but also retention of tribal languages (Stubben, 2001). This may be an important factor to consider for urban dwelling tribal members.

Participants across tribes also expressed experiences of first being exposed to English in grammar school, with some participants suffering academic consequences and being physically punished with a "paddle or a ruler, a stick, or a branch, whatever they could get" for speaking their tribal language. With such historical oppression and suppression of tribal language, it is not surprising that participants were concerned about the loss of tribal language and the need for language and cultural enrichment programs for youth and younger generations. Given the language loss that has occurred in some families, the transmission of knowledge through schools and community programs was recommended. Still, whether it be just understanding the tribal language and not speaking fluently, or mixing the tribal language and English, tribal language was considered an essential and prominent aspect of the tribal cultures.

Across tribes, elders were described as the primary transmitters of language and culture. Participants spoke about certain elders having a reputation as talented storytellers, the importance of oral traditions, and the relational nature of passing along cultural knowledge. Because of a history of oppression, some elders understandably protected cultural knowledge from outsiders to guard against cultural appropriation and misuse. Several participants spoke about the need for tribal members to listen to elders on their terms, to spend time with these family members, and acquire the privilege of cultural knowledge through seeking understanding. Many lessons were transmitted by elders, including illustrating parental monitoring and oversight of children through stories about animals and nature. History, family knowledge, values, social norms, and language were transmitted through elders' oral traditions and storytelling, promoting wellness.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

Future research can investigate the topics with regard to alternative specific tribal contexts internationally. More bridges in research are needed to facilitate a balanced perspective, taking into account the devastating impacts of historical oppression, while acknowledging the variability across tribes (both urban and reservation) and the resilience and transcendence demonstrated by Indigenous peoples (Fast & Collin-Vézina, 2010). The scope of this inquiry was limited to tribal members' perspectives on language and culture; though other themes may be relevant, they are beyond the scope of this inductive inquiry.

Finally, future research on how such information may impact social work with Indigenous populations is warranted.

CONCLUSION

As demonstrations of the resilience and transcendence within the FHORT, culturally specific protective factors are still alive and well in these two tribal communities. Given the rapid social change, it is an important time to retain and re-envision tribal culture and language for greater transcendence. In the last generation, a rapid decline in language retention was present across tribes. Communities, families, and elders are key components to promote language and culture, and family-based programs to organically promote resilience and wellness are recommended. Given language and culture has been associated with a host of outcomes, such as suicide and substance abuse, bolstering these cultural protective factors is implicated for social work practice and to eradicate health disparities. More investigations on how to promote naturally occurring protective factors, which have offset the cultural loss imposed by historical oppression for centuries, such as through boarding schools and relocation programs, are warranted by social work researchers and practitioners. Promoting such factors is an important way to decolonize, restore, reconnect, and revitalize the extant resilience of Indigenous peoples. In closing, given that historical oppression has disrupted the intergenerational transmission of cultural knowledge, it is important to develop and support practices and community mechanisms that bridge intergenerational knowledge, which tends to include the teaching of traditions and cultural knowledge (Goodkind et al., 2012).

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CHILD POVERTY AND PERSISTENT LOW INCOME IN NORWAY — WITH SPECIAL ATTENTION ON THE SÁMI INDIGENOUS MINORITY

ARNT OVE EIKELAND

ABSTRACT

Economic inequality is increasing in Norway and creates outsiderness, including in the form child poverty. Child poverty is a term used about children living in persistently low income families. These are children in households in which total household income is less than 60 percent of the average income for at least three consecutive years. What characterizes a low income family? Low education, few resources, small personal network, poor health and a difficult social background. I.e. those who lack a buffer for unforeseen expenses. Children with an immigrant background are overrepresented in this group, accounting for 54.5 percent of all children in Norwegian poverty statistics, i.e. 92,000 children. The Sámi indigenous minority is also exposed. A total of 123 children or 22.2 percent of the children in, for example, Kautokeino municipality live in poverty. To uncover more aspects of this issue, I have chosen both a theoretical approach and an approach that is based on data from a Sámi core area, Kautokeino. In the theoretical approach, emphasis is placed on how the interpretation of relative poverty and child poverty can be understood in a rich egalitarian democracy such as Norway. The increasing economic inequality in Norway leads to child poverty, and growing up poor in a rich country has major psychosocial consequences.

In the empirical section, I choose Kautokeino as an example for discussing this question. Kautokeino acts as an indicator, because it clearly shows the full extent of the problem. I, to answer the question, look for connections between low income, lack of education and the effects of colonization.

INTRODUCTION

Economic inequality is increasing in Norway, this creating outsiderness including child poverty. Many explain this phenomena using neoliberal politics and economics. In a global context, however, the Nordic countries have the least economic and social inequality. This is linked to the Nordic welfare model. The model's characteristics are universal welfare schemes, emphasis on an active labour market policy, gender equality and redistribution through tax-financed welfare. Who, however, ends up in the lower economic strata of an otherwise egalitarian Norway? The research foundation Fafo's report (2009, p.45) on Child Poverty in Norway points to three groups that are particularly vulnerable to poverty. They are single parents, ethnic minorities and the unemployed.

I live in a small Sámi community in Finnmark and hear about children in the Sámi core areas that are exposed to child poverty. The statistics for 2017 confirm what I hear (Bufdir, 2017). As many as 123 children or 22.2 percent of children in Kautokeino live in persistently low income families. Other municipalities in Sápmi also have a negative impact on the statistics. In Karasjok 54 children (12.3 percent) and in Nesseby 21 children (16.1 percent) are affected by child poverty (SSB.no/kommunefakta). An average of 10.3 percent of children in Norway live below the defined poverty line.

The problem I will discuss in this chapter is therefore: How can the high levels of poverty for the Sámi core area recorded in the statistics be explained?

I have chosen two approaches to uncover more about this issue. One theoretical and the other based on data from a Sámi core area (Kautokeino). In the theoretical approach, emphasis is placed on how relative poverty and child poverty can be understood in a rich egalitarian democracy such as Norway.

In the empirical section, I choose Kautokeino as an example to discuss this question. Kautokeino acts as an indicator, because it clearly illustrates the total problem. I will, to answer the question, look for connections between low income, lack of education and the effects of colonization.

There is some research on issues such as school dropout rates that suggests that these statistics can be an indicator of outsiderism (Nystad, 2003; Valmyr,

2017). Only a few social scientists and the Norwegian authorities have, however, addressed the problem of child poverty. The main aim of this chapter is to raise this issue and document the problems of child poverty in indigenous minorities and its contribution to specific measures in a decolonialization process. I, as a philosopher, will use theories from different academic fields to discuss the phenomenon. A multidisciplinary approach will bring out a number of aspects of the phenomenon of poverty.

RELATIVE POVERTY

767 million people today live in so-called extreme poverty with an income at or below $ 1.90 per person per day. These people cannot today, in practice, meet their own needs (SDG Progress Report, 2017). This is absolute poverty. The choices available to those experiencing absolute poverty are narrowed to providing life necessities. The individual is therefore not given the opportunity to enjoy the freedom to realise her/his wishes and abilities, those in absolute poverty only have the opportunity develop her/his human potential to a very small extent.

Life necessities are not the main theme of the relative poverty category. Economists have not been mainly concerned with the physical (e.g. thirst and hunger) of poverty, nor with the shame that is attached to it. In the book *The Affluent Society*, economist J.K. Galbraith (1998) implies that people will be immediately affected by poverty if their income, even if sufficient for survival, drops noticeably below the general income level. Those who cannot acquire what the larger community considers to be a minimum requirement for decency, are easily judged by that society to lack decency.

Sociologist Peter Townsend defines relative poverty as follows (Solstad, 2011, p.59):

> 'Individuals, families and groups in the population can be described as poor when they lack the resources to obtain that diet, participate in those activities, and have the living conditions and conveniences that are common or at least generally accepted in the communities they belong to. Their resources are so far below the average individual or average family that they are excluded from normal life patterns and tasks. It is therefore assumed that people compare their own situation with that of others, and that there are certain common norms in society for what are acceptable and unacceptable living conditions'.

A relative understanding of poverty is thus based on social norms and reference groups in society. Sociologist Per Schieffloe (2019, p.310) emphasizes that reference groups are a form of yardstick in the social landscape. Our sense of what a yardstick, for example, for wealth and honour implies, does not arise by itself. The scale arises when we compare ourselves with a reference group, with those we consider our peers. Norwegians are extremely wealthy in a global context. They are, however, not impressed with wealth. We are more concerned about whether we have as much, or a little more, than those we grow up with, work alongside, are friends with, and identify ourselves with in the public sphere. Norwegians usually do not envy extremely rich people such as Bill Gates or Georg Soros. One of the seven deadly sins of Catholicism relates to envy. We only envy members of our own reference group, the success of our closest friends often being the most difficult to accept. Consequently, the more people we perceive to be our peers, then the more people there are that we can envy.

Townsend's definition relates to the individual's social situation. This is a philosophy that goes back to Friedrich Hegel's resolution of two earlier philosophical conceptions of the self: the Platonic and the Kantian. The idea of self-realisation also has its roots in this. Identity (who I am) becomes a theme. The philosopher Charles Taylor (1994) takes his stand in Hegel's understanding of personality formation. He sees a strong connection between identity, authenticity and recognition. He says that human life is fundamentally dialogic in character. We are 'woven' into each other through interaction; through language. I am dependent on the other for me to be who I am. Failure to be recognized can damage my identity. Being recognized can strengthen my identity.

The philosopher Lars Svendsen (2011) claims that we would, in a perfect world, know what we were worth. However, as we do not live in such a world, we are vulnerable because we have many and often contradictory perceptions about our character. The need to anchor our existential situation as bodily and social beings causes our sense of identity to be captured by how we are judged by the surroundings. We are fragile creatures who are concerned with and dependent on how others perceive us, and are therefore uncertain about our own value. We have an ability to think about what others think, believe and feel about us. Therefore, our self-confidence is difficult to maintain when others have stopped showing us respect.

CHILD POVERTY

Child poverty is a term used about children living in persistently low income families. That is, children in households whose total household income is less than 60 percent of the median average income for at least three consecutive years. What characterises a low-income family? Characteristics of such a family are low levels of education, few resources, small personal network, poor health, difficult social background and the lack of a buffer for unforeseen expenses (Harsløf & Seim, 2008). Only the cash income of the household is included in the income concept. The value of public services such as free or subsidized day care centres, health services and leisure activities are not included in this income. Neither is the value of home produced services such as unpaid care services provided by relatives, neighbours, or friends (SSB, 2019).

What are the psychosocial consequences and challenges of growing up in a low-income family in a rich country such as Norway? Poor children in Norway may be materially better off than poor children in other countries. It is difficult to imagine the idea that one can be respected and at the same time be poor in today's Norway. Being a poor child in Norway may therefore be mentally more difficult than in other countries. Philosopher Alain Botton (2005) emphasizes that owning a lot does not, first and foremost, bring joy. It does, however, instil respect. Even the anti-materialist will feel a pressure to accumulate property and display it, so as not to feel shame. Economist and Nobel laureate Amarta Sen is one of the world's foremost poverty researchers. Sens's hypothesis is that there is a link between poverty and shame all over the world. Feelings of shame are something poor people feel all over the world, even if they live in a western welfare state such as Norway. Researcher Ivar Lødemel agrees with Sen, saying 'Our findings show that this is true' (The Research Council of Norway, 2017). Economist and moral philosopher Adam Smith (1759), when writing that poor people are often looked down upon in the book *Moral Sentiment*, arrived at the same conclusion. Wealth and power are compared with and respected in the same way as wisdom and bravery.

Another key concept in this debate is social exclusion. Poverty is often linked to social exclusion in the European debate. The term describes a social position in which the lack of financial resources forms part of a situation of incomplete citizenship. Poor children cannot afford to participate in what

others in the local community take part in. This can mean being excluded from leisure activities, birthdays and everything else that give children a safe environment, interesting lives and the feeling of being a community participant. Leisure activities are social arenas in which social skills are developed, networks are built, and children gain access to experiences that create mastery and meaning. It is a fundamental right that a child must be allowed to participate in the arenas in which social interaction takes place. The consequences of material loss and feelings of being a loser can lead to impaired self-esteem, lower inherent worth and negative self-image. This can affect the child's development and have consequences that extend throughout his or her life (Underlid, 2008). Children who grow up in low-income families can therefore be socially excluded if not allowed to participate in the activities other children participate in and lose access to the informal learning that takes place in organizations and other leisure activities. Children may be excluded from sports, not because they cannot afford to pay the training fee, but because the equipment is expensive. It also costs money to go on school or leisure trips. This exclusion can, in turn, lead to difficulties remaining integrated in the community. Financial inequality is also often interpreted as a violation of the principle of equal opportunity. Children who grow up in poor families have poorer living conditions and fewer chances of life than other children. Asgeir Solstad (2011), who is a professor in social work, believes that society must become better at arranging that all children participate in activities irrespective of family economy.

Psychologist Tone Fløtten (2009) claims that child poverty was a non-issue just a few years ago in Norwegian politics and research. It has, however, gone from being a non-topic to being one of the most debated social issues. Low income or income poverty is often used when discussing the extent of poverty. This is the starting point for both the EU's, the OECD's and UNICEF's definition and targets for poverty. The use of such goals does, however, not take into account people's other living conditions nor their subjective experience of whether they are poor or not. Poverty is a normative problem. No poverty targets are therefore intangible.

There is no clear or true answer to the question of when does child poverty occur. Low income is a relative term. The low income limit is determined in terms of the distance between this limit and the general level of income in society (median income). There has been a significant improvement in Nor-

wegians' objective living conditions in recent decades. Growth in financial prosperity, such as income, wealth and access to material goods, has increased sharply. This has also benefited the most disadvantaged, the low income limit therefore also moving upwards due to the strong growth in the Norwegian economy. This means that the relatively poor have a much higher material standard in the absolute sense, even though they are still locked in a state of fewer financial resources than the average household. Norway also has Europe's lowest income inequality. There has, however, been a significant reduction in the proportion of people with low income in recent decades, if we base this on a more absolute definition of low income that uses the annual low income limit for 2000 adjusted for inflation. This means that the large real growth in income for households that has occurred in the past 15 years has also benefited those at the bottom of the income distribution. The income gap has, even so, increased (Fagarkivet, 2019).

Discussions in the field of 'poverty research' often revolve around pure income targets and how many consumer goods a person lacks. This is a narrow approach. 'Boiling' the complexity of the case down to materialism and money, and to the premise that human consumption is the 'highest value' of the West has, in many ways, also been accepted. Contemporary diagnosis is therefore quickly lost in questions such as: In what kind of society do we live?

Many would say that we live in a society that is moving in a neoliberalist direction. Simplifying this roughly, we can say that neoliberalism elevates the market as a governing arena, and recommends that economic thinking and methods be disseminated in more and more areas of society, including within state and municipal enterprises. The present Norwegian state formation is called *markedsstaten,* 'the market state', as opposed to the former *embetsmanns-staten*, 'the state of public officials', as referred to by the historian and political scientist Rune Slagstad (2019). This also applies to complex services such as education, child welfare, elderly care and health services that should now be profit-driven. It is assumed that the market is largely fair and democratic and will create economic efficiency that benefits everyone. This not least applies to children who are pressed into arenas that are becoming increasingly commercialized, access to most arenas costing money and revolving around money. One example is leisure activities. What are the consequences of this development upon children? The sociologist Frønes (2011) believes that consumption in a consumer society is implicitly understood to be a source of identity

formation for children in the material carousel. The commercial child is often associated with certain children's products that are often promoted in advertising. Market forces define what it takes to be happy. Philosopher Micheal Sandel (2012) emphasizes that the market is influential. If you pay someone to be a friend, then there no longer is a friendship. The philosopher Plato defined happiness as being something that is achieved through knowledge and insight. Teaching a child to maintain a one-sided focus on materialism and an excessive and unhealthy consumption, hardly increases the feeling of happiness. Today's Norwegian children are, however, socialized into a lifestyle based on consumption. The philosopher Immanuel Kant would say that this is not universalisable. Children in today's society can hardly be blamed. How do these empirical changes based on market logic effect our everyday lives? How do they influence our minds, our emotions, our mental health and our view of other people? In the book *The art of shrinking heads* (2007), philosopher Dany-Robert Dufours states that neoliberal ideology puts our institutions at risk and begins to define 'what we are'. Political analyst and historian Thomas Frank (2001) says the same when stating that he believes that the market has become the very image of what society is, what being human is all about. The market has increasingly become the arena in which we will emerge, and show who we are.

In this section, I have argued that social problems and challenges arise in the relationship between the individual and society. The focus in this has been on children living in persistently low income families, and the social consequences of this. In the next section I will, however, address societal, cultural and economic causes of the problem of child poverty in Kautokeino.

KAUTOKEINO

Kautokeino municipality is bordered by the municipalities of Kvænangen, Alta and Karasjok. It is, by far, Norway's largest municipality. Around 90 per cent of the population has Northern Sámi as mother tongue, and the municipality has for a long time been the only municipality in the country to give Sámi language the same status as Norwegian in the public administration. Reindeer husbandry is an important Sámi culture carrier, around 1,700 people being employed in this field. Half of the municipalities 2,911 inhabitants live in the centre (SSB/

kommunefakta Kautokeino) and the municipality is Norway's largest reindeer husbandry municipality. There are a number of institutions in Kautokeino, such as: Sámi allaskuvla, Beivvaš Sámi national theatre, the Sámi upper secondary school and the reindeer herding school, The International Center for Reindeer Husbandry, a department of the Sámi Parliament, the Sámi archive, Kautokeino film, the International Sámi Film Institute, the Sámi art and craft centre (Duodjeinstithutta), the Norwegian public broadcasting company's Sàmi radio and the Sámi language newspaper Avvir. The Norwegian Sámi National Federation and the World Reindeer Peoples Organization are also headquartered in Kautokeino. What could, therefore, help explain the high rates of child poverty in Kautokeino? Visions and challenges for Kautokeino are described in the social section of the municipal plan. The plan is for 2017 to 2030. We can read that Kautokeino is described as – 'the wizard of Sápmi' (Kautokeino. kommune. Kommuneplanens samfunnsdel, 2017). Emphasis is placed on Kautokeino as being the place in the world where the Sámi language, Sámi culture and Sámi industries are strongest and are the most viable. Kautokeino is therefore considered to be the cultural centre of the Northern Sámi region. Challenges in finances and living conditions are described as follows:

> Kautokeino has low average incomes. People remaining out of work and other important arenas over a period of time, increases the risk of social differences. This can result in huge costs to the individual and society. Children and adolescents, single people and families with children are of particular concern. Work is a source of income, financial security, self-respect and self-realization. The municipality of Kautokeino must work to create higher levels of employment, that contribute to securing the welfare community, the levelling of financial and social disparities and the prevention of poverty (Kautokeino Kommune. Kommuneplanens samfunnsdel, 2017, p.11).

Large differences in levels of education and income indicate that there are large social and health differences in the population. These figures also raise concerns in the social part of the municipal plan. It is emphasized that women in Kautokeino have the highest levels of education and salaries. This therefore means there are reasons to pay special attention to men's health and welfare. The number of people under 45 with disabilities is higher in Kautokeino than

in the rest of the country. Unemployment is also higher than the rest of the country, unemployment among men however declining. Many of the unemployed have little or no education, making it difficult to compete in the labour market place (Kautokeino kommune. Kommuneplanenes samfunnsdel, p.17).

2018 figures show that Kautokeino is the municipality in Finnmark with the lowest average income, which is NOK 230,760 (23535,65 EUR). The average income in Finnmark is NOK 286,217 (29191,82 EUR) and the national average is NOK 310,207 (31638,60 EUR). At the same time, the 100 highest earners in Kautokeino earn well above double the national average. These are mainly those with higher education and who work within different industries in the private business sector (Skatteetaten.no). Kautokeino and Karasjok are the only two municipalities in Norway where women have a higher gross income than men (DN 9/9 2019).

The problem of child poverty has been covered in the Finnmark media in the past year. Kautokeino has, in particular, been widely discussed. I therefore relate to the understanding of the problem that emerges in the press's comprehensive coverage of high child poverty rates. This provides an important insight into a locally felt problem area that is only problematised to a minor extent by authorities and social scientists. The problem came to the surface in the newspaper Altaposten (27 June 2018) through an interview with the Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration (NAV) leader in Kautokeino. She is unsure whether a middle-aged unemployed user will be able to create a new life under global capitalism. She says:

> There are still deep traces in society after the Norwegianization of the Sámi, and we know that the Sámi in general have not had the same higher education opportunities as the majority population in Norway. Getting an education and further education in Kautokeino 30 years ago meant you had to travel far from home, and then first learn the Norwegian language, as the education system was based on the Norwegian language and the teaching was in Norwegian. That is why many people ended up in low-wage jobs. Gaining a certificate of completed apprenticeship and educating yourself as a 50-year old is not easy. Now we have to build a whole new generation and make them successful.

Further, in Altaposten (Altaposten, 06 June 2018) we can read:

> In Kautokeino, there are 932 people over the age of 16 who only have basic compulsory school and we see a mismatch between those who are unemployed and what is required by advertised positions. "People simply do not have the skills required to get these jobs," says councillor Kent Valio, who runs a municipality with many state institutions, and where academic education is required.

Kautokeino municipality's *Action Plan on Child Poverty* concludes that education and work are the main solutions to the problem of poverty in Kautokeino (Kautokeino Kommune, 2017).

INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND MODERN SOCIETY

There are between 220–350 million people belonging to the indigenous peoples of the world. Movements emerged in the 1970s that promoted the rights of indigenous peoples, and there is a great deal of explanatory power in the rights' struggle globally in the 1970s in understanding the rise of the Sami Parliament. Much of that struggle had its roots in the miserable living conditions under which indigenous peoples lived. The political scientist Engkvist (2006) claims that indigenous peoples rank poorly on most living conditions surveys and health statistics. The Sámi have participated in and experienced rapid development since the Alta case and the rights struggles in the 70s. This includes establishing the Sámi Parliament, the new language law on the right to Sámi language, Sámi census and other institutional establishments. The purpose has been, and still is, to build a platform that ensures that the Sámi indigenous minority has the instruments to become more equal with the majority population. Today, institutions have been developed to help create political freedom and freedom of action on Sámi premises (Aarseth, 2006). This struggle for rights has mainly been led by educated Sámi. These people are today the highest salaried in modern Sámi society, and many people say they have a defining power over the content of the Sámi 'project'. Research should therefore be conducted into whether class distinctions in the Sámi community are emerging, based on those who are educated and those who have not clearly had any form of education.

The development of the modern state has progressed very quickly for Arctic indigenous peoples. They have essentially moved from being a people who had adapted their way of life to industries which could be operated in the Arctic, to a more modern way of living. The traditional industries have been consistently difficult to adapt to modern times and efficiency demands. Industries that used to be adapted to fragile nature are now industries that must meet the requirements of market liberalism, i.e. exclusively economic 'sustainability'. It has not been possible for ignorant state authorities nor for Sámi fishing or reindeer herding to meet these challenges. Many Arctic indigenous peoples can, therefore, be caught in the gulf between tradition and forced, not adapted, modernity. State authorities and regulations are characterized by a lack of knowledge about primary industries in the Arctic (Henriksen & Hydle, 2016; Riseth, 2016; Löf, 2016). A physically demanding nature and poverty and racism have, over the centuries, taught the people in these areas to survive under harsh conditions, both in nature and in society. The geographical and climatic location means that the Sámi have adapted to a challenging terrain and climate and have had, and still have, a practical way of thinking. The old traditions and knowledge are still emphasized in people's myriad tasks and language expressions. They still contain knowledge on traditional industries and how to cope in one of Europe's coldest areas. Much of this knowledge is not written down or articulated in a scientific way, but lives in the bodies, in the language, and through metaphors and narratives (Ween, 2017). A natural consequence of practical knowledge being so highly prioritized in Sámi areas, is that many do not travel beyond the place where they were born and raised. Boys in particular tend to prioritize this way of life (Boine, 2010). This effect can be compounded by the fact that many adults also do not see the importance of formal education. The social class of parents determines the level of cultural, social and intellectual resources they transfer to their children (Bufdir. 2017). These considerations may be part of the reason why boys drop out of school or do not start high school after basic compulsory education. Studies are being conducted into whether those who leave basic compulsory education in Sámi areas have such a weak academic foundation that they would not be able to complete secondary school. There are also a very high number of boys who drop out of high school (Valmyra, 2017). The girls are doing better. Nystad (2003) claims that identity is particularly well grounded locally in Kautokeino. Leaving 'the known' and travelling to another place for education can therefore be a major barrier. Many also fear racism 'out there'. Nystad empha-

sizes that practical knowledge is involved in 'defining' Kautokeino. In the Sami newspaper Sagat, the Kautokeino councillor is interviewed:

> Kautokeino still has a relatively high degree of self-support culture, which is evident in the utilization of fishing, outfield, and berry picking. In the application for restructuring status, we can see that it has made people in Kautokeino do well with low pay, without this having a negative effect on a family's living. But today, money is more important than before. So many end up in a clinch they can't escape. Many also have no education beyond elementary school, as formal education is not required to utilize natural resources. There is a big gap between jobseekers' skills and the skills required to get a job in Inner-Finnmark. Far fewer than are usually registered have completed high school. One of our biggest problems are youth, especially young men, who are unable to complete a higher education pathway and therefore gain the necessary competence in an increasingly demanding labour market (Sagat, 6 February 2018).

The self-support culture is, as the mayor knows, highly alive in Kautokeino. Fish, game, berries and other outdoor resources put food on the table. These activities are also an existential dimension of societies such as Kautokeino and a legacy from former times, when man and nature united in a higher unity. These places therefore constitute a corrective to modern capitalist societies. This means that individuals and families have managed on a low wage income, without this necessarily having a negative effect on the family's living and quality of life. An increasingly neoliberal society in which commodities are the yardstick of money, means that such a way of living is becoming increasingly harder. Modern commercial society does not seem to open up alternative ways of living that are not based on money (Ehrenreich, 2006). Fløtten (2009) also argues that a discussion of people's perception of what is considered acceptable material living conditions is needed. Living conditions are more than just income. Living conditions include physical and mental health, living conditions, living environment and immediate surroundings, social contact, relationships with leisure activities, conditions related to crime and violence and to pollution, noise and traffic. Today's challenges of climate crisis and sustainability are likely to drastically change the climate of consumption and living conditions in the years to come (Hydle & Henriksen, 2016).

SOCIAL HERITAGE AND EDUCATION

Are we approaching meritocracy in Norway? Fløtten (2009) emphasizes that family background is of great importance to children's development. Children of parents with low levels of education or low income have poorer opportunities for success in education and working life. This is how poverty is 'inherited' (Fafo-rapport, 2009, p.50). What social and cultural disadvantages are passed on from generation to generation? Factors such as humanism, culture and traditions may contribute to this inter-generational transfer, the reproduction of social inequality perhaps being the most important of these. There are at the same time, of course, opportunities for social mobility in different contexts. School dropout and a lack of understanding of the value of education are not 'hereditary' as genetic predispositions. I therefore choose, in the search for mechanisms or individual characteristics that can contribute to understanding this, to provide a thick description (Geertz, 1973) of why it is difficult for many indigenous peoples to adapt to a society which the Polish sociologist Zygmunt Bauman (1989) describes as ordered throughout. According to Bauman, the main theme of modernity is the process of the thorough rationalization of society. This process has created a bureaucratic iron cage in which we are imprisoned by the maxim of industrial capitalism's efficiency. Adorno & Horkheimer (2011) have predicted the narrow worldview that lay ahead of this process in their cultural critique of market excellence and the one-dimensional economic worldview. This worldview conveys a way of thinking that measures a country's success in market economic growth rates. Life is measured by market economic frameworks and terms. Existence is quantified in numbers and indices.

The crafts and skills that have been the cornerstones of Sámi society are becoming 'dead meat and cutaway' in the capitalist machinery. This represents a loss of human resources and skills. This results, for those involved, in the giving up of a stable life and clinging to temporary jobs in the more unstable sectors of society. The psychosocial effects of this for those involved, can quickly become lower self-esteem and poor income. A number of indicators show that aspiring egalitarian Norway is developing a sorting society in which human dignity is graded according to the ability to meet the narrow and demanding requirements of the competitive market economy. Those who do not want to or cannot discipline themselves into this economic 'performance society' are,

for example, labelled ineligible, school dropouts, disabled, unemployed, poorly integrated, social clients, new-poor, debt victims, weak groups and lower social classes (Shammas, 2019).

Education is the single factor that can easily be converted into work. Low levels or no education can therefore be understood to be a contributing cause of persistent low income. Today's working life places ever higher demands on competence, which makes many in the labour market vulnerable. The road to qualifying for the Norwegian labour market can soon be long. The premises for future working life will therefore be documented expertise through higher education courses. There will be fewer jobs for unskilled workers due to factors such as digitalisation, including in manual professions. Those who do not manage to complete a theoretical education pathway will therefore experience great difficulty in the labour market. Many young people find adapting to a school that is based on theoretical knowledge, difficult. The school is an expression of the kind of society we want in the future. The mentality we find in many indigenous communities breaches with these rules of the game, and falls outside what is called the normal framework of society. This is well stated by Nystad (2003, p.133):

> Giddens believes that in modernity, one does not cope with the local knowledge that one acquires through relatives and family. The way I interpret the informants, is that it is not possible to manage in Kautokeino without local knowledge. Local knowledge is important, and it is not sufficiently integrated in schools. So students must therefore be absent from school or opt-out of education, to learn the local knowledge. The hypothesis that seems to be most valid is: Education is important, but there are other things that are also important.

DECOLONIZATION

Another approach may be to look at the repercussions of assimilation. The official policy from 1850 was that the Sámi should be assimilated into Norwegian society. Today, the official attitude is that the state of Norway is founded on the territory of two people (Aarseth, 2006). After a hard and long assimilation process, the authorities are required by Article 108 of the Constitution to take measures to secure the Sámi language, culture and social life and facilitate

development opportunities. This opens the question of whether assimilation and colonization are stages that have ended, or whether these processes continue in new forms and inhibits people from, for example, getting an education? There is little doubt that assimilation, colonization and racism have had negative consequences for the Sámi population. Many feel insecure and unsure in their ethnic, geographical, social and cultural affiliation. It is also important to distinguish between generations, because the Sámi have, after 1980, been through a revitalization process. The revitalization process has ended differently depending on the Norwegianization process. Some have tackled this well and have a safe identity. It has, however, for many led to emotional conflicts, frustrations and dilemmas. A lot of suffering is hidden in the gap between the Norwegian majority and the Sámi minority.

The psychiatrist Franz Fanon addresses the relationship between the oppressor and the oppressed in the book *Jordens fordømte* (2002) (Les Damnés de la Terre, 1961). It is still a core text in postcolonial studies and racism research. He addresses topics that are fundamental to understanding the social and psychological consequences of racism, colonialism and oppression. Fanon says man is first and foremost an active being. Fanon's understanding of Self is based on Hegel's philosophy. The Self is not monologically produced, but dialogic in its ontology. The Sámi subject is, in many ways, created through decades of oppression and racism. Being identified as Sámi in the majority's condemning language style, was to be categorized in the most diverse ways through stereotypical conceptions. No one is a 'born Sámi'. One is created through 'the other's gaze'. This construction, or self-construction, of a Sámi consciousness therefore exists in a submissive relationship with the majority population. This relationship can be broken by creating new concepts, which in turn can open the imagination for change. How this should occur calls for a broad debate. It should not be carried out by 'essentialist folklorist' researchers, but by researchers who see the Sámi of today as being different from the Sámi of the past. It is hard to defend the claim that there is an authentic culture that can be restored, as the culture has been changed by, for example, colonialism. Being Sámi is not a fate, as communicated by internationally acclaimed and award-winning artists such as Mary Boine, Sofia Jannok or Ella Marie Hætta Isaksen, who have had success and made careers. They represent a Sámi form of modernity. The Sámi are also the indigenous peoples of the world with the highest levels of higher education, especially women. The focus today should therefore be on those who have no voice in Sápmi, in particular men, who have not been able to create a space within Sámi modernity.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Market fundamentalism is the dominant ideology of our time, says social scientist Sofus Tranøy (2014) in the book *Markedets makt over sinnene*. Tranøy points out that poverty differences decrease between nations, but that the economic differences become greater within nations. The increasing economic inequality in Norway leads to, among other things, child poverty. Growing up poor in a rich country also has major psychosocial consequences. These negative consequences are further exacerbated in a society that increasingly promotes unhealthy competition in arenas such as school and sports and in a society that promotes consumption as a source to identity.

Not all low-income families see themselves as poor in Sápmi and not everyone who is poor experiences their situation in the same way. All individuals and families are different, including low-income families, even though they are defined as a group. There is here a phenomenological perspective. The experience of those who are exposed to child poverty, i.e. how children perceive their situation, must be analysed. My theoretical and empirical documentation shows the necessity for exploring the social and social science measures that should be implemented to counter child poverty in Sámi core areas, and that this should be through a decolonialization process. This chapter can be seen as a first step.

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PART 3.
RECONCILIATION

STORIES, STONES, AND MEMORIES IN THE LAND OF DORMANT RECIPROCITY. OPENING UP POSSIBILITIES FOR RECONCILIATION WITH A POLITICS THAT WORKS TENSIONS OF DISSENSUS AND CONSENSUS WITH CARE

BY BRITT KRAMVIG AND HELEN VERRAN

ABSTRACT

In this article we address storytelling as an epistemic practice and ask if/how storytelling can become a tool for reconciliation, specifically in relation to violent acts of past and present colonising. In Sápmi, telling stories is essential in everyday life. Stories are told to engage actively with questions, as opposed to referring to an absent past, or to bringing forth explanations or arguments. Stories are told to bring past events and knowledge on how to live well and respectfully with both human and non-human beings into the present knowledge. Enacting in stories is also a central part of recalling how earthlings can live together in the Sámi landscape. In this article, stories on sieidies (Sámi sacrificial place) are addressed. We make evident the existence of a land of dormant reciprocity in the Norwegian present, and establish sieidies as ontologically multiple. We will propose that stories, with their implicit or explicit recognition of this multiplicity, can work in the ongoing reconciliation addressed by the Norwegian government and the Sámi Parliament.

INTRODUCTION

In this article, we address storytelling as an epistemic practice, and ask whether storytelling can become a tool for reconciliation, specifically for violent acts of past and present colonisation. In Sápmi, telling stories is essential in everyday life. Stories are told to actively engage with questions, as opposed to referring to an absent past or bringing forth explanations or arguments. Stories are also told to bring past events and knowledge on how to live well and respectfully with both human and non-human beings, into present knowledge. Enacting in stories is a central part of recalling how earthlings can live together in the Sámi landscape. This article addresses stories about sieidies, in particular Sámi secret stones. We make evident the existence of a land of dormant reciprocity in the Norwegian present and establish sieidies as ontologically multiple. We propose that stories, with their implicit or explicit recognition of this multiplicity, can act in the ongoing reconciliation addressed by the Norwegian government and the Sámi Parliament.

Stories and the making way for local storytelling, have been used as a methodology in the preparatory phase of the Norwegian truth and reconciliation commission (constituted in June 2018). They are also considered to be a tool for locally embedded enactments of living well together. Sieidies or Sámi secret stones mark and sign the landscape as Sámi. Our interest is ontological, as we have learned that sieidi belong to the land of dormant reciprocity as much as to the embodied here and now of the Sámi present, and the archaeological present.

Recognition of dormant reciprocity as being embedded in and as being the landscape, informs an emergent politics of memory in contemporary society. Sieidies here become the object of local storytelling. So do multiple other Sámi practices. They also are the object of academic stories of scholars concerned with shamanism (Fonneland, 2017), tourism (Olsen, 2017), nature and art (Kramvig & Pettersen, 2016) and heritage (Lund, 2015; Mathisen, 2010). This chapter is an intervention in the epistemic politics of contemporary Sámi-Norwegian public life. Our experimentation in epistemic practices is inspired by Wintereik and Verran (2012). Their description of the analysis, which is carried out by flip-flopping between metaphysical commitments, is central. This enables contingent, simultaneous recognition of what are otherwise incommensurable claims. Reconciliation is possible through acceptance

of the possibility of doing difference differently. We engaged with specific localities, specific written or oral stories, and experiences of land, animals, paths and other participants that we engaged with in and through these landscapes, to enact the land of dormant reciprocity.

Jackson (2002) argues that storytelling events provide insights into the ways that people evaluate, discuss, and negotiate social and ethical strategies for making communal life viable. They provide answers to questions such as 'How are we to think about the past?' and 'How are we to talk about history?' A linearity of thinking is frequently brought forward to answer these questions. The 'need to put the past behind us' is, in public debate, part of the argument promoted, including in the Norwegian/Sámi reconciliation process. We argue that there is a need to think differently about the past, and that there is a need to accept that the past remains in place. As Oakeshott (1933) argued, the past is not a different world. There are not two worlds. 'The world of past happenings and the world of our present knowledge of those past events – there is only one world, and it is the world of present experience' (Oakeshott, 1933, p.108). What this implies to our thinking around what 'telling the truth' will become in reconciliation, is important. The question of how to facilitate generative truth telling therefore looms large.

The need to tell the full story has become a major aim in public debate. This has been facilitated by creating a space for people in multiple communities to tell how Norwegian polices of 'norwegianisation' have for centuries affected the Sámi population. The concept of colonization was not academically or politically considered to be useful before the enactments in recent years of a new generation of indigenous artists and scholars. They were inspired by and connected to the ongoing exchange between communities of indigenous/non-scholars and artists on a global scale. Telling stories of truth was launched in multiple Sámi communities as a central objective of the ongoing public meetings. The public meetings were organized by the Sámi Parliament as part of establishing the mandate for the future work of the Truth and Reconciliation committees. As Jackson (2002) argues, storytelling serves as a strategy for transforming private into public, and through this sustaining human agency in the face of disempowering circumstances. Jackson, focuses on how we rework reality through making and telling stories to make reality bearable. Storytelling may be a coping strategy. It is a world-making practice. In telling stories we reclaim a say in the way that our lives unfold (Kramvig & Verran, 2016).

We will argue that storytelling can become a tool for reworking the colonial past, and can therefore change our experience of it. We, however, need to expand our way of thinking about stories. We should not merely focus on stories as products, but also on storytelling as an intersection in reciprocity. Storytelling can therefore inform an emergent politics of memory and enact landscapes of remembrance. This emphasises the importance of not only the substance of the stories, but also the very act of participating in a shared event. It also emphasises how this event brings our attention to our sense of being-with-others, so promoting relation-weaving and world-making in which the past and the future are recalled as well as remade. These acts of participation also require both an audience and a storyteller, in an interactive relationship of call and response. The storytelling event itself realizes, both socially and dialogically, an ideal of tolerant solidarity in difference (Jackson, 2002). We argue that telling stories is caring for those within the event of the stories, and that are recalled into being. The past can be touched through objects, but also through stories.

There are movements of care involved in telling. Caring practices, as Mol, Moser & Pols (2010) argue, move us beyond rationalist versions of the human being. Care involves embodied practices. Care in practice is not restricted to a specific domain or site, but should be understood as being a doing, a mode, or a style. Good care is always a collective achievement, and involves 'persistent tinkering in a world full of complex ambivalence and shifting tensions' (Mol et al., 2010, p.14). Care as attuned attentiveness, and adaptive tinkering, asks for an embodied engagement with the human, non-human, the regulation of traditions, technological tools, landscapes, and authorities. Joks & Law (2016) have argued that we need to be concerned not only with what or whom to care for, but also how we care. Different caring practices and stories of care articulate differences in modes of knowing.

SÁMI LANDSCAPE

We, in this chapter, engage with Sámi landscape at which siedies are attended. We show a form of experimental scholarly work which we propose as an invention of practices that have epistemic salience. As academic epistemic practices, they are novel. We aim to bring siedies to life in an ontologically reflexive post-colonial knowing of Sámi sacred sites and landscapes. Heinämäki

& Herrmann (2017) argue that, for many Indigenous Arctic communities, sacred natural sites are embedded in spirituality, cultural practices and belief systems. Respect for and access restrictions to them have therefore often led to well-conserved areas within otherwise degraded Arctic environments (Heinämäki & Herrmann, 2017, p.1). Sacred sites have, therefore, played an important role in nature conservation and protection. Landscape-based protected areas would not exist without the profound cultural and spiritual values assigned to them by the indigenous communities to which they belong. Myrvoll (2017) highlight that there are well known stories within the local communities that illustrate respectful behaviour towards Sámi sacred sites. They also illustrate the punishment that follows where these locally known principals of respect are broken. Reinert (2016) focuses on sacred sites as the scope of existing relational imaginaries, and with the possible role of stone-human relations in the ontological politics of a present moment defined by the unfolding collapse of planetary ecosystems.

The question posed in this chapter is, however, different. It is still inspired by the need not only for new research imaginaries, addressed by Reinert (2016), but also the need for new ethnographic practices, inspired by Spivak (1993) and Kuokkanen's (2010) request to do more *homework,* in this case fieldwork. Modern school homework implies carrying out class work *outside* of school. Our notion of fieldwork as homework bears implications of attending more closely to what it is sieidies bring together in being in place and as a place. Sieidies are stones that have multiple enactments. These are performed in archaeology, and feature as inscriptions on maps in hundreds of places across the traditional territory of the Sámi people. There are material interventions in the landscape of the Nordic countries. More than 500 Sámi sacred sites in Sápmi are 'told' of as having been used from the Late Iron Age until recent times (Manker, 1957; Bergman et al., 2013; Mulk, 1996; Äikäs et al., 2009; Äikäs & Salmi, 2013). These have also, more recently, appeared in cultural studies of Sámi people or landscapes (Mathisen, 2010; Reinert, 2016; Østmo & Law, 2017) and in Indigenous studies and Law (Heinämäki & Herrmann, 2017; Myrvoll, 2017). Sieidies dwell in the landscape, often at places that are distinct and recognizable. Tracks made by both human and animals often form entrances to the stones, and their stories are told in fragments of local texts and storytelling events. You often need to know the community or the people to learn of the presence of the stones. They are not easily talked about. The people we talked to spoke of feeling an absence of the words necessary to tell these stories in respectful ways.

Sieidies have, for a very long time, not been central to the politics of knowing. Not in Sápmi, nor in the north in general. They have been connected to the practice of shamanism, which was performed in the past. *Not* remembering the sieidies and where and how they figured in the landscape, is therefore mostly a result of colonial politics. In this chapter we argue that siedies provide possibilities for decolonizing epistemic practices through being an entrance into the landscapes, the remembrance of heritage, and to attending to the healing capacity of the landscape, and through this participate in addressing the landscape as Sámi.

Sámi material culture has significant regional differences. The contemporary way of enacting these places further multiplies the places. Mathisen (2010) argues that there are different individual actions in relation to Sámi sacrificial stones. These appear in narratives, missionary reports, and research. He also argues that we need to focus upon how the ownership of such cultural heritage sites can lead to them becoming sites of intercultural conflict and to destruction or plunder. This can subsequently lead to these becoming sites of ethnic revival, and to claims of repatriation and heritage status. Some even become more touristic attractions, where the act of leaving a gift behind can be performed in new and multiple ways (Olsen, 2017). Fonneland (2017) argues that the Sámi claim that sieidies are secret sites, needs to be viewed as being contemporary shamanism in which parts of pre-Christian practices and symbols are incorporated into new contexts and interpretive frames. We strongly believe that these are interesting arguments. We, however, also believe that these positions hold on to an ontological politics that does not take seriously the ontological differences that exist between Sámi and modern landscape practices.

We will, in this article, use the concept of analytic homework as fieldwork at two different sites. One in the municipality of Guovdageaidnu, or Kautokeino and very much embedded in the Sámi traditional way of knowing and living with the land. The other in South of Troms, where Sámi heritage is being reclaimed and revitalized as we write. We have been walking the paths in both these areas on the land previously used by both animals and people, and have been introduced to specific sieidies, these introductions differing. Sieidies have for a long time dwelt in and been the land of (forgotten) memories by the people that once considered these lands their home. There are a few exceptions to this, which you can read about in this article. This is due to the Christianisation of the Sámi that was part of national politics from 1500 and onwards.

Sámi identities, practices and knowledge tradition, however, survived in some areas within the new Sámi religious movement of Laestadianism in the era of intensified colonisation from the 1900 onwards (Minde, 1998). Miller (2007), exploring the cultural and historic context of Sámi healing practices, argues that Sámi healers today may be connected historically to the *noaidi* (shaman) of the past. They cannot, however, be directly identified with the noaidi. The healers consider themselves to be Christian and conceive of their healing gift as being embedded in a special connection with both God and the community. A healer, having inherited the gift, is guided by their ability to diagnose bodily experiences, visions and/or thoughts. Miller (2007) argues that the leading principle of Sámi healers (their 'inside' knowledge) is that a 'correct connection' is required.

People wish, in other cases, to re-learn from and engage with these stones as sacred places, in what contemporary academic discourse often calls new-shamanistic movements. Stones are spiritual actors in this that must be respected. The stones in texts ask for an offering, and provide bodily healing and comfort in times of despair. In some of the local Norwegian discourse, they are brought into the present with what we would argue are neo-colonial stories that mark these as more a part of the Norwegian than the Sámi heritage. We present ethnographic stories in this chapter that account for these discourses. However we, before telling the stories, present a short section on methodology in indigenous studies.

DOING ANALYTIC HOMEWORK AND STAYING WITH THE ONTOLOGICAL TROUBLE

Haraway (2016) argues that staying with the trouble requires 'making oddkin; that is, we require each other in unexpected collaborations and combinations, in hot compost piles. We become-with each other or not at all. This kind of material semiotics is always situated, someplace and not noplace, entangled and worldly' (Haraway, 2016, p.4). We strongly believe that analytic homework is required to achieve this. Homework was introduced by the feminist postcolonial author Spivak, who linked the notion of homework with the unlearning of one's privilege and of 'unlearning one's learning'. Spivak urges academics to learn how to behave as a subject of knowledge within the institution of neocolonial learning (Danius, Jonsson, & Spivak, 1993). We should

all be aware. Undoing one's privilege is, however, not an easy task at all. She is also not specific on how to do this in practice. She claims that it requires the addressing of the privileges that come with gender, class, ethnicity and the historical circumstances of the contemporary privileged position. Unlearning also implies an analysis of the naturalization of privileges, the 'moves of innocence' and the right to not know, as is also addressed by Hannah Arendt. The Sámi scholar Kuokkanen (2010) argues, in line with Spivak, that academic neglect of indigenous epistemic practices means that homework in indigenous epistemes has to begin from an even more basic level: the level of the researchers' own beliefs, biases and assumptions. It has to start from acknowledging the existence of 'the indigenous', the people, their epistemic practices and how they are configured in the geo-political past and present (Kuokkanen 2010, p.67).

Decolonization could be a concept of the means for unlearning one's learning, for example by walking the land and recalling the stories (Jernsletten, 2010). Jernsletten (2012) suggests that claiming that knowledge does not belong to the academic author, but to the land and the multiple being of the land, is part of the Sámi storytelling tradition. Jernslettens academic work is in line with the growing concern that the decolonizing nature entails transcending human-centred expectationalism (Demos, 2016). We suggest, however, in this chapter that this can also be enacted through reading text and acting upon them, and that this is symmetrical to 'academic classics'. We took on the task of reading texts that have never featured in any academic curriculum, novels, whitepapers, or documents or are regarded as research-objects. We propose that these texts not only represent worldmaking, but are also agential entities that have been taking part in worldmaking. The stories that are presented in this chapter come from an ongoing engagement with multiple actors in Sápmi. We therefore live and we learn from engagements with other knowledge holders which de La Cadena (2015) calls co-laboring. This concept inspires scholars to engage in how we take up a responsible engagement with human and nonhuman, stories and stones. We also recognise that local knowledge cannot, with ease, be translated using universalising academic concepts. Indigenous scholars and science and technology studies (STS) have taught us that lesson.

TWO STORIES OF ENGAGING WITH SIEIDIES

The first story is of an encounter with *Onnegeađgi* that occurred some years ago. We two authors and a number of other scholars were visiting one of the Sámi communities for an academic workshop. We were invited for a Sunday walk. This was, at the same time, an ordinary Sunday walk with friends and also 'research'. Three of the participants were scholars who are concerned about the decolonizing of the academy, the two authors of this chapter were also participants and so was the STS scholar John Law with whom we have collaborated with in the past. Below is what academic method calls 'a field note' of this Sunday walk.

> Walking toward Muvravárri, we stopped by a resting place on the path. We could sit on logs, or we could use them to stand on them to get a better view of the landscape surrounding us. There was also, with the logs, a round circle of stones perfect for a camp fire. Someone (there were no signs or no notes saying who) had taken responsibility for leaving chopped wood and there was a small plastic bag on a branch nearby, in which there were dry matches and dried bark to make it easy to start a fire. This is not found at most camp sites in the North.

> "Can we go closer?" John asked quietly, before approaching the sieidi named Onnegeađgi. All of us just stood silently a respectful distance away before walking closer, fumbling with our bodies and relations toward each other on how to behave respectfully toward the sacred Sámi rock. No instructions were given by our hosts. How should we relate to Onnegeađgi? We needed to figure it out, each individually. We take different tacks, each of us drawing on our previous experience of 'power places', the experience of the place as powerful in some way being shared.

> Walking around the rock – Clockwise or the other way? How close? Does the rock itself offer instructions on how to approach? We find cracks, and small pocket-like formations in which there are pieces of reindeer-horn and other objects taken from nature.

Onnegeađgi is located on trails to the winter pastures of a number of Sámi siidas. Oral stories told about this particular sieidi tell of the Sámi siida moving over this mountain, and leaving different pieces of equipment under the stone. In the spring, when they returned, they greeted and talked to the stone as a person. They would take a glass of liquor, giving the stone one and saying: "this is to you, take a glass with us." Another story tells of an archaeologist who came here a number of years ago to map the site. The range of items left around the sieidi was, at that time, more complex and diverse. The archaeologist removed the items offered to the stone over the years. They have never been returned. People talk about this and worry about new scholar visitors, regret telling the scientist the stories and the location of the stone. The stone is, even so, flagged on maps, and also marked by a signpost that points out trails and directions from the road. It is now storied here and becomes a participant in what happens next in academic research and local story.

We (the authors) searched for stones in old books. We found the following story told to Qvigstad (1928).

> If you walk north from Roggilvaggis/Roggildalen, the first river you come to is called Favrisjokka, and then you come to a river divided called Onne-tsjattsa, and a rock called Onnegeađgi. There is a crevice in the rock and there are many horns, coins and other things there. These are objects that people sacrificed to the rock. When Aslak Loggje walked towards the summer pasture and reached Girjegaisa, he would dress up and lower his voice when passing. When he from Roggil passed by on the trails towards summer pasture, he would dress up and ask every person following his ráidu (caravan of reindeer) to do the same. Then he went to the Onnegeađgi, respectfully greeted it and gave the rock the gift of liquid. The dogs were not permitted to bark when the herd was taken into the fence. If they did even so, snow and ice would fall from the mountain that is bent together. If dogs bark, ice will fall and kill the animals. (Qvigstad 1928, p.514–515).

We need to find a way to imagine what we think of as 'the re-domestication of humans by rocks', so that we can deal with the forgotten-ness of the sieidi and nurture a means for the sieidi as a stone and stories of experiencing it as the stone that it is. Sieidis are ontologically multiple, and each 'clot' of such ontological multiplicity is unique. Every sieidi is particular, and in being particular,

each is subject to what can be imagined as an ontological politics, what it *is* for differing between different knowledge communities.

This objective requires us to search for a way to connect and also separate 'the natural-social rocks' of modernity that feature in cultural heritage institutional practices and discourses. These are the 'experiential-sublime rocks' of the Sámi institutional practices and discourses. We want to find a way for the rocks to be simultaneously multiple and differentially singular, by inventing a governance tradition that simultaneously enacts differing 'doings' of dissensus and (enough) consensus for government. Achieving this is likely to be complex, messy, and complicated, and involve inventing new institution and governance traditions.

The second story comes from the summer of 2016 and grows out of an experience of Britt. A guided walk is arranged to the sieidi Rikkagallo every year at the festival Isogaisa. Britt signed up for the walk through contacting the guide Eirik, introducing herself as someone who grew up in the area. She also asked for permission to participate based on her research interest. They asked her to meet up with them where the walk would start from.

When Britt arrived, Eirik and other members of his family were waiting in the parking lot for the other participants, who were arriving by bus from the Isogaisa camp. He handed out a three page folder that introduced the walk and how to behave when approaching the sieidi. He also asked Britt to stay close to him and translate what he said into English along the way. He informed the group of around 30 of the multiple backgrounds and language skills of those participating, advised them to use the two hour walk to prepare for the encounter with the sieidi, and to think about what they wanted to leave behind, an offering or a concern that had brought them on this journey. The first page of the folder told a story noted by Carl Schøyen (1977/1918):

> Right in the valley where the people, reindeer and dog trails were, the nomadic 'Lapps' sacrificed offerings to big stones deeply embedded in the soil. Stones that had never been touched by human iron-tools, and were rough and untouched by God's hand. Vuoitas-gallo, the anointed stone, stands in Budalsskaret close to the water drain. Tall and frightening, and surrounded by the cold from the springs that fall in the shadow of the mountain. The accursed stone Rikkagallo is, however, different. It dwells heavily, resting and open in its own valley close to the north of Harvečokka. There are other sacrificial stones and the

nomads rested in our landscape with these, splattered them with reindeer blood, and brought animals antlers and other gifts to the stones, begging the God in the stone to give them luck, prosperity and good fortune (reindeer luck) on the summer trails. These stones also had an outreached hearing capacity, allowing the Lapps to call upon the stone from miles away and from out in the sea-mountains. Turning to the east and joiking (chanting) to these stones, would strengthen their capacity and the prosperity of their herd.

We started walking along the narrow path into the valley. After ten minutes' walk, we approached 'Ordførerstein'. The name was given to the stone after an event during the depression in the 1930s. National emergency work programs had been established, and road building was one of the tools the program used in the North. In Fossbakken, money was used to build a road into Stormyra. The mayor of Lavangen at that time, Lorents K, came to inspect the road construction. The following story of this event is told on the Digitalmuseum national portal:

> The people of Fossbakken were, then as now, a welcoming people. They had dressed for the sour cream porridge, coffee and cakes that were to be served to the guests and the workers, near the old sacrificial stone. Since then the stone in the community has been named the *Ordførerstein* or the stone of the Mayor (Teigland, 2014).

Eirik took a moment to introduce the walkers to his own story and his relationship to the land we were walking on and the stones we were approaching. His ancestors came from a long line of nomadic Sámi from the tundra of Jukkasjärvi, Pajala and Kiruna, now on the Swedish side. They followed the animals from the tundra in the east to the summer pasture in the sea country or *mearrasápmi* in the west. There were noaidis from 1500 onwards in his kin lines. Rasu Rasteče was one such. He was both a chief and noaidi, respected and feared. If someone directed a dark intention towards him, then this rebounded and acted upon the sender. He carried out sacrificial acts for the siedi and received sacrifice animals in return. These animals were different from the other animals. They could not be inherited and when the owner died, these animals would return to the place from whence they came. Places nobody knew of. 'When Rasu sensed that his time was out, he sat by the fire

waiting for the Reindeer of Death to come for him (Brynn & Brunvoll, 2011, p.39). He spoke to his kin: "The future will be demanding for my people. For this reason, you need to give up the nomadic life and settle in the land west by the sea". There they would be safe for all time. They did this, and we are many descendants living by the sea. He also told us that there was a sorrow inside him for not speaking Sámi. He elaborates on this statement in the book, by adding that as a child, he embodied a blockage to understanding Sámi. This was connected to that we, as children, had to take on the totality of a Norwegian identity. The Sámi language had no value among the public. I became an adult based upon a normal mainstream North Norwegian identity. The divines in my body can best be articulated as to be – or not to be – a Sámi'" (Brynn & Brunvoll 2011, p.43–44).

The walk continued, after this introduction, into the valley. The path was narrow, stony and muddy, and people without good waterproof boots struggled. We took several breaks to wait for the inexperienced mountain walkers. We needed to stay together as a group, Eirik said, and take care of our fellow walkers. Three eagles came down from the mountain, circling above us, before leaving. Eirik nodded. This was a good sign.

After two hours of walking, the Rikkagallo appeared before us. In an open valley, surrounded by spiky mountains that are marked on maps using both Sámi and Norwegian names: Siskkitčokka, Basserarri/Rivtind and Muohtačokkka/ Snøtind. Two of Erik's relatives were lying in the moss around the sparkling fire. A spring came up from the soil not far from the sieidi, clear water flowing over the stone. The sun reflected upon the small cave under the waterfall, glimmering pearls of light sparkling off the ground. Water was falling down the rock faces. We drank from hands made into drinking cups. Cold and fresh, as only water from the mountain feels when it enters the mouth before flowing into the body. One of the participant told us that the water had a healing capacity. When he got cancer, he came here to drink. This helped him to fight the sickness of his body. He followed this up by telling a story from some years ago. There were stories that the military troops operating in the nearby heavily militarized community were going to use the stone as target practice. A man ran all the way to Rikkagallo and, standing in front of the stone, told them that they would have to take him out first if they wanted to blow up the stone. They withdrew and the location was then after this officially protected as a heritage site. We were informed how to approach Rikkagallo in the folder we were given. 'At the sacrificial stone, we will hold a ceremony in

which we call upon the energies of the four directions of heaven, mother earth and the universe. Then we will all walk towards the stone and place the gift we brought into the cleft of the stone'.

GOVERNMENTAL AND LOCAL POLITICS OF RECONCILIATION IN NORWAY

The Norwegian Parliament on the 20 June 2017, made the decision to establish a commission to investigate the politics of norwegianization and the injustice inflicted upon the Sámi, Kven and Norwegianfinns in Norway. It was stated in the debate held in Parliament, that the main objective of the commission must be to establish a common understanding of the history. It was proposed that the Canadian commission could be used as a model in the scoping of the commission.

Stanton (2017) argues;

> The term "reconciliation" in the transitional justice literature is problematic in the Canadian context, since it implies that the parties were once whole, experienced a rift, and now must be made whole again. In colonial settings such as Canada, this is not the case. The relationship between Indigenous and settler peoples in Canada was one of nations encountering nations, where one gradually oppressed and marginalized the other. Indigenous peoples never agreed to the denial of their sovereignty, cultures or identities. Indeed, as noted by Chief Justice McLachlin in Haida Nation: "Put simply, Canada's Aboriginal peoples were here when Europeans came, and were never conquered." Yet this statement by the Chief Justice is not representative of how the larger Canadian population views their history, and nor does it ultimately ground the Court's conception of reconciliation (Stanton, 2017, p.40).

The Sámi Parliament stated that reconciliation, strengthened mutual trust, and a renewal of relationships between the Sámi, the Kven and the Norwegian Society should be achieved in a process built upon respect, acceptance, recognition and international law. Acceptance, acknowledgement and reconciliation not only applies to the relationships between the Sámi, Kven and Norwegians, but also to the acceptance and recognition of that assimilation had different effects on different communities, families and persons.

The Norwegian and Sámi Parliament statements differ in interesting ways. The Norwegian Parliament envisioned a common understanding of the past. The Sámi Parliament states a need to accept that multiple differences exist between the indigenous Sámi, national minority Kven, and majority Norwegian populations. The Sámi Parliament also strongly believes that there is a need to recognize differences within the Sámi and Kven communities, and that colonial politics had different effects. We propose that this divergence between the statements not only points to ethnopolitical differences, but also to ontological differences (Verran & Christie, 2011; Blaser, 2009). Considering differences to be ontological recognizes the need to make translations, to elaborate workarounds, and protocols. This, furthermore, proposes dialogue as negotiation, in which both sides commit to being changed, actively disagreeing on some issues while agreeing on others. The preparatory meetings focussed on creating a space in which stories can be told, and in which truth can 'at last' be articulated in public. A number of the speakers who participated in the meeting claimed that this was important to them. It also meant that they came to these meetings to tell untold stories that were a part of their family past, and present in the time of assimilation.

We have argued that the local practice of telling the truth relates to an earnestness and seriousness about the present. This is a practice that asks participants, both the teller and those present in and within the story, to slow down and be in the rhythm of this moment and what it can tell. This is part of reconciliation in practice. There is also a need to address local engagement in reconciliation events, and to pursue reconciliation as a governmental political project. It is all too tempting to see history as a series of defining moments and critical events that need to be mapped or retold for reconciliation to occur. Remembrance transforms maps, polities, and worldviews. Many often declare, in the aftermath of this, that nothing will ever be the same again. Yet we need to rethink history. Only past events that are continually transmuted into myth appropriate the past, and in doing so revise the way the past appears to us. We are, even so, alive to the ways in which the present, replete with its own preoccupations, struggles, and interests, revises the way we see the past.

What should we therefore epistemically make of our stories of journeying, being in the presence of rocks, and then finding and reading stories of these rocks in old books? We want to find a way to deal with the oblivion suffered by many of these rocks of the north. Stories are in part told to bring forth knowledge from the past. They however involve more than this. Sieidies, Sámi

secret stones and their stories, make evident the existence of the land of dormant reciprocity. We therefore present our stories of sieidies as examples of the many storied experiences that recall the stone's being as part of the Sámi land. We enact respect and care in recognizing other stories and of how they have, in other times, healed land, animals and people. The stories seem banal. However, letting the banality interrupt the insistence of these storied experiences is what unlearning privilege and staying with the ontological trouble is.

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WESTERNISATION-INDIGENISATION IN SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION AND PRACTICE: UNDERSTANDING INDIGENISATION IN INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL WORK

BY SOMNOMA VALERIE OUEDRAOGO AND BARBARA WEDLER

ABSTRACT

International social work is about thinking globally when acting locally and vice-versa. Most of all, it is a field that requires acknowledging differences and a 'welcoming' of theories and practice models of one's own singularity (cultural, political, economic) for direction in understanding social work. These context- and population-specific approaches build the core identity of the social work profession. However, limited opportunity for these specific approaches, along with knowledge and skill gaps, underscore International Social Work post-secondary curriculum on a global scale. Thus, the authors are centrally concerned with conducting a research-informed study to strengthen International Social Work courses. In this article, the authors outline the development of Indigenisation theory and offer ways of thinking and interacting with social work concepts and methodologies in an International Social Work teaching and learning context. This article offers a pragmatic approach of considering a dialectic of Westernisation-Indigenisation, to connect the local and the global as well as the North and the South by aiming to develop the concept of Indigenisation in International Social Work. Through a tri-continental partnership (Europe, North America, Africa), the authors outline their current and future plans to create a research study to develop curriculum and conduct field work, to focus efforts on decolonizing social work practice and education. This partnership offers a two-directional relationship between global thinking and local acting, therefore modelling Indigenisation theory and its application on an international scale.

INTRODUCTION

International Social Work was a term first used in 1928 that contextualized social work theory and practice within emerging trends in globalization. International Social Work encompasses scientific, economic, social, and environmental aspects of the profession that address policy, social justice and migration issues, as well as global social problems and international professional organizations of social work practice focused on the development of human rights. International social work practice includes comparative and global perspectives on each area of social work expertise and concern. Among these are the inability to care for the complex needs of children, individuals, families, and communities; poverty; cultural conflicts; and racial, ethnic, scientific, economic, social, and environmental oppression.

Decades ago, studies in International Social Work was a great knowledge gain for the profession (Healy, 1995). These studies reinforced the profession's beliefs and ethics of international human rights values for the profession itself and for the vulnerable and marginalized people of our society. Thanks to such studies, social work instructors, students, and practitioners learn and compare social work in different countries across the world (from the 'Global North' to 'Global South'), to nurture their inquiry about commonalities and differences in regard to social issues such as immigration and refugee work, poverty, addiction, and child and family welfare.

Current International Social Work practice tends to focus on cooperation for knowledge transfer and sharing professional experiences (Healy, 2002). However, this trend still follows colonial pathways. In Africa, for example, the development of social work is encouraged. Ironically, the training and education of African social workers continues the western knowledge and practice methods that mostly involve western faculties and expert staff (Kreitzer, 2012). Through the efforts of colleagues around the world, non-western methods, which have been used successfully since 1960 to fight poverty, unemployment, and hunger, are being attempted transferred into the western education and practice of social work (Lucas, 2013). When addressing the topic of International Social Work in the social work community, questions arise from reflection and debates about Imperialism, Universality, or Indigenisation (Gray, 2005; Midgley, 1981). Young scientists who are interested in this field of research (as we are as well), ask if there are any contradictions in the action

of social work at this point. How can the challenges be identified or maintained with regard to communities, individuals, or families, if there is actual background knowledge on Indigenisation, for example? Practical work and theories of Social Work should be produced simultaneously through global networks of social work conferences, theories, and educational programs. At this time, it needs to be asked, which international globalization trends can be built up with this process?

THE CONCEPT OF INDIGENISATION IN INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL WORK

In this article, we will use the concept of Indigenisation, which has evolved from dialogues in the field of International Social Work, and will develop it further. The focus of our considerations are the global developments in the South, along with their local knowledge, theories, and practices. These developments should be integrated into western social work. The aim for the profession is to obtain a legitimation of this concept for a globalized social work.

The concept of Indigenisation is mainly found in research and literature in African social work (Mupedziswa, 2001; Osei Hwedie, 1996; Walton & Abo El Nasr, 1988). It means a kind of adaptation, a process in which ideas, methods, and practices are adapted to local contexts. Added to this is the existing local knowledge and Indigenous resources, such as relationships and networks. Background, traditions, history, and values should also be understood along with ways to utilize them. In 1971, the Fifth United Nations International Survey used the debate on Indigenisation to argue the issue of relevance and inappropriateness of 'westernised' social work theories in other societies' programs (UN, 1971; Ugiagbe, 2015). Indigenisation therefore is characterized by the pertinence of social work and refers to a colonized process of adapting 'imported' ideas to fit local needs (Mupedziswa & Sinkamba, 2014).

From a postcolonial approach, Indigenisation is about the decolonialization of social work. The process of this inquiry demands consciousness of a colonized 'mind' when developing social work's concepts and practices informed with socio-cultural, economical, political and environmental realities. This means an explicit awareness about social work in a context- and population-specific area that is leading the current practice of social work to a disconnect (from historical, cultural, and social relations) or ability to discover our ways of thinking and interrelationships with the world (Smith, 1999; Thiong'o, 1994).

Indigenisation stands for a term that represents these different levels of separations (linguistic, historical, and social ways of thinking and relating to the world), in which the latest social work is operating. The current way of thinking and acting in social work is still too often legitimized by a 'West to the Rest' working attitude. Seeking to 'internationalize' and 'standardize' the profession (Akimoto, 2008) is jeopardizing the main relevance of International social work, which is the acknowledgement of differences in embracing the Indigenisation concept and strength-based approach by reflecting the 'client as expert perspective' in the development of the profession itself. Since these clients often become disconnected from context and populations, they are "people who have been subjected to colonialization and loss of sovereignty" (Smith, 1999, p.7). However, the clients seek to identify and maintain their particularities (worldview, language, ways of knowing) to reinforce the connectedness to their cultural, economical, and political context when utilizing social work services (Chitekereka, 2009). Rather than a total rejection of westernised social work heritage, social work education and practice in Global South-North discourse is looking for strength-based answers, practice, and theoretical models that will legitimate Indigenisation's values and ethics. By using an International social work perspective to develop the concept of Indigenisation, we will consider the dialectic of Westernisation-Indigenisation to connect the local and global as well as the North and South.

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS – AN INTEGRATED APPROACH TO INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL WORK

When thinking about methods in the profession of social work, we recognize the development of knowledge, skills, and abilities that will affect International social work tasks and activities. Cox and Pawar (2013) define International social work as the following:

> The promotion of social work education and practice globally and locally, with the purpose of building a truly integrated international profession that reflects social work's capacity to respond appropriately and effectively, in education and practice terms, to the various global challenges that are having a significant impact on the well-being of large sections of the world's population. (Cox & Pawar 2013, p.29–30)

Cox and Pawar are thinking globally (context), based on human rights (values), in an ecological way (human-nature relationships) and want to empower social development (guide to action). These four interlinked perspectives are characterized by International social work as a so-called "integrated perspective approach" (Cox & Pawar, 2013, p.30). According to the authors, each of the four perspectives above has an individual dimension, but at the same time they should be considered together. They also form the basis for our collaborative project between Germany, Canada, and Burkina Faso.

We support this integrated way of thinking and doing social work within an International social work field, that articulates the appropriateness and effectiveness of social work responses to the world's population. Therefore, we recommend connecting the local acting and the global thinking as well as the North and South in seeking to develop a concept of Indigenisation. This integrated theoretical and methodological perspective seems promising to our research study, because it helps us expose the dialectic Westernisation-Indigenisation in approaching Indigenisation as a global community movement named "Indigenousness" (Escárcega, 2010). Acknowledging this perspective in our study prompts us to question the appropriateness and efficiency of the scientific, practice-oriented discipline of social work education.

DEVELOPMENT OF A RESEARCH QUESTION

The number of international students taking social work training in western universities is increasing (Chowa, Danso, & Sherradan, 2007). It is impossible to go through this experience without a continuous reflective attitude (particularly intellectual in my case) towards identifying oneself with social work theories and practices. Unfortunately, many social workers around the globe are taught to think and do social work at a distance from and even against their own 'culture' (e.g., lacking a sense of local circumstances, language, collective memories, and histories). They seem to be disconnected from their own ways of thinking and relating to the world.

When Ouedraogo began developing a course on International social work for MacEwan School of Social Work, she came across the use of the integrated-perspective approach of Cox and Pawar (2013) in considering, learning, and teaching International social work as both a concept and practice of social work. Coming across this insight opens the possibility for her to inquire about

non-westernised ways of knowing and doing social work. Moreover, it allows her to explore the reproduction of westernised knowledge domination and power imbalance in regard to non-westernised ways of knowing (Ouedraogo, 2014). By developing a concept of Indigenisation in International social work, our collaborative project about Westernisation-Indigenisation aims to answer the following research question: What can social work in Germany and Canada learn from social work in Burkina Faso?

DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLLABORATIVE PROJECT

In 2017, we began the first phase of our collaborative project by launching a seminar titled "International Social Work" in order to develop an epistemological understanding of International social work in the context of Germany and Canada. In critical appraisal, students questioned the accuracy and accountability of the contemporary social work education they were receiving and practicing. In conclusion, the students emphasized that the "colonization in the head" (Straub, 2016), which is observable as a concomitant of globalization in social work, has led to student demand for more courses on international influences on social work.

Based on a research-informed teaching approach, this project will involve faculty and students from the University of Mittweida (Germany) and MacEwan University (Canada) as well as social work professionals in Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso).

MAIN IDEAS OF OUR COLLABORATIVE PROJECT — INDIGENISATION IN INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL WORK CURRICULUM

The majority of our project is related to the seminar course titled "International Social Work." In preparation of designing a research study, we decided to look at International social work as a promotion of social work education and the global and local practices in Germany, Canada, and Burkina Faso. The study will focus on the Westernisation-Indigenisation process of social work in these countries.

The main learning outcome of this collaborative project is to develop a concept of Indigenisation. In theory and practice, Indigenisation should shape

sustainable thinking and action in social work. Thus, we intend to study the following questions: How is the concept of Indigenisation created? How does participating in this activity flow into the concept of Indigenisation? How does this result in a learning outcome? By addressing these questions, we can develop a module at the end of this project as part of an International Social Work course that focuses on the following questions: What are the specialties in terms of social work in an international context? What opportunities for learning arise from this module?

INTENTION OF THE COLLABORATIVE PROJECT

When considering social work in a global context, the clarification of key concepts is a general requirement to creating transparency about content and understanding. With a changed view of the world and the global context of local problems, a change of language usage also has begun. Industrial nations and developing countries are increasingly becoming the Global South and the Global North. Behind these terms are various social, political, and economic positions. Likewise, these also include various experiences with colonialism and exploitation. Even if a large geographical orientation is associated with North and South, these terms are less a definition than a dynamic framework that requires individual consideration of countries and Indigenous peoples at different levels. According to the Human Development Report (2016), Germany and Canada are assigned to the Global North and considered to be high developed countries; whereas, Burkina Faso is assigned to the Global South and considered to be the fourth lowest developed country.

Thus, the purpose of this project is to bring students in contact with research and transnational experiences to develop knowledge, skills, and abilities related to the international influences of globalization. These experiences are the driving forces in the development of the social work profession. Our idea is to reverse the flow of the collaboration, by first exploring the Indigenisation process in Canada and Germany to develop an understanding of Indigenisation in a 'Global North' context. Then we will open up a dialogue about social work in Burkina Faso. The idea behind this approach is to learn about Social Work education and practice, as well as to explore the place, role, and meaning of Indigenisation in a 'Global South' context.

Students will be involved in data collection and analysis, study tours, field placement in partner countries, and presentations to research showcases. These studies and long-term partnerships will connect students with topics they will likely experience in their future working experience. Participating social work students will be better positioned to understand International social work holistically, and participate in critical, meaningful dialogue surrounding the limitations of western knowledge, skills, and values that inform contemporary social work training and practice in an increasing globalized worldview.

THREE PHASES OF THE COLLABORATIVE PROJECT

The first phase of the project was the analysis of social work developments in Europe and North America. This process was accompanied by a review of literature, lectures, and seminars on Indigenisation in an International social work context. This phase has already taken place at MacEwan University in Edmonton (Canada) and at the University of Applied Sciences in Mittweida (Germany). During the second phase of the project, which is still in development, an epistemological understanding and practice of Indigenisation in International Social Work will be compared in the context of Germany and Canada. Innovative in this perspective is to explore Indigenisation in a Global North context to focus more on special features and opportunities that will result through this research-informed teaching approach under consideration.

Field work in the third country, Burkina Faso, will take place during the third phase, to examine Indigenisation through the knowledge, skills, and abilities (in curricula and practice) in social work within an African context. Students, educators and practitioners in Burkina Faso will be involved in the development of the International social work course as guest lecturers, to share experiences, knowledge, skills, and case studies from their context. At the end of the third phase, the findings and analysis of our collaborative study will be developed in preparation for a book publication by the participating faculties.

It is our hope to build further collaboration between Burkina Faso, Canada, and Germany, which will permit further research-informed teaching in International social work courses or seminars. This partnership will also support field work, study tours, and field placements occurring in three continents: Africa, Europe, and North America. This means that we are interested

in bringing research and teaching together as a key to inquiry-based learning. Due to the relevance of social work in an international context, the authors set themselves the goal of developing a module and later a degree course in International social work at the three participating universities, situated in three separate continents.

INTERNATIONALIZATION OF SOCIAL WORK SEMINAR AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MITTWEIDA (GERMANY)

From September 2016 to February 2017, the "Internationalization of Social Work" seminar addressed the developments of social work in relation to local political developments in Germany. In view of global problems and local differences, as we articulated in the previous section of this chapter, a first seminar was offered as a kind of "test run" at the University of Applied Sciences in Mittweida. As part of the module "Social Work Discourses" in the master's program "Social Work," a topic entitled "Indigenisation in Social Work" was offered and discussed. The aim of this topic was to develop an epistemological understanding of International social work in the context of the two countries Burkina Faso and the Federal Republic of Germany. The choice fell on the two countries for this first study program, because the North – South problematic could be exemplified.

By the end of the seminar, students were expected to recognize and evaluate the national challenges of social work in the context of international developments. The cooperation between the three countries and continents will therefore lead to a critical examination of Indigenisation in International social work.

SEMINAR CONTENT

The "Internationalization of Social Work" seminar focused on international influences on the national-state dimension of social action (Friesenhahn, 2002) and on Straub's (2016) perspective of "colonialisation in the mind" that can be observed as an accompaniment to globalization in social work. Indigenous approaches described as "Indigenisation in the Social Work of the Global South" to help, support, and heal have been increasingly forgotten in the focus

of professional work. With the "Internationalization of Social Work" seminar, international topics in social work were addressed and discussed in the context of a specific background (Canada-North America, Burkina Faso-West Africa, as well as Federal Republic of Germany-Central Europe):

- Internationalization of social work on a global scale
- Involvement of "pre-professional" approaches in the development of professions
- Social Work of the South and the North / West
- Indigenised and Indigenous social work
- Westernization-Indigenisation in social work

This content was compiled from the perspective of the respective countries and compared through professional discourses.

SEMINAR DELIVERY

In the seminars, students were encouraged through readings, class discussions, and group work to look at social issues from the perspective of others (people, professionals, countries) and to develop an understanding of the specific situations of social work in other countries and continents. At the same time, critical analyses of Indigenous approaches were examined in intersection with classical social work through readings, in-class discussions, group work, and lecturing.

Based on the results of Bertelsmann's (2016) study, "Globalization Fear or Value Conflict?," a research report on the perception of globalization from EU-citizens, a thesis that globalization processes also influence social work, was introduced to initiate an *in-class discussion*. This activity was supported by *lecturing* that emphasized how social work in the three selected countries were impacted by globalization. In small *group work*, the students collected information on the (social) political situation of the respective countries and, thanks also to the media exchange with colleagues from the respective countries, compiled an overview of the status of social work as a profession. Generally speaking, the result of the discussions, lecturing, and group work was a shift in perspective from the negative consequences (imperialistic expansion of

social work profession) to the positive aspects of globalization, especially Indigenisation as a common local characteristic when considering a global definition of social work. Through discussions, students voiced how local Indigenous communities and peoples are responding to changes through their own discussions and memories about how they experience the disconnect of the social work profession from their own worldviews.

SEMINAR KEY INSIGHTS

During students' critical inquiry process, they examined how social work is taught and practiced. There were three main reflection points: (1) Local Indigenous communities respond promptly to the standardised way of thinking and doing social work in calling for more context (historical, social, economical, political, cultural) around ways of thinking and doing social work. (2) This call to action can be a useful complement and even a professional shift to the technocratic and neo-liberal approach in European, 'westernised,' social work. (3) In considering this shift in Germany, the Sorbs were identified as an Indigenous group that might lead or be representative of this call to focus on the local and be connected to the global.

In terms of content, students conducted literature research to present during the seminar. They developed three main themes from their literature research: (1) The national development of social work (especially in the USA and pre- and post-war Germany). Students explored the establishment of international organizations or umbrella organizations of social work and the "colonization" of social work. (2) The generalization of social work. Students addressed the dimensions of Westernization and Global Ethics in International social work. (3) The global definition of social work to understand definitions of International social work. Students nourished their inquiry by focusing on diversity, structures, political dimension, social work science as practice-oriented science, culture as construct, and Indigenous knowledge in International social work.

Students completed individual preliminary work on the three main themes by preparing two questions, each of which was discussed in groups. The first question explored the universality of social work theories (to what extent are the theories of social work universal?), and the second question focused on

Indigenous approaches such as "healing" and "development." The latter topic, in particular, points to meaningful developments within social work and global issues. "Healing" shows the extension or improvement of social, cultural, political, economical, community-related, and self-related humility as well as intercultural knowledge, skills, and relationship building among the seminar participants. Through the critical examination of readings, in-class discussions, and group work, students identified resiliency and identity as key dimensions of "healing" (Sautermeister, 2018). In fact, "healing" was a process within this collaboration (group work), community of learners (in-class discussions), and sense-making (readings and lecturing). The healing process created a common ground for students to recognize that others from their point of view can be extended to the recognition of the 'Indigenisation' (local) into the 'International Social Work' (global). The focus on self-healing, thanks to a close connection to nature and community in the sense of collective memories, worldviews, and histories (Thiong'o, 1994), was named in the seminar reflection as an important "aha" effect. Equally important was the evolving issue of Indigenous resources in the immediate area and relationship proximity (in Saxony), and the question of why the knowledge of Indigenous peoples was ignored and forgotten. At the end of the seminar, students described the open discussion as a call to greater attention to Indigenous approaches and an opportunity to counter neoliberal developments with the evolving stance of openness.

As the seminar focused on international influences on the nation-state dimension of social action, we observed both individual and collective insights: (1) A student reported his experiences from the insight gained through the individual work and group discussions on Westernisation. He reflected on the local knowledge of social workers regarding social work methods in parallel to his role as an expert with western knowledge. (2) In dealing with the concept of Indigenous identity, a student reflected more broadly on the dimension of Indigenisation and acknowledged the presence of Indigenous peoples in Europe, and even near the university's location, the Sorbs. (3) Through discussion on social work in Africa, especially in Burkina Faso, students jointly created the main research question: How can Indigenous knowledge and traditions enrich the education and practice of social work at the University of Applied Sciences in Mittweida?

SEMINAR EVALUATION

The evaluation of the seminar produced two main findings. On the one hand, the semester length was considered far too short for this topic. The various theories could only be outlined and sometimes only named. On the other hand, this seminar broadened their perspective of Indigenous peoples, Indigenous knowledge, and the various forms of their exclusion and oppression.

Unfortunately, within the confines of one semester, only the understanding of social work which can be 'globally thought' and 'locally acted' could be expanded upon. But the "test run" seminar awoke students' curiosity to inquire more on Indigenisation in social work in the International social work context and to experiment the transferability of ideas and knowledge developed during the semester. We observed that the desire for something new, for these other facets of basic social work, also resulted in students proactively asking for a mandatory course on International social work at the Faculty of Social Work at the University of Applied Sciences of Mittweida.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL WORK COURSE AT MACEWAN UNIVERSITY (CANADA)

MacEwan University's School of Social Work is located in Edmonton, Alberta. MacEwan University as a whole is located on the traditional territories of the people of the Treaty 6 region in Central Alberta, which is called Amiskwaciy Waskahikan or Beaver Hill House in Nehiyawewin (Cree). This is the traditional home of the Nehiyaw (Cree) and Michif (Métis), and a meeting place for many Indigenous peoples including the Nakawe (Saulteaux), Siksika (Blackfoot), Nakota Sioux (Stoney), and other nations. We assume this makes MacEwan University a meaningful place to initiate our collaborative project. This part of the project will explore social work education and practice in Burkina Faso and from there, an inquiry as to how social work in the 'Global North' can learn from social work in the 'Global South.'

After offering a two-year diploma program for 40 years, the School of Social Work responded to the province's needs and expanded (since September 2016) to a Bachelor's degree with a focus on Indigenous ways of knowing, Sustainability, and Internationalisation as new challenges for social work edu-

cation and practice. This particular degree takes into account the influences of national and international trends within its curriculum. Concretely, this means building the curriculum around Canadian Indigenous ways of knowing and international issues that influence training and practice. Canada is a nation on a journey of reconciliation with its Indigenous heritage, and reinforcing its hospitality in regard to a growing immigrant population to better the country's demographic and economic growth.

Social Work in Canada is therefore recognizing people "who have been subjected to colonialization and loss of sovereignty" (Smith, 1999). These are people who experience *internal colonialization,* are *Indigenous peoples,* and are the original people of the Americas, including people who have been labelled by various governments as American Indian, Native Hawaiian, First Nations, Inuit, Aboriginal, and Métis (Tamburro, 2013). There are also those who share a collective memory of *external colonization*; they are new Canadians (immigrants and refugees) from African backgrounds representing the generation of settlers who came after the first main known from French and British background.

COURSE CONTEXT

The course on International Social Work, which is still in the development process, will provide students with a comprehensive introduction to International social work and integrated perspectives approaches (Cox & Pawar, 2013) that blend globalization, human rights, and ecological and social development theories. Under the main themes of globalization, it will cover theories underpinning International social work history and the current realities of the global profession: global ethics; global policy by exploring international social work practice with particular attention to health and mental health; children and families; urban Indigenous people; social and environmental sustainability; and community work in local, national, and international settings.

PROPOSED COURSE CONTENT

The content of this course will focus on the challenges that nations across the world face in improving the lives of their citizens given current economic,

social, political, and environmental circumstances. The course will identify the diverse strategies and skills that social workers across the world are using collaboratively to build a model of practice. The course will be offered in six-block classes in a blended format (online and in-class). The following themes will be addressed in the course content to cover the 13 weeks required:

- History, values, beliefs, and goals of International social work practice
- Global North, Global South, Global, and International
- Contextualizing International social work practice
- Theoretical perspectives in international social work practice (modernization, globalization, internationalization, transnationalism, multiculturalism, interculturality, universality, social development, and sustainable development)
- Human rights, social justice, and social change
- The United Nations and Non-Governmental Organizations
- Work and families in the context of globalization
- Children, women, immigrants, and Indigenous issues
- Social Relief International
- International social service organizations
- Social work education and social work practice (country specific)
- International field placements

The course will explore ways in which micro and macro skills can be integrated via a social and sustainable development model for interventions in international settings. A major focus will be on the enhancement of knowledge and skills, in order to better comprehend the development, implementation, and evaluation of International social work practice. We will attempt to reverse the flow of knowledge from "developing" ('Global South') to "developed" or ('Global North') nations by incorporating readings, group discussions, individual research and presentations, and case studies that will enhance collaborative learning between and within the students from the three continents involved in the collaborative teaching and research project.

Like we attempted in Germany, we aim for this course to be offered at an undergraduate level of social work to explore critical analyses of Indigenous approaches, while also examining the intersection to classical social work. At the end of the course, students will be able to recognize and evaluate the national challenges of social work in the context of international develop-

ments. The cooperation between the three countries and continents will there-fore lead to a critical examination on Indigenisation in social work, as well as the development of a module on Indigenisation in the International social work context to complete International social work Module in the Schools of Social Work in the three countries.

TOWARDS A MUTUAL LEARNING APPROACH THROUGH TEACHING AND RESEARCH

In this section we are tying back our perspective of a mutual learning to the proposed research question: What can social work in Germany and Canada learn from social work in Burkina Faso?

In Germany, there is a general and comprehensive document called the "Qualifications Framework Social Work – Version 6.0" (Schäfer & Bartosch, 2016). This document describes formal aspects and competencies for the study of social work while also underlining the attitude, personality, and application of theoretical knowledge in social work practice. It is considered to be the basis for promoting a "sense of action, judgment and critical reflection" to social work in general (Schäfer & Bartosch, 2016, p.14).

This general qualification document opens up the opportunity to look at social work globally within a local context. An example of Europe-wide changes in the education and research process is the Bologna Process, which is a view of social work expanding towards an international dimension (Lutz & Wagner, 2009). There is also the case of social work education and practice in Africa which, without denying its colonial heritage vis à vis its education curricula and practice, is looking after this connectedness to this postcolonial context (Osei-Hwedie, 1993). Social work is a science and profession that can influence social, political, and economic processes in global developments, because social work gives a voice to those who cannot rise for themselves (Lutz & Wagner, 2009, p.9). For example, in Burkina Faso or Canada, students, researchers, educators, and practitioners not only come together during the learning process, but also bring with them other ways of life, problem-solving strategies, life experiences, forms of coexistence, etc. Together, they are forced to deal with the new and the "own" in teaching and learning social work.

We assume that our project represents what Lutz and Wagner (2009) describe as the point of development for social work as both a science and a

profession. Learning from the South (to resume the next phase of our project) therefore means first being able to reflect on oneself and to see the close and covert entanglement in one's own ways of knowing and doing social work (Rehklau & Lutz, 2009, p.52). From our perspective regarding indigenisation in the international social work context, one's view of one's self is sharpened if one looks at another and it turns out that there is not the social work. Since international comparisons show that the forms of social work in the 'Global South,' as in Burkina Faso, are often colonial-structural in nature, recent efforts have been made to decode these outdated concepts and initiate autochthonous development (Schnurer, 2008).

Therefore, an exchange at the level of practical experience is unproblematic due to the official language of French in Burkina Faso and English in Edmonton, Canada, which allows actual practice in Burkina Faso and also in Canada. If exchange of practice supplements the doctrine, it is possible to experience differences between the Global South and the North, to nurture our thoughts and inquiries during the project implementation. Mutual recognition and respect for each other are more likely to develop together, to enhance teaching and learning in a mutual exchange: "Developments on the autonomy. . .the recognition of the other, of the good life and the chances of realization. . .can be combined under the term of indigenisation, which grew out of the independent discourses in these countries [of the Global South]" (Ruhklau & Lutz, 2009, p.42).

Our field work and local research in Burkina Faso will help us explore and understand the indigenisation processes, which will then be applied to social work education and practice. This combination of teaching and practice as a research-informed teaching exercise, will also promote the research process to understand the forces of the indigenisation process in the Global North (Germany-Canada) as well as exploring and understanding local research with regard to indigenous processes in Burkina Faso. Our exercise can support all three countries in their own understanding of their social work education and practice (articulate the particularities of the local) and reinforce their interconnectedness (be aware about the specificities of the global). Our grassroots work will lay a foundation for networks that meet local conditions and integrate teaching and research taking place globally, for example, by incorporating indigenous ways of knowing and teaching materials. In such a teaching and learning situation, a joint (mutual) research activity is conceivable (Ruhklau & Lutz, 2009).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT:

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RETHINKING RESEARCH IN SOUTH SÁMI COMMUNITIES

BY ANNE MOE AND MARIANNE HEDLUND

ABSTRACT

In this article, we address methodological issues of conducting research in South Sámi communities. These communities belong to indigenous areas of the Norwegian and Swedish territory state and have been less explored in research. South Sámi people mostly live as a minority group in their communities. They may represent an alternative societal perspective and mobilize on other grounds than Norwegians in these settings. It is consequently necessary to be cautious when carrying out this research. In this article, we discuss a previous research project 'South Sámi and welfare services' (Hedlund & Moe, 2000; 2010) that we conducted from a methodological point of view. The aim is to discuss how rethinking the methodology of this research project and similar projects, allows different types of knowledge and insight to be gained. In this article we discuss how an institutional ethnographic methodology may allow researchers to elaborate systematic knowledge on how South Sámi, as social subjects, act and interact with their environments and everyday life problematics. We argue that such an approach can reveal how dominant structures of the privileged majority population in these communities, influence and try to mainstream the everyday life practice of South Sámi people. We also discuss the role of research carried out in South Sámi communities and any colonising gaze that can appear if researchers belong to a majority and privileged group. What research strategies could be used to minimize this gaze and make the indigenous people's critical voices towards the dominant society rise to the surface?

INTRODUCTION

In this article, we use our experience from a previous research project, 'South Sámi and welfare services' (Hedlund & Moe, 2000; 2010), to reflect critically on the use of methodology in this type of project. The aim of this project was to study how public welfare services could be made more accessible to the culture and needs of the southern Sámi people who use the services. Our aim in this article is, however, to rethink the methodology of the research design used for collecting and analysing data in South Sámi communities. We ask the following questions: Which methodological choices do we need to make in this type of research? What type of power structures occur and what strategies can minimize any colonial gaze of researchers as representatives of the majority population, upon South Sámi people as minorities? The article is structured in the following way. We first introduce the South Sámi and the context. Then we present decolonisation and institutional ethnography as a possible methodological approach, and then finally discuss the impact of this on research approaches and any possible danger of carrying out research that brings forward colonisation as an unintended result.

The background for the research project described in this article is the position of Sámi in the development of Norwegian welfare state services and the position of indigenous people in Norway. Norwegian authorities have, since the mid-1990s, proclaimed the political goal that every citizen should have equal access to public health and social services, regardless of geographical, social and age-related differences. This goal was finally concretised, after a long process, in a specialised health and social plan for Sámi (NOU, 1995:6). The plan aimed to fulfil the obligations stipulated by ILO convention 169 on indigenous and tribal peoples' rights. This convention states that the Sámi are an indigenous people with their own culture and traditions. The research however shows that, despite this plan, that problems arose in the 1990s with language, with a lack of understanding and good support networks that take into account culture and traditions in public services aimed at the Sápmi landscape in Norway, in Sweden and in Finland (Daerga, Sjölander, Jacobsson, & Edin-Liljegren, 2012; Nystad, Melhus, & Lund, 2008; Heikkilä, 2016). There is little knowledge in Norway about the status of the welfare services offered to the South Sámi population.

We emphasise that (in relation to the arguments presented in this article), the south part of Sápmi is less explored and researched than the northern part. The south part of Sápmi extends across large areas in the middle of Norway and Sweden. The population is, however, small, approximately 2,000 people in Norway and Sweden. The density of the South Sámi population is therefore very low (Johanson, 2006; Saeminj Sitje, 2018). South Sámi culture and language are related to and partly depend on reindeer herding, which a large proportion of the South Sámi people are involved in (Johanson, 2006).

Research on Sámi issues in the south is therefore highly needed. The small population, however, means it is methodologically and scientifically challenging. Norway has always contained multicultural communities of indigenous peoples. Attention to cultural sensitivity in welfare services and occupations has, however, only recently arisen as an issue, as it also has in modern migration and immigration in society (Governmental White Paper [St. Meld.] no 13 (2011–2012)). Greater focus on culture, including cultural understandings and competences, is today required by practitioners in the welfare state service, to ensure help and services are more accessible and appropriate to Sámi people.

THE RESEARCH PROJECT: SOUTH SÁMI AND WELFARE STATE SERVICES

The research project 'South Sámi and welfare services' (Hedlund and Moe, 2000; 2010) was financed by the Sámi Parliament, and aimed to explore experiences of encounters between South Sámi people and social and health workers. The research was carried out to gain knowledge on how the services could be better adjusted to the needs stemming from South Sámi culture and traditions. Data was gathered through a qualitative design, relying on qualitative interviews with service providers and South Sámi. We used two separate interview guides, one for the welfare professionals and one for South Sámi users of the services. The interview guides contained questions on the interviewees' professional or personal situations and experiences of encounters. Some thematic questions were the same for service providers and users. Users were in particular asked about experiences and cultural accessibility when in contact with the welfare state services.

The sample consisted of eight South Sámi interviewees and eight service providers. We also interviewed three key-informants with long and profound experience of the interaction between South Sámi people and public services.

The sample was recruited through the snowball method, interviewees helping us find others to interview. The South Sámi were 25–70 years of age, some married, others single. All eight health and social workers were employed in two municipalities and had experience in providing services to the South Sámi people. The sample lived in five different small municipalities, the South Sámi people being a significant minority in these municipalities. Participants gave their informed consent to collect the data in the study and the study was approved by the Norwegian Social Science Data Service.

Some interviewees were active in the reindeer husbandry. Others had careers linked to this industry. Reindeer husbandry as an industry, culture and way of life is unique both nationally and internationally, but originated in Norway within the Sámi population. Today Sámi reindeer husbandry is mainly conducted in mountain pastures and rangelands in the northernmost counties of Norway, these being Finnmark, Troms, Nordland and North Trøndelag. It is also conducted in parts of South Trøndelag, Møre and Romsdal and Hedmark in Mid-Norway (Ministry of Agriculture and Food, 2019). South Sámi reindeer husbandry has kept its importance, even though the majority of South Sámi work in other industries. They, even so, strongly identify with reindeer husbandry through family and through holding on to the Sámi landscape as an element of South Sámi culture (Jernsletten, 2010).

The research project was presented orally and in writing to the Sámi Parliament (Hedlund & Moe, 2000). The aim of the project was to provide a better knowledge base for adapted welfare services to South Sámi.

A new project was also initiated to develop the welfare service in South Sámi communities. This project focussed on disseminating knowledge from the research project to public authorities and welfare state service providers. Dissemination was through workshops, conferences and meetings in South Sámi communities. A network of health and social workers of South Sámi people was also established in this region, based on the results of the research project.

PARTICULAR CHALLENGES IN SOUTH SÁPMI

The south part of Sápmi includes the areas south of Saltfjellet in Norway and the corresponding geographic areas in Sweden. South-Sámi culture and traditions are here primarily visible in inland Norway. This area, both in Norway and Sweden, is where the Sámi population traditionally spoke the South Sámi

language, a language that was as early as 1993 listed by UNESCO as severely endangered, because no or few children were learning the language. There has been a revitalisation of efforts in recent years to keep the language alive (Ministry of Work and Integration (AI), 2009). Three municipalities in the South Sámi area have been incorporated as Sámi administrative language areas. This imposes on the municipalities the obligation to recognize the Sámi language as being equal to the Norwegian language (Sámi Parliament, 2019). The language and culture of South Sámi was established a very long time ago, the right to learn South Sámi as a subject in school being one of the most important measures in revitalising the Sámi language (Todal, 2005). The endangered situation of the language played an important role in bringing about a change in attitude towards the South Sámi language by South Sámi people (Steinfjell, 2014).

The South Sámi area extends across a large area in the middle of Norway and Sweden. It extends from Hedmark County in the south, to part of Nordland County in the north. Municipalities such as Røros, Snåsa, and Hattfjelldal are considered to be core South Sámi areas (Johansen, 2006; Mathisen, Carlsson & Sletterod, 2017). In Sweden, the South Sámi area includes Västerbotten County, Jämtland County and parts of Härjedalen and Dalarna County. The South Sámi population are a minority in the core areas of South Sápmi in both Norway and Sweden.

The South Sámi have traditionally pursued a variety of livelihoods. Free-grazing reindeer and semi-nomadic reindeer husbandry has been important both traditionally and in modern times to the South Sámi (Morris, 2009; Johansen, 2006). A total of 504 people were directly involved in reindeer herding in 2012, according to Hilmo & Mæhlum (2012). A higher proportion in South Sàpmi are involved in reindeer husbandry (57 %,), than in the north (22 %) in 2012 (Hilmo & Mæhlum, 2012). Reindeer husbandry is a small industry at the national and regional scale, both in Norway and Sweden. The South Sámi culture is, however, considered to rest on the traditions of the semi-nomadic reindeer husbandry, this industry having played and still playing an important financial and cultural role. The reindeer husbandry industry is also recognised by the government and covered by Norwegian legislation. According to Norwegian Reindeer administrative legislation (Gauslaa, 2005), sustainable reindeer husbandry should be provided to the Sámi culture, the tradition and custom benefiting the reindeer population itself and society as a whole. Norway has, unlike Sweden, ratified the ILO 169 convention (ILO, 169). The Sámi in South Sápmi nevertheless experience many conflicts between reindeer

husbandries and farmers (regarding pastures) and also between the Sámi and the government authority that regulates predator species (Fjellheim, 2013).

Differences between the contextual characteristics of the Northern and Southern Sápmi mean that there are differences in identity between the two (Mathisen, Carlsson, & Sletterod, 2017). A common identity marker for 'belonging' in South Sápmi is, irrespective of this, the connection with reindeer husbandry. For some, reindeer husbandry articulates being a 'true Sámi' (Blix, Hamran, & Normann, 2013); a cultural basis for the lifeworld of Sámi identity. Reindeer husbandry and its relation to the landscape, culture and nature historically continue to keep specific rights and a focus, as stipulated by the Norwegian constitution. This entails territorial use and rights that distinguish Sámi from Norwegians, which contributes to the formation of a collective Sámi identity (Johansen, 2006). Research shows the importance of this industry to the safeguarding of Sámi culture in South Sápmi, and to young people's choice of education, vocation and residency, and their wish to attend to family activities and traditions in these areas (Mathisen et. al., 2017).

THE HISTORICAL SINS OF RESEARCH AND CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES

The exposure of Sámi in South Sápmi to research, may bring to the fore bad memories of racial and biological suppression. Earlier research in this landscape, such as skull measuring by scientists during the 1930s and 1940s to study the South Sámi population, may have left deep and wounding scars. South Sámi people were also exposed some years later to scientific methods in the measurement of radiation in the body and in food after the Chernobyl incident in the 1980s. Reindeer meat is a traditional part of the South Sápmi diet. The South Sápmi was therefore one of the areas at risk of sickness and ill health. This incident affected the wellbeing of South Sámi people for years to come (Furberg, Evengård, & Nilsson, 2011; Heiervang, Mednick, Sundet & Rund, 2011). All this, and also climate change, increased tourism and other activities on the indigenous land of South Sámi, combine with the forces of discrimination and colonisation, to bring to the fore bad collective memories of what research can do to people in South Sápmi.

We argue elsewhere how this makes research in South Sápmi complex. Precautions must be taken if researchers are part of the Norwegian majority

group and the research target group is the South Sámi minority group (Hedlund & Moe, 2010). Relating to indigenous people and being of indigenous descent can, according to Sehlin MacNeil (2015), create hindrances in any research context. She argues that certain precautions must be taken if research projects in which researchers and participants are of different ethnic groups, are to be successful. The research design must ensure that indigenous peoples are active participants, and have control over the issues that are relevant to indigenous peoples. The researcher and the participants must therefore work closely together throughout the research process, the hopes and fears of both must, through this, be discussed and brought to the surface. An indigenous approach to research should consider the majority's former policies of colonialism, imperialism and oppressive structures over indigenous people. An indigenous approach can ensure that the voices of indigenous people and the important contextualising concepts of the community and its nature are heard (Smith, 1999; Chilisia, 2011).

So how did we approach this in the research project? We knew that the welfare services provided to South Sámi could be influenced by the effects of the Norwegianization processes. These effects include discrimination, patronisation, and colonisation and could appear when developing 'respectable' services for the Sámi in South Sápmi. This is because welfare service methods usually are adapted to the majority populations, and to the contexts and cultures that represent the majority community (Gray, Coates, & Bird, 2008). Practices and services adapted to indigenous peoples and minorities were therefore still needed. We also knew that the worldview of South Sámi contained strong lines of demarcation, including being 'different' from Norwegians. South Sámi culture also holds collective memories of historical discrimination from Norwegianization or colonial politics and policy (Hedlund & Moe, 2010). We, however, did not take fully into account the important issue of identification. Modern societies provide better opportunities for individuals to define their own identity. Decades of colonial Norwegian policies have, however, led many Sámi to conceal their Sámi background and present themselves as Norwegian (Bjørklund, 2016). There is still no public record of who is Sámi beyond the Sámi census, which is not available to researchers (Pettersen & Brustad, 2013). Being Sámi can today be understood to be a feeling of belonging. For some, this is something that is only expressed in certain cultural spheres. For others, it may involve social interactions in which Sámi cultural competence dominates, such as in some core Sámi areas. There is therefore an on-going

discussion on whether Sámi identity is defined through self-identification, or by an essential definition based on biological criteria (Bjørklund, 2016).

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON DECOLONISATION AND REALITY

The research project focused on the issues of interaction in welfare services between non Sámi origin providers and those of South Sámi origin, and how power mechanics and dynamics were involved in the interactions (Hedlund & Moe, 2010). Norwegians historically exerted a dominant ideology and suppressive policies upon the Sámi, neglecting indigenous culture, priorities and differences. This created Sámi as a non-issue or what is called a 'structured absence' (Morley & Chen, 1996). These policies operated, for example, to assimilate Sámi people through education programmes and through institutions that forced them to adopt Norwegian language and culture, this erasing Sámi traditions, language and way of living. Both the church and state education system were active arenas for Norweganisation policy. The Norweganisation policy towards Sámi should represent a former historical phase of public policy in Norway. We, however, stated in the research that this still could cause on-going suppression and dominance by Norwegians when providing welfare services to Sámi (Hedlund & Moe, 2010). Nevertheless, we did not take fully into account the implications of Sámi as an underprivileged group. According to Smith (1999), underprivileged groups and categories in society may represent alternative societal perspectives, and may mobilise based on other grounds than those of a privileged group. We did not consider this aspect when carrying out our analysis in the research project. If we had, we would have known that Sámi may ontologically have a different worldview of the reality of representing an underprivileged group than that defined by the privileged groups. The worldviews of Norwegians and Sámi may conflict. We should therefore have approached this issue more systematically. The recognition of such conflicting views may, methodologically, call for a particularly sensitive epistemology in research, according to Kuokkanen (2010). It is therefore important to act as responsible academics towards indigenous epistemes.

Kuokkanen (2010) claims that researchers should recognise their responsibility when collecting data, interpreting and analysing, and when discussing results. Researchers should know that 'blind spots' are likely if the research does not seek to dismantle oppressive, hegemonic structures in society (Kuok-

kanen, 2010). Researchers should also be aware that this may lead to superficial analysis and a continuation of implying colonial perspectives. An alternative strategy could be that academics critically examine their worldview and how it informs the interpretation process and the worldview of those investigated. This is a part of doing the homework, according to Kuokkonen (2010, p.61):

> Calling for the responsibility of the academy to do its homework pertaining to indigenous epistemes is part of the larger project of shifting the attention from common institutional approaches seeking to mainstream and "acclimatize" indigenous students to the culture and convention of academy to investigating the role of the academy with regard to other and its own foundational epistemes in its production and politics of knowledge.

From this we can learn that any researcher, whether they have an indigenous background or not, should reflect more on these issues and their own ontological and epistemological position when conducting research. Kuokkonen (2010) suggests that it is necessary to explore multiple views on reality, and bring to the surface discrete, implicit or hidden worldviews if, that is, we are to understand the situated practice of interactions in any research project. A substantial difference in the view of the world and reality will co-exist, but may be easily kept hidden if this is not reflected upon during the research process.

We wanted, in the research project, to analyse differences of reality between South Sámi and Norwegians. We, however, approached it more as a difference in culture and understanding than an epistemological position. We did not intend to merely 'reduce' people to 'culture' when carrying out the analysis. We wanted to capture the situation and experience of the interactions and differences between South Sámi users and Norwegian health and welfare service providers. However, rethinking the methodological approach we used in the project, we can comprehend that we could more explicitly have used a methodological approach that was oriented towards capturing the differences of reality between Norwegians and South Sámi. We realise that previous conflicts relating to resources, land use, experience of racism and exploitation could lead South Sámi to experience a struggle in relation to the right of 'being Sámi'. Sámi knowledge and the experience of reality could be lost in interactions with Norwegians. Any epistemology will, in this way, not imply that it is equivalent to 'culture' when carrying out research on South Sámi and

Norwegians. Nor will it represent an epistemological turn of sophisticated techniques to claim that essentialism is the only thing that matters, nor that all ethnographic narratives are homogeneous. The epistemological viewpoint suggests, for the research project discussed here, an analytical framework for radically rethinking which is different from that we carried out methodologically.

As researchers, we should have paid more attention to the situated practice between South Sámi people and Norwegians when they gave us information about their experiences and interactions. We should have approached the data more as expressions of different life worlds, and not just different experiences and cultures. As researchers, we should have paid more attention to power asymmetries than we did. We should not only address this as we would any asymmetric relationship of the actual interaction, but as asymmetries that appear due to different worldviews and experiences, and/or based on historical events and collective memories of interactions in which people from different cultures are not treated alike.

Burman (2016) claims that the knowledge and realities from these different cultures, in modern societies and contexts in which different cultures and people are present and co-exist, are mutually formative, playing major roles in constituting each other. Burman (2016) argues that this makes people a part of power-infused dialectics of reality and knowledge/reality for generations. Colonisation therefore, according to Burman (2016), does not refer to just the material condition of one category of people taking over a geographic landscape, and of dominating and discriminating people who were originally in this geographic landscape and location. Colonisation instead refers to the process of one society of people colonializing another society, and the reality of the life world. This was a fruitful approach to research project analysis. The self-identification of Sámi people and being one people is challenged or threatened in historical epochs of colonisation. This fact could have been more actively used in the research project. We as researchers should, to allow for a more decolonising approach, have reflected more critically on how these issues interfered with and influenced the research project. We could, for example, have had a stronger focus on the impact upon the South Sámi of being empowered and using the knowledge we produced in the research project. We did ask Sámi users to speak freely about life worlds and understandings of reality when we asked interview guide questions. We also tested the research guide and questions with key informants from the South Sámi community before we carried out the interviews. We used this strategy to try to recog-

nize and incorporate knowledge from the South Sámi communities and use our knowledge from Norwegian communities that are within a similar landscape as the South Sámi. In this way, as Olsen (2016) emphasizes, we tried to avoid colonializing the minority in the first place. We could, however, have better grasped a different epistemological approach if we had used an institutional ethnographic approach and more critically used a decolonial theoretical approach in the research project.

INSTITUTIONAL ETHNOGRAPHY AS METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Institutional ethnography as a methodology could have been a rewarding alternative approach in the research project. We therefore here discuss the implications of using this approach in the research project. Smith (2005) describes institutional ethnography as a methodology for creating knowledge that is situated within individuals and their relationships.

One condition for carrying out an institutional ethnographic analysis is that people should be approached as social subjects, who actively interact with their environment and who through these interactions acquire knowledge and understanding of their everyday life. Knowledge about human life and social relations emerges by directing the research towards people's activities and actions, relationships and action chains. Such a focus also provides knowledge about the environments of everyday human activity. Researchers who undertake such work are less interested in observing and gathering data *about* humans, and more interested in observing and gathering data *for* them and *with* them. This represents a shift in the research focus, from being on people as cultural objects and their attitudes and characteristics, to what people can tell us about the activities and relationships they perform in their lives. This causes the subjects to objectively become something that creates a distinction between the researchers and the community, which is experienced as 'othering'. Transferring this to the research project, this implies that the research should try not only to study and chart social activities, but also search for information on how these social activities were coordinated into the 'reality facts' and everyday life problems. In this way we would have been able to study chains of activities that showed patterns of relationships, not only in the home and in the interactions with Norwegian welfare state service providers, but also how these activities worked elsewhere and with other people (Widerberg, 2015). In retrospect we see that such an approach would have made it possible

to analyse patterns of actions and relationships that were woven into social power structures.

Using institutional ethnography as a methodological approach would have made it possible to analyse data and rethink interpretations about situational knowledge to a greater extent than we did. This approach would also have made it possible to analyse and connect more to topics such as ethnicity, gender, class and power in our analysis.

METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES ADDRESSED IN THE STUDY

We, as researchers, knew about the long-term Norwegian politics and the suppression of indigenous people. This forms the starting point of the research project discussed here, and its original design. To learn more about this, we contacted representatives of a South Sámi cultural centre to discuss design, methods and criteria of recruitment. We also carried out interviews with key persons and tested interview guides, before starting to collect data. All key persons had a South Sámi background, and the study was met with interest and also scepticism when introduced to representatives of the South Sámi culture centre. The scepticism related to the concern of whether any ethnic Norwegian researcher could carry out a project on welfare services among South Sámi users. They questioned whether South Sámi would be able to convey their experiences to researchers who represented the majority in the community. On the other hand, we experienced interest in the research project topic and the importance of looking into these questions by skilled researchers, regardless of ethnic background. There were no skilled researchers with a background from South Sámi communities who would agree to assist with the research project. We, however, kept in touch with trained health and social service professionals during the research period, with key persons within South Sámi communities and members of the advisory board. They were not employed as or were skilled researchers, but added important value and guidance to performing the research.

The advisory board included welfare service providers with South Sámi backgrounds (recruited through the state regulatory authority for primary services in the region) and persons with particular knowledge about South Sámi culture (recruited through a southern Sámi cultural centre). Discussions held in the advisory group provided guidance on the difficulties that ethnic Norwe-

gian researchers might encounter in the implementation of the research, and how these difficulties could be met. One issue that was discussed was how to take great care and be aware of the choices made during the research process, that could cause harm or be oppressive to South Sámi. The input from the advisory group had a decisive impact on how recruitment and access to data was managed. We, as researchers, even so had to continue to own the responsibility for the choices made on research design and issues. We decided, after discussions in the research team and in the advisory board, which municipalities with South Sámi settlement were of interest. We contacted the administration in the municipalities to clarify who might be relevant to interview. We then contacted the relevant service providers directly and made appointments with them. These service providers had different positions and responsibilities within the municipal welfare services. Their experiences therefore applied to a wide range of welfare services offered to South Sámi within the municipality.

THE RESEARCHERS' POSITION

As researchers, we were responsible for fulfilling the expectations and the research mission of the funder of the research, the Sámi Parliament. We were also anxious that we did not take on a research position that was associated with previous Norwegianization processes and discrimination of South Sámi. As researchers, we instead chose to adopt a position of solidarity, which led us to be humble in our contact with our South Sámi users. We were aware that we as researchers represented the majority population, and that we were asking for input not only to the research questions, but also on the South Sámi situation in general. We therefore tried to show enthusiasm when meeting South Sámi and to demonstrate our willingness to learn, when carrying out the study. We, as researchers, therefore adopted the position of learning. A weakness of this approach could be that we did not clarify that the research project did not involve researchers from South Sámi backgrounds.

We found it useful to introduce ourselves both as Norwegians and persons with private life experiences and stories. We both experienced it useful to use our local identities as women who had grown up and lived in the same geographical locations as South Sámi settlement, and therefore had local knowledge. By revealing our family backgrounds from the same geographical areas, we asked questions that demonstrated local knowledge about locations and South Sámi settlements. One of us had personal experiences from a marriage

with a person with an indigenous background from another country. This was also introduced in the interview situation. As researchers, we learned that it was important to introduce ourselves as persons, and not only as researchers. This led to several interviewees wondering about our local knowledge and who we were. One researcher told about a childhood visit to their family, and a father who was known in the area. A South Sámi interviewee from the older generation then exclaimed: *Why didn't you say who you are?* Another said: *As I know who your father is, then it's almost like I've always known you.* In both situations, the interviewees became more talkative about their experiences with welfare services when they knew the researchers' family backgrounds. Another experience arose when telling the story of a researcher having knowledge of a country far away, in which there was a dominance of indigenous people. This made interviewees more willing to talk about their experiences. One interviewee replied: *So, you know about being different and how indigenous people think. Why didn't you say so in the first place?* Our experience was, on several occasions, that the introduction of our personal experiences was a useful way to get South Sámi persons to talk in the interviews. Nevertheless, we did not situate us as in conflict with South Sámi traditions and culture as researchers with a Norwegian background. If we had done this, then maybe we would have received other stories and data. We were told in some interviews that it was an advantage that we did not have a Sámi background, as they then could speak freely about the problems they experienced in the family or with their background without the fear of others being able to identify who they were talking about.

WHAT DID WE LEARN FROM THE CONDUCTED STUDY?

One finding of our study was that South Sámi users talked about experiences of encounters with Norwegian health and welfare service providers from a more general perspective, and did not always refer to specific encounters. They instead reported about complicated everyday lives in which they strive to maintain Sámi culture and traditions, and the lack of understanding of this among Norwegian people in general. Some talked about experiences and the importance of maintaining an attachment to reindeer husbandry. They emphasised how reindeer husbandry could be a very physically demanding occupation, and that it lacked the ability to meet the needs of a society that

did not know about this industry's conditions. Some service providers replied that they understood this. They also praised South Sámi users for not using the welfare services more than necessary and only when needed. When they sought help, users really needed help for specific and very concrete conditions. South Sámi did not address diffuse problems, according to Norwegian service providers. We ended up in our original analysis of the data describing encounters between service providers and users as being 'good' or 'bad'.

A quote from a health worker was found to illustrate a pattern in the data that relates to these 'bad' or 'good' encounters. This is a category we labelled: *South Sámi are the perfect patients*. This refers to service providers characterising South Sámi users as 'perfect', as they sought help for acute and specific health issues. This was confirmed by descriptions of South Sámi users. A 'bad' encounter would appear when South Sámi users experienced misunderstanding or lack of access to the help they required. One user shared a story describing such experiences. This took place when a husband, whose occupation was reindeer herder, told about his difficulties supporting his wife when she consulted a doctor, despite his intended to support her:

> I got told off by the doctor, who believed I [voluntarily] stayed at home. I said nothing, because I knew it was something the doctor wouldn't understand. There is no point trying to explain something that they are never going to understand.

Here the user referred to an episode in which he, due to changing weather conditions, had to go out to the mountain to herd his reindeer. If he did not, he would have risked losing the animals due to the bad weather and grazing conditions. This meant that he could not accompany his wife to the doctor, something he experienced the doctor could not understand. When we analysed this as an illustration of a 'bad' encounter, we could see that we had not dug sufficiently into the 'reality' and opposing world views of the reindeer herder and the doctor. It illustrated a far more complex interwoven power structure than the initial analysis showed it to be. The powerlessness the South Sámi user expressed was not an illustration of 'bad' encounters, in which the needs of South Sámi users where not met by a Norwegian doctor. It was an expression of the long period of Norwegian health worker lack of understanding and the development of a more collective Sámi 'pain' from suppressive Norwegianization policies that overpower Sámi traditions and culture.

If we had used a more institutional ethnographic methodology in this research project, then we probably would have assessed different data. Not just interviews, but also observations. This would have allowed us to obtain more data about complicated everyday life issues and the difficulties associated with South Sámi communities getting a voice in Norwegian society. Using an interactionist perspective in analysis, taught us that everyday life could be difficult. We did not, however, understand how these difficulties played out. If we had explored more data on everyday activities, such as who was responsible for what in the home and in reindeer husbandry, both in ordinary day-to-day life and during illness or other events, then we could have accessed a deeper knowledge on managing stress and making life valuable, despite the stresses of everyday life. The social relationships included in activities would also have emerged. Analysing everyday activities and relationships might have clarified how the structures of society were articulated in the Sámi husband having to travel to the distant mountains when his wife was sick. The regulation of grazing areas and the profitability demands of reindeer husbandry, plus the lack of support schemes, forced him to prioritize reindeer husbandry over visiting the doctor and learning what was best for his wife at home. The crucial importance of reindeer husbandry to the continuation of South Sámi culture and tradition shows how this responsibility is privatized and poses challenges in the day-to-day life of South Sámi. The distance between reindeer grazing areas, the profitability demands and size of reindeer herds, and access to home services are the result of political decisions in a society that both affect and play out in everyday activities. This information would have provided knowledge on the relationship between South Sámi's everyday lives and how the structures of society contribute or hinder cultural continuation, including how welfare services work.

The difficulties associated with maintaining South Sámi identity in old age through embracing simple cultural expressions, is another illustration of our original analysis becoming too narrow. A South Sámi interviewee with experience as a familial caregiver visitor to South Sámi residents in a municipal nursing home, told about a nursing home ignoring South Sámi culture:

> … this includes decorations, what about a coffee bag and a kettle on the wall? Something South Sámi would recognize. But no. At the nursing home it doesn't just have to be [Ethnic Norwegian] farm food and farming pictures. … Sámi must also be offered food we like and are used to, reindeer meat and bone marrow broth. This should be done.

… We must be allowed to be Sámi when we are sick too … This statement was made in association with the story of an elderly man who was frail, and had been staying in a care home. He had placed his knife under the pillow on his bed, so that it was always close by. The knife had always been a companion that he had used in many activities in everyday life, and he felt naked without it. The traditional South Sámi knife under a pillow was the subject of much discussion among caregivers in the home, who thought this should be banned in a nursing home setting.

We interpreted these descriptions as illustrations of service providers' lack of understanding and sensitivity to South Sámi practices or traditional ways of knowing. This therefore contributed to South Sámi having little opportunity to maintain traditional practices of healing and health when they were dependent on living in nursing homes. If, as researchers, we had focused on what South Sámi experienced as being difficult in their day-to-day lives, on the activities people wanted to do and how this could be solved, we would have gained more knowledge about the social reality they face and the type of dominant structure they met in encounters with Norwegian welfare service providers.

We also did not provide general descriptions and conditions of the day-to-day professional lives of service providers. We restricted ourselves to focusing on their experiences with South Sámi users. Service providers' knowledge and expertise, structural framework conditions and opportunities to provide custom services were aspects we only focused on to a small extent. When we discovered that nursing homes were characterized by the cultural dominance of Norwegians, we interpreted this to mean that caregivers showed little understanding of South Sámi culture and traditions, which in turn had a definitive impact on the design of services for South Sámi. As we discussed here, we could have interpreted this as an expression of South Sámi as victims of discrimination, with less power to fight structures of dominance of the Norwegian culture.

DISCUSSION

We argued, in the introduction to the article, for the need to rethink theoretical framework and methodology when carrying out research in South Sámi communities. All research involves the choice of a methodology. Our research into welfare services provided to the South Sámi population in Mid-Norway, was originally based on an interactionist perspective. This gave us knowledge on key issues that were relevant to understanding the interaction between South Sámi users of services and Norwegian service providers. We, however, retrospectively understand this was not the complete analysis. We therefore rethought the methodological approach, to find a methodology that would allow us to study the complex power structures involved, both in our approach and in the data and in the analysis we carried out. We in this article, through analysing the study retrospectively, critically reflect on our experiences and choices as researchers, and what we found when carry out the analysis. We realize that there is a need to rethink when carrying out this type of analysis and approach. Research must not only be reflexive about power structures and decolonisation of indigenous knowledge, but also develop strategies that avoid adding to an oppressive experience in South Sámi communities. Institutional ethnography as a methodology could provide access to more complementary data sources on everyday life, action chains and problematic social relations. If we had more closely followed up (in interviews and observations from South Sámi communities) these actions and social relationships, and the problems they cause people in day-to-day life, then we might have found out more about the realities of importance to South Sámi people and the struggle against Norwegian ontological dominance. It may have been possible to analyse how welfare services provided by Norwegians to Sámi were dominated by Norwegian culture and less open to the needs and problems of the everyday lives of South Sámi users. We, as scientists, were very aware of our identification as representatives of the majority community by South Sámi, and tried to take very great care to not behave in a patronising and/or discriminating way when collecting data. This was, however, not enough. Today we see that the chosen methodology helped us to disguise and repress hidden power relationships and social structures that affected South Sámi everyday lives and context. These are the structural conditions that govern relationships in everyday life. Here they result in a complicated and cumbersome life, with difficult access to

welfare services and a welfare service that does not take into consideration the everyday life of South Sámi culture.

Any methodology has its strengths and weaknesses. Proximity to the field of research may be an advantage in data interpretation. It may, however, also lead to 'blind spots' in the research (Wadel & Wadel, 2007). It is argued that ethnicity is important to understanding culture. It can also be argued that ethnicity is important in the choice of methodology in a research process (Heikkilä, 2016). Patton (2002) talks about the importance of situating the 'self' and thinking about one's role as a researcher in planning and conducting qualitative research. Researchers, during the planning and conducting of research and to various degrees, participate in the daily life or activities of the world that is studied. This ranges from full participation in periods, to complete observation where the researcher does not participate in any social interaction or actions in the world or reality that is studied. This is doing your 'homework' as suggested by Kuokkonen (2010). Interviews as data may not fully represent observational data. Complete observation may also not fully reveal the reality of the focus in the research. Researchers need to consider all these aspects, even when using an institutional approach and methodology. Cultural beliefs and values may, however, be hierarchical and collectivistic in research. In the research we refer to in this chapter, high levels of awareness and situating both of the researchers and the participants in the research is necessary.

The study we discuss in this article was carried out using limited resources and to deadlines. This meant that there was a limited scope to mobilize and engage South Sámi persons to participate more in different study processes. Despite these shortcomings, the study helped to ask questions about welfare services for South Sámi people and to put this on the agenda in South Sámi and Norwegian contexts. This study therefore produced knowledge about Sámi diversity in welfare and health. There are knowledge organizations in core areas of *Sápmi* in the north that are particularly concerned with questions of ethnicity, indigenous people, welfare and health. This is absent in the south. The disparity between relevant knowledge development in the north and south may also be a sign of dominance and power structures within the larger Sámi community. Future research should therefore seek to engage constructive contributors to provide knowledge, from which both the larger Sámi community and the South Sámi community can benefit.

Further lessons learned from reanalysing the methodology used in our research into welfare services for South Sámi, relate to aspects of *othering*. The

idea of *othering* represents an important aspect that extends across the use of all qualitative methods. In particular, where the intensity of the interviewer-interviewee relationship is vital to the quality of outcomes (Olsen, 2016). The notion of *othering* is of particular relevance when using institutional ethnography as a methodology. In this approach, the researcher must pay particular attention to whether he or she is an instrument. A hidden 'asymmetrical power environment' may appear between the interviewer and interviewee, which allows the researcher to make certain assumptions (and possibly misperceptions) about the interviewee. These preconceptions ultimately play a role in the final interpretations, influencing the interpretation and reporting of data. Research represents a potentially uneven power relationship in which reflexivity is essential, particularly when the goal of the research is advocacy and action for an unprivileged group. This was the case for us as researchers looking into South Sámi as welfare service users.

It is not enough for researchers to simply situate themselves and their research role when conducting this type of qualitative research. The researcher must also see and analyse themselves and the setting of the research. Participants' willingness to engage and answer the questions asked, and whether the researcher receives a thoughtfully reflexive response, may be evidence not only of whether the questions are relevant, but also represents a message about differences, power, and structural relationships. One criticism of research conducted by Norwegian people in South Sámi communities is the use of perspectives and worldviews commensurable with 'Norwegianization' discourses. They thereby fall into the loop of what Smith (1999) warns can promote an imperialistic way of understanding indigenous people and worldviews. It is crucial, as we illustrate in this article, for researchers belonging to the majority population of Norwegians to free themselves from the previous sins of their ancestors, and from the discrimination they inflicted (Gray, Coates, & Yellow Bird, 2008). The researchers must also take on board the call to 'do your homework' (Kuokkanen, 2010) to avoid the temptation to be a representative of colonial containment. Such an approach would, when applied to research in South Sámi communities, entail that the South Sámi indigenous knowledge system was utilized more in the research process and that South Sámi knowledge played a more important role in the study. Researchers must also work analytically with their own cultural competence and knowledge during the research process. Information and knowledge on different issues relating to power structures and problematic lives needs to be followed up and situ-

ated during data collection and analysis. If not, there is a risk of conducting research that 'objectifies' the reality of South Sámi and remains ignorant to the cultural and structural context. Researchers likewise need to situate their research, to find the arguments for conducting choices in research and for the consequences of these choices. Methodologies, what types of knowledge and interpretive framing inform the research, and choices of methods and procedures should be critically examined, and researchers should demonstrate reflexivity when evaluating whether the data generated is appropriate for addressing the research questions. There is often a problem in studies of ethnicity, gender, and/or minorities of whether a researcher can provide valid knowledge of 'the others' without belonging to that category themselves, or where they represent dominating and suppressive power structures. The researchers' ability to be reflexive about methodology and re-define their power position when conducting the research, is likely to be the best way of using de-colonising methodologies in such studies. We have therefore argued that different values, life worlds and realities *can* be captured and explored using interactionist perspectives to study encounters between South Sámi users and Norwegian service providers. However, such perspectives will likely continue to conceal complex power structures. Research imbued with an attitude which assumes certain power structures, proclaims an ownership to the reality in the world. It is also heavily biased toward institutional research practices embedded in the dominant culture and not in the culture and everyday life of the people being suppressed. To capture this reality and these problems, researchers must be aware of the colonising gaze that they continue to possess as researchers from a majority ethnic group, and to further justify the lifting of indigenous peoples' critical voices towards the dominant society.

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PART 4.
RESTORATION

FIRST 1000 DAYS: USING 'EMERGENCE' TO TAKE SOCIAL INNOVATION TO SCALE

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ABSTRACT

Enhancing health and wellbeing outcomes for infants is at the forefront of global Indigenous social work practice. An evidence informed international 1,000 Days movement, which focuses on nutrition during the period from conception to a child's second birthday, has been expanded by the First 1000 Days Australia model to include Indigenous holistic and cultural perspectives to support First Nation infants and their families. Developed and delivered by Indigenous peoples in Australia, Indonesia and Norway, this paper explores how the model works with the ecological theory of emergence to support parents and carers enact cultural protections for Indigenous children during the early formation of their families.

INTRODUCTION

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders are the two distinct Indigenous populations in Australia, totalling approximately one million people or 3 per cent of the total Australian population. Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander social workers are acutely aware that, since the colonisation of Australia in 1788, our people are some of the most disadvantaged in Australian society. Indigenous social workers are drawn to the field to create conditions in which our people are empowered to 'live a good life'. What differentiates non-Indigenous from Indigenous social workers is a drive to attain equality and to promote our culture as *the* protective factor for our families. In Australia, Social Work practice has become synonymous with tertiary levelled interventions, which sees many of our children removed from families because of the crisis driven nature of the work. To move from tertiary levelled interventions to preventative ones are critical; but difficult to achieve in service delivery systems that are geared toward child removal, not child protection.

First 1000 Days Australia is a strategy that is conceived and led by Indigenous people, that mobilizes community and Indigenous resources in a time specific intervention from pre conception until a child's second birthday. These one thousand days represents a time of vulnerability for the developing infant; and a period of enhanced opportunity to use culture led practices to promote family wellbeing. This is because every mother and father have a story to tell about the beginnings of their child's life. Many of them are joyful, some are heartbreaking and all of them important. Cultural determinants of health and wellbeing in an Australian context include six broad domains: connection to country; cultural beliefs and knowledge; language; family, kinship and community; expression and cultural continuity and self-determination and leadership (Salmon et. al, 2018). These cultural domains are enacted in First 1000 Days Australia through family engagement, workforce development, systemic reform, policy and programming, advocacy, knowledge exchange, Indigenous governance and leadership strategies as well as economic empowerment through the growth and support of Indigenous businesses.

This article focuses on the development and delivery of time-specific interventions that engage parents, extended families and their children through regional initiatives, across different sectors and countries. We explain why the

'lifecycle of emergence' is a core theoretical underpinning of our efforts in this, and present case studies that demonstrate how we work with local and regional areas to develop our initiatives. Finally, we highlight the lessons we have learned that garner and support success in the implementation of regional social emergence strategies, specifically those targeting Indigenous peoples.

PRIVILEGING FAMILIES IN THE FIRST 1000 DAYS

A council made up of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Elders, researchers, community members, front line workers and policy makers ensures First 1000 Days Australia is led by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and employs Indigenous methods of knowledge generation and family engagement. We support parents in identifying and achieving their aspirations, so they can address their children's needs from pre-conception to two years of age, thereby laying the best foundation for their future health and wellbeing. We privilege families as the primary and preferred site for developing and protecting culture and identity in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children and our scope of work is used to support families, organisations and communities to better prepare for and respond to the needs of their children. Founded on partnerships to promote collective impact, the model takes a multigenerational view of the family and what these generations can offer to the family to grow healthy children.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians who choose social work as a calling, acknowledge that some of us know our efforts are 'time limited' because of the realities of our profession's face-to-face work. Although there are highlights, it can sometimes feel like an unwinnable race to fill the gaps of other people's lives with band-aid solutions involving professionals, services, family and friends. In quieter moments, some of us reflect that service systems are failing our families not out of malice or intent, but from its constraints and outmoded values and methods. The social service industry in Australia was designed during the last century. In contemporary times, the industry neither reflects nor serves our families well. Despite calls for new knowledge which addresses some of the most complex issues facing our families, it is very rare investments are made in actions that catalyse innovation through cross-cultural and interdisciplinary exchange. This is why the First 1000 Days Australia

model focuses on regional strategies that foster high levels of commitment to and alignment with the vision, values, resources and infrastructure to support family strengthening before during and after the first 1000 days.

When social work was taught in the late 1980s, our practice embodied the provision of support to families who needed help sorting out finances and getting hold of basics like beds and other furniture for their homes. Of course, the families and the need are still here, but social workers will more likely refer these families to home support services which themselves are limited in what they are able to provide due to recent significant budget cuts (Coggan, 2015). The needs of our families have increased in their complexity, the length of time families experience adverse stressors are much longer in their duration and the political landscape in Australia has not been able to adequately respond to calls from Indigenous peoples to ensure the human services workforce are culturally safe, culturally relevant and culturally competent. These factors, combined with the limitations of addressing Indigenous issues in the social work curriculum, do not prepare Indigenous social workers to influence the adoption and scale of interventions that work with our families, even though there is an evidence base which demonstrates lifelong benefits for children by supporting men and women during the early formation of their families (The Lancet, 2016).

PREVENTION AS CHILD PROTECTION

At the commencement of this century, Aboriginal[1] people's experience of social work seems to be synonymous with child removal, with many claiming the profession is supporting another Stolen Generation (Smart, 2017). Indigenous social workers' decisions around child removal are simultaneously the worst part of and the one most rigorously considered. If a child needs to be removed in urgent circumstances, everything else stops until that child is safe. Removals can keep children out of harm's way, cause family's great grief and damage and cause distress to Indigenous social workers. Decisions in which removals fail families are those made when cultural safety is not understood or appreciated, the lived experiences of Indigenous peoples are not understood and the removals are done by workers invested in Euro-Western values, pedagogy and practice (Chong & Arney, 2016). Contemporary child removals need to be

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[1]   The term Aboriginal is used respectfully and is inclusive of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, Australia's two distinct Indigenous populations.

understood in the context of history, where non-Indigenous social workers perpetuated the mass removals of Aboriginal children to placements in predominantly non-Aboriginal homes (Blackstock, Trocme & Bennett, 2004).

In Australia, the rate of children in out-of-home care arrangements has doubled since the 2008 Apology to the Stolen Generation,[2] causing many to refer to this distressing state of affairs as the second 'stolen generation' (Weston, 2018). In Victoria, as many as 32 per cent of Aboriginal children needing alternative care arrangements were not placed in accordance with the Child Placement Principle 3, which urges that Aboriginal children be placed with Aboriginal carers (Commissioner for Children and Young People, 2016). It is becoming an issue of national and international concern (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2018), with leaders across community organisations and welfare groups calling for a coordinated, whole-of-community, whole-of-government approach to shift the service response from tertiary levelled interventions to prevention and early engagement with families. The Redfern Statement (National Congress of Australia's First Peoples, 2016), for example, emphasised the need for Aboriginal people to have a genuine say in their lives and the decisions that affect our peoples and communities. The Statement was backed by more than 50 organisations, a coalition that wants self-determining families, served by adequately funded agencies and calls for investments in First 1000 Days Australia (National Congress of Australia's First Peoples, 2016), a movement started by a Torres Strait Islander former social worker.

CULTURE AND KNOWLEDGE: PATTERNED RESPONSES FOSTERING RESILIENCE AND PROTECTION

First 1000 Days Australia[3] aims to strengthen resilience, innovation and aspiration in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander families, as they grow their children to know who they are, where they come from and to whom they are connected. The model is informed by the understanding that culture is the protective factor for families and the importance of strong identity, belonging,

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[2] Between 1910 and 1970, many Aboriginal children were forcibly removed from their families as a result of various government policies. The generations of children removed under these policies became known as the Stolen Generations. These policies of child removal left a legacy of trauma and loss that continues to affect Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities, families and individuals. See: https://www.australianstogether.org.au/discover/australian-history/stolen-generations for more information. Accessed 29 April 2018.

[3] See http://www.first1000daysaustralia.org.au/

and fostering opportunities for people to transform their lives and have confidence in their ability to make change and theoretical concepts that link our human experience with that of 'country'. Social innovation is fostered through the co-development of effective solutions with families, in response to their aspirations and their ideas of social progress and indigenous innovation.

> We know 'the world doesn't change one person at a time. It changes as networks of relationships form among people who discover they share a common cause and a vision of what's possible' (Wheatley & Frieze, 2006, p.1).

Our work fosters critical connections and joins together Indigenous worldviews with modern science and lived experiences. In these joint initiatives, we facilitate the process of emergence – allowing relationships, new knowledge and ways forward to emerge, rather than developing strategies, or implementation plans. This coming together is a patterned response, which strongly aligns with the nature-based principles of 'caring for country' or 'belonging to country' and other cultural determinants of health. This is because networks are the only form of organization on this planet used by living systems. These networks result from self-organisation, where individuals or species recognize their interdependence and organize in ways that support the diversity and viability of all.

> Networks create the conditions for emergence, which is how life changes. Because networks are the first stage in emergence, it is essential we understand their dynamics and how they develop into communities then systems (Wheatley & Frieze, 2006, p.1).

First 1000 Days Australia has always been positioned as a movement, rather than a program or a policy framework in which to work with families. We have not worried about critical mass, rather critical connections. We have not tried to convince large numbers of people to change; we have sought to connect with 'kindred spirits'; those like-minded others to develop the new knowledge, practices, courage and commitment that leads to broad-based change. As these networks developed into communities of practice through the establishment of working groups and event or purpose driven committees, we discovered that

separate, local efforts connect as communities of practice and a new system suddenly and surprisingly emerged at a greater level of scale. What started in an Australian context has facilitated a community of practice focused on time specific, first nations' family empowerment activities into Indonesia and Norway. Taking social innovation (First 1000 Days Australia) to scale across regions, countries and networks of countries has demonstrated the power and influence of systems that emerge rather than those interventions which are only possible through planned, incremental change. (Wheatley & Frieze, 2006, p.6).

WHY FIRST 1000 DAYS AUSTRALIA?

The internationally recognised 1,000 Days movement[4] was established to improve maternal and infant nutrition, save lives and ensure that all children have the opportunity to reach their full potential. The movement combines evidence-based medical care and social support to address the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (UN Development Programme, 2016). The first 1000 days is now widely recognised as a period of 'maximum developmental plasticity and, therefore the period with the greatest potential to affect health and wellbeing over the life course' (Moore et al., 2017, p.1).

The Lancet 2016 series, 'Advancing early child development: From science to scale', identified 10 key messages of early childhood development, including the importance of the first 1000 days (The Lancet, 2016). It underlines neuro-scientific evidence that shows the association between low socio-economic status and poverty in early childhood and poor cognitive, academic and behavioural performance later in life. Poverty decreases carers' capacity to provide stimulating cognitive learning environments for their child, which makes them less likely to be able to provide the necessary learning environment for the child to gain a good start in life (Moore et al, 2017). Despite Australia's prosperity, early intervention supports for families and babies are not always available or accessible to those families experiencing hardship (Ritte et al., 2016, p.8). Even with a decade of the 'Close the Gap' campaign[5] to redress poor health and wellbeing (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2018), too

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[4] See https://thousanddays.org/ for more information on the 1,000 Days movement internationally.
[5] The Campaign's goal is to close the health and life expectancy gap between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and non-Indigenous Australians within a generation. For more information go to: https://www.humanrights.gov.au/our-work/aboriginal-and-torres-strait-islander-social-justice/projects/close-gap-indigenous-health. Accessed 18 February 2019.

many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children are living in complex situations or at heightened risk, and unable to live in sustainable, just and healthy communities (McLachlan, Gilfillan, & Gordon, 2013).

At a time when more of our young are in need of protection (Council of Australian Governments, 2009), it is to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people we should turn. Our communities intrinsically value children and are the experts when it comes to looking after them. Cultural knowledge held by Indigenous peoples continues to evolve and contribute to the raising of strong children across the world. Without a strong connection to culture or community, however, many young people do not understand the sacred responsibility of raising future Elders. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities hold knowledge of the important connection between people's health and wellbeing and the strength of culture, and of what works and what does not work in the raising of healthy and happy families (Sydenham, 2019).

A nutrition-focused program alone does not engage with the broader, holistic and cultural perspectives of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people's health and wellbeing (National Aboriginal Community Controlled Health Organisation, 2006). The health and nutrition of men and women before conception is also important not only for pregnancy outcomes, but for the lifelong health of their children and the next generation (The Lancet, 2016). Recognising this, the University of Melbourne's Indigenous Health Equity Unit collaborated with Aboriginal organisations, community health groups, other research institutions, and government and international partners to broaden the nutrition focus of the international 1,000 Days movement and develop an Indigenous First 1000 Days Australia model. In creating this model, we needed a broader conceptual basis to redefine the first 1000 days interventions conceived of and led by Indigenous people.

IMPLEMENTING SOLUTIONS USING A 'LIFECYCLE OF EMERGENCE FRAMEWORK'

In considering the best theoretical models to underpin local and cultural solutions from pre-conception to a child's second birthday, the Lifecycle of Emergence Framework from the Berkana Institute provided the best process to facilitate the types of personal, professional and systemic transformations we were trying to achieve. Emergence is an inherently complex system construct

that acknowledges the cycles of life, death and life. As such, it aligns most closely with the holistic concepts of health and wellbeing used by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians:

> Aboriginal health means not just the physical well-being of an individual but refers to the social, emotional and cultural well-being of the whole Community in which each individual is able to achieve their full potential as a human being thereby bringing about the total well-being of their Community. It is a whole of life view and includes the cyclical concept of life-death-life (NACCHO, 2006).

The Emergence model starts with and acknowledges pioneers – those individuals, and institutions, who understand the need for change and are capable of taking steps to make it happen. The process of emergence then names these pioneering efforts in ways that others can identify with and facilitates pioneers to connect into networks of like-minded others. These networks are then nourished so they become cohesive, more integral and helpful to their members, and able to evolve into communities of practice that are self-organising and powerfully supportive within new networks.

First 1000 Days Australia is a facilitative process: we are pioneering new ways of thinking and acting, we train and support various workforces to make the transition from 'old' paradigm thinking to new processes that foster social innovation; and we develop methods and tools, group processes and practices to assist service delivery agencies and their workers commit to these new systems of open learning, which allows and celebrates family and community led engagement and to teach people how to implement cultural determinants of health and wellbeing (Pollard, 2010). These approaches are critical in a lifecycle of emergence because implementing solutions requires a focus on the underlying conditions that produce problems, rather than seeking solely to remedy the problems with which people present. Commonly called 'wicked problems' make it impossible to know the outcomes of our interventions beforehand (Brown, Harris & Russell, 2010), which means we need to implement courses of action based on our best understanding of what will make a positive difference; namely, by starting with what families are doing well. Consequently, we develop strategies that support individuals and families to identify their aspirations, then assist them to meet these, rather than focusing on their deficits and needs.

Because of this focus on aspirations not trauma, First 1000 Days Australia work needed a different conceptual model in which to work, one that begins with networks, shifts to intentional communities of practice and evolves into powerful systems capable of global influence (Wheatley & Frieze, 2006). These dynamic processes mirror those found in living systems and are capable of extending beyond geographic, political, disciplinary and cultural boundaries, and, as such, are more readily adoptable and adaptable to our circumstances. In support of this, Wheatley and Frieze (2006, p.1–2) state:

> Emergence is how life creates radical change and takes things to scale… By applying the lessons of living systems and working intentionally with emergence and its life cycle, we are demonstrating how local social innovations can be taken to scale and provide solutions to many of the world's most intractable issues.

Networks create the conditions for emergence and make it possible for people to find others engaged in similar work and take it to scale (Wheatley & Frieze, 2006). The Berkana Institute[6] has developed a four-stage model to catalyse connections as the means of achieving global-level change: a strategy that names, connects, nourishes and illuminates collective thinking and action (Wheatley & Frieze, 2006). The first stage identifies and emphasises pioneering efforts and names them as such. In the second, these pioneers are connected to others doing similar work to exchange ideas. The networks established by like-minded individuals are then nourished in the third stage, most essentially through creating opportunities for learning, sharing experiences and mobilising resources. This then facilitates a shift from individuals being part of networks into becoming communities of practice. The fourth stage illuminates these pioneering efforts through case studies and knowledge exchange processes, so that many more people learn from them.

SUPPORTING A SYSTEM OF INFLUENCE

The University of Melbourne undertook a nation-wide engagement process, hosting four national symposia. This was carried out to confirm the science of the importance of the first 1000 days in a child's life, and to determine

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6   See http://berkana.org

how an initiative focused on this time period could inform and improve current approaches to supporting families experiencing vulnerability.[7] We linked Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander families, Elders and representative organisations with scientific researchers, front-line workers (e.g. early learning educators, social workers, midwives and community workers), government policy makers, health economists and representatives from non-government organisations. The symposia revealed consensus for the importance of the first 1000 days, and the need to develop a model that communities would find appropriate and relevant.

Mapping the First 1000 Days Australia work against the Berkana Institute social emergence lifecycle, from the view of practitioners, shows how our work is both creating conditions for new ways to improve health and wellbeing outcomes during the period from pre-conception to the age of two, and developing systems of influence at a local and global scale. A commitment to the processes of emergence has facilitated us sharing our learnings with those confronted with change through structured presentations, short courses and workshops, and the reskilling of community people. First 1000 Days Australia has used this conceptual framework to support professionals and practitioners in their understanding of the impact of, and the need to change the use of, the deficit, targeted and racist language that permeates the service sector.

The emergence model has also supported the service delivery system's shift from a deficit to a strengths-based narrative of our families. We work with and across agencies in different regions to demonstrate how First 1000 Days Australia work can be used as a platform for joined up, cross-institutional and community action in regions. We also invest in media training for community people and support individuals and families, professionals and services to articulate the opportunities and experiences of those who have changed their language and their practice using our model. In doing so, we have identified and support a number of First 1000 Days Australia champions; those who recognise and mentor individuals in their community who are prepared to 'make the change', and demonstrate what is possible through innovation, being a champion and facilitating personal and systemic transformation.

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7   The reports from these Symposia are available at: http://www.first1000daysaustralia.org.au/resources.

LIFECYCLE OF EMERGENCE THEORY: WHAT FIRST 1000 DAYS AUSTRALIA DOES

First 1000 Days Australia creates pathways from old dominant systems into new systems which are geared toward supporting and actively encouraging our colleagues to change from outmoded ways of approaching early childhood development. By demonstrating the benefits of coming together, exchanging ideas, learnings and supporting each other through these transitions, we have been able to achieve policy and programming success.

STAGE 1: CREATE CHANGE-CAPABLE NETWORKS

The First Stage of Emergence is the creation of networks to promote societal change. Practitioners who use emergence as a theoretical basis need first to create coalitions, alliances and networks as the means for finding like-minded others to achieve change. First 1000 Days Australia aims for social transformation using an ecological framework to address the social and cultural determinants of health and wellbeing that affect Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. In this phase, we identify change capable individuals, networks, and professionals by offering a series of information sessions and then, for those interested; offer a two-day short course to understand both the content and the opportunity of working within the First 1000 Days Australia model. After this introductory course; we then hold regional strategy meetings to identify a calendar of events for the year; and we establish a series of committees to progress work toward achieving what is incorporated in this calendar. A Regional Implementation Manager then provides support to a series of network meetings and task-oriented events. Through these and other activities, the first stage of emergence engaged members of the community in cultural and entrepreneurial activities, facilitated cross-agency meetings, local and regional governance structures were developed and media and communications training and support was provided to people in the region who were then prepared to become part of the First 1000 Days Australia Alumni and work together to create positive change for families.

STAGE 2: SUPPORT COMMUNITIES OF PRACTICE

The second stage of emergence is the development of communities of practice made up of people invested in sharing common work. Emergence practitioners use relational communities to share what they know, support one another, and intentionally create new knowledge for their field of practice. They are communities of people who participate not only for their own needs, but to serve the needs of others. There is a shared understanding of success and a commitment to work towards achieving it.

First 1000 Days Australia generates important new knowledge that addresses some of the most complex issues facing our families and catalyses innovation through cross-cultural and interdisciplinary exchange. We invest in the development of communities of practice by embedding infant-centred practice into community leadership, agenda setting and decision making. We developed Charters and Principles that target the early years and support regional agencies to rebuild systems that are capable of responding to the aspirations of family members. The aim is to support all people engaged in this process to achieve and experience mastery. All effort is premised on the family remaining the primary and preferred site for developing and protecting culture and identity in Aboriginal children. During this phase, key cultural practices – particularly ceremonial observances during the first 1000 days – are key investments, as are language and artisan skills. So too are the achievement of family goals, which include education, employment, financial management, nutritional advice and protective factors to support children to feel happy and safe.

STAGE 3: HARNESS SYSTEMS OF INFLUENCE

The third stage of emergence is the unpredictable sudden appearance of a system that has real power and influence. Pioneering efforts that hovered at the periphery suddenly become the norm, and practices developed by courageous communities become the accepted standard. People no longer hesitate about adopting these approaches and methods and learn them easily. Policy and funding debates include the perspectives and experiences of these pioneers, who are acknowledged as wisdom keepers for their particular issue. First 1000 Days Australia has had profound policy impacts – cited in national policy documents, funding strategies, national research funds and in organizational, local, regional and national programs.

Our national impact has been because it is an evidence generative and evidence based initiative. The University of Melbourne has supported regions in their generation and use of evidence for impact. First 1000 Days Australia produces robust, applicable evidence about what works, promotes the implementation of high-impact and cost-effective programs, and enables our ability to influence the adoption and scale of such interventions. We undertake workforce development, train peer researchers, do community-led research and employ Indigenous methods of knowledge generation.

Our emerging system of influence is evident through local and regional programming, the creation of cultural programs specific to First 1000 Days Australia activities, policy production processes across all levels of government, and in research strategy and implementation. This new system of influence is focused on family aspirations and is family led, clearly an alternative to the current dominant support system that is typically hierarchical, racialised and oppressive. The current system has also been incapable of responding to Australian Aboriginal people as equal citizens with leadership skills, cultural practices and life ways that are appropriate for the entire nation (Arabena, 2018). When alternative systems of emergence start to appear, dominant systems will want to preserve themselves as they begin to decline. While First 1000 Days Australia is driving a new emerging system, it has compassion for those invested in the dominant system, which is not meeting the needs or expectations of the people they are meant to serve.

PATHWAY OF CHANGE: EVIDENCE AND TRANSFORMATION

Social work practice is based on a rights agenda in which all people have the right and responsibility to reach their full potential. The premise underlying First 1000 Days Australia is that the role of protecting children is best undertaken by a child's family – a multigenerational, non-biological and diverse model of family that includes mothers, fathers and/or care givers, grandparents and other relatives and friends. First 1000 Days Australia's strengths-based approach to working with families supports the development of family histories and cultural identity, facilitates access to Country and kin, focuses on the roles and responsibilities of fathers and mothers, encourages the use of therapeutic cultural supports, undertakes multigenerational family studies and promotes family entrepreneurship.

We use and explore Indigenous concepts of parenting to address antenatal engagement through whole-of-family, whole-of-service approaches that incorporate life skills, early learning and education to build resilient families. We emphasise the rights of children yet to be conceived (First 1000 Days Australia Council, 2017) to be born into families who have loving expectations of them, are hopeful about their future and will help them to achieve their aspirations. We are supporting families in their gaining of information on how to choose to become parents, to participate in their child's learning, and to access antenatal and early years support informed by cultural parenting that honours the role of both men and women in nurturing children. First 1000 Days Australia works with community leaders to move away from family dependence on welfare, to maximise protective factors and to support the achievement of life goals by using household planning, life coaching and mentoring. There are multiple pathways that can be used to transform the circumstances of families who experience vulnerability, many of them conceived by the families themselves.

CREATING NEW KNOWLEDGE

Terms such as evidence based or evidence informed do not fully cover the evidence-generative capabilities of First 1000 Days Australia initiatives. Evidence generated through university processes is predominantly considered to be privileged, excluding First People's knowledge systems and denying the validity of how Indigenous knowledge is generated and communicated. Emergence theory as an underpinning conceptual framework in a research-driven strategy is not without its challenges. Researchers are learning what is required to fit their research activities into an Indigenous knowledge production framework, and Indigenous peoples are learning to trust research after having been for decades the 'most researched people on the planet' (NACCHO, 2006).

To ensure that First 1000 Days Australia has a positive impact and builds a robust evidence base for the future, a systematic research program is being undertaken to generate, link and use data from across our active sites based on four overarching research objectives:

1. To understand and quantify the characteristics that lead to thriving, strong and resilient Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander families.

2. To identify the key determinants of environmental, cultural, familial, newborn and child health, and the predictors of health and wellbeing outcomes at two years of age and again at school entry.
3. To evaluate and review health and wellbeing strategies implemented through First 1000 Days Australia to ensure their alignment with the needs of families and community in real time.
4. To develop an Indigenous-led research infrastructure legacy, upon which future Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander research and researchers can build.

To facilitate research translation on this and other work from across Australia and the world. Our research to date can be found on our website, which is a catch all for social media, training courses, presentations, videos and cultural activities.

CASE STUDIES OF 'SOCIAL EMERGENCE' IN FIRST 1000 DAYS AUSTRALIA

The following case studies are examples of how we are implementing First 1000 Days Australia's regional activities, all of which follow similar preliminary engagement patterns. Our staff, either from the University of Melbourne or other agencies, Indigenous and expert content specialists, are often times invited into regions to deliver a series of workshops and, if there is interest, follow up with short courses and regional implementation workshops, and support the establishment of working groups to progress key First 1000 Days Australia activities. Some working groups engage Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander dads, provide cultural supports through Welcome Baby to Country events, or guide the undertaking of household-level surveys to understand aspirations in family groups and households.

STAGE 1: NETWORKS OF PIONEERS

More than a Landlord, Aboriginal Housing Victoria, Northern Melbourne
Recognising that the provision of safe, stable and affordable housing is the first step in building pathways to improved lives, Aboriginal Housing Victoria (AHV) developed the More than a Landlord (MTAL) program in partnership with First 1000 Days Australia. MTAL evolved from a program of

nutritional activities to a holistic life-coaching service informed by a household-level survey. This survey was developed with AHV tenant families to capture their aspirations and future needs, which were then fed back to AHV. This information led AHV to employ life coaches to engage with tenants to make plans based on their aspirations, and then to connect them with appropriate services and local programs that aligned with these goals. MTAL, which is strengths-based and focused on empowerment and self-determination, not only captured important data to inform and influence AHV housing policy decisions and service responses. It also enabled AHV to support the social and emotional wellbeing outcomes of their tenants in a holistic manner by supporting their aspirations rather than by simply dealing with their problems.

Peer research for job readiness

Peer researchers are the primary conduit for engaging families with activities carried out by both First 1000 Days Australia and the regional lead agency. Employed by the lead agency and recruited from among families residing within the regional area, peer researchers play a key role in supporting access to, engagement with and the reach of First 1000 Days Australia into the community. Peer researchers are crucial to the development of the household survey, and are trained in the survey protocol and contents, informed consent process, survey methods, survey technologies and techniques for visiting households safely. Once trained, their relationship with service providers shifts, as they are no longer interacting with agencies within the client discourse, but became active advocates for families in their community and colleagues to other community leaders. They are also engaged with Aboriginal services as decision makers, employees, sole traders and consultants. For example, two of the five peer researchers from AHV went on to be offered full-time work at AHV, one was commissioned to do artwork, and three were pursuing further education at high school or studying for a Diploma in Community Services.

STAGE 2: NOURISHING THE NETWORKS

Australian Indonesian Collaboration – Finding patterns across Indigenous populations in Australia and Indonesia

The First 1000 Days Australia team reached out to Indonesian universities in 2016 to establish connections with leading academics who were progressing similar early childhood aims: specifically, exploring strategies to prevent

non-communicable diseases (NCDs) during pregnancy and early infancy in Indonesian Indigenous communities. In both countries, the 1,000 Days movement was emerging in a variety of ways across political domains and in grassroots programs. A core project group of academics from Indonesia and Australia was established as part of larger health initiative led by the Australian–Indonesia Centre to prevent NCDs. In both countries, the project team contacted their wider networks and brought together stakeholders from services, policy, academia, non-government organisations and front-line workers in two roundtable discussions. Despite language barriers and diverse cultural and historical differences, people were able to discuss innovative concepts, approaches and learnings and raise important questions. Participants found common ground in the importance of holistic approaches to infant and child health. They agreed that the health and wellbeing of a child benefits from a foundation in pre-conception health and family planning with parents. Participants also understood the importance of policy and multisectoral coordination and collaboration.

The roundtable discussions inspired conversation and pledges for action in much wider circles, and motivated a number of Indonesian organisations, individuals and students to contact First 1000 Days Australia with requests to undertake further research together. Implementation and research projects, based on the expanded Australian model of the First 1000 Days, have now commenced in Indonesia. The Indonesian Australian collaboration of multisector partners demonstrates the impact of a movement that can emerge globally but embed itself locally in different forms, according to different community contexts.

Norway – Using Indigenous methodologies to strengthen cultural connection, language use and identity with Sámi in Norway
First 1000 Days Australia's Indigenous-led engagement methods (Ritte et al., 2016) were used to develop a series of workshops, focus groups and collaborative visits at the University of Melbourne and at the University of Tromsø in Norway between researchers, social workers and front-line workers. This network has led to the genesis of a First 1000 Days model that is applicable to Sámi families in Norway. Our initial activities in Norway incorporate Sámi community traditions, including an emphasis on extended family. Sámi grandparents, for example, are being invited, alongside professionals, to teach

Sámi languages to parents and soon-to-be parents. As such, the workshops are encouraging parents and grandparents to take on a strong role in the teaching of Sámi languages and culture to their children. As with our work in Australia, there is a strong emphasis on engaging men during the early formation of their families. A Sámi Social Worker is leading the effort across the Arctic Circle and First 1000 days work is funded by the Sámi Parliament. In 2019, the Year of Indigenous Languages, the Sámi First 1000 Days project will present their work on the 'Father Tongue' supporting men engaging with Sámi language and sharing what they learn with their babies and partners, prior to the child being born.

STAGE 3: SYSTEMS OF INFLUENCE – WHERE NEW PRACTICES BECOME THE NORM

Entrepreneurial action: Growing Indigenous business
First 1000 Days Australia facilitated a two-day short course in Townsville, a city on the north-east coast of Queensland, Australia, where Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander participants identified keen interest in business development and entrepreneurial ventures within their community. Some participants shared a business concept but were unsure how to progress beyond concept phase. They were motivated to seek business start-up and developmental support from a Queensland Government Department of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Partnerships representative, who provided additional support and information on how to start a business. First 1000 Days Australia is partnering with the Department to respond to these expressions of interest, by providing assistance and support in planning, coordinating and delivering workshops prior to Indigenous Business month, which is held in October every year. This partnership draws on the expertise of local businesses, consultants and the wider business community to ensure that local people receive the relevant support and assistance they need to expand their capacity to bring new business models to fruition. A 'IndigIdeas' event was held, in which four Indigenous businesses had the opportunity to present to a panel for a prize pool that included cash, access to mentoring and business advice. IndigIdeas is now being trademarked for licensing around Australia to support Indigenous start ups and will be expanded to operate nationally.

First 1000 Days Moreton Bay – Shifting from family crisis to family aspirations

A cross-organisational and trans-disciplinary executive group of local Elders, dieticians and representatives from early childhood services regularly meet to coordinate the development of First 1000 Days Australia initiatives with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander families living in the region. These have, so far, included BBQs and yarning circles, a Welcome Baby to Country ceremony during NAIDOC week,[8] and a month of workshops to develop family entrepreneurial activities. The development of a household survey of local Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander families led to the engagement of fourteen peer researchers with First 1000 Days Australia research activities, and they brought new ideas on how to reach and engage families and how to articulate and respond to their aspirations. Momentum in the area is growing, with both local organisations and the Queensland State Government offering support by providing funding for workshop rooms or resources for activities. These included resources for Elders to build a coolamon (an Aboriginal carrying vessel), create Gubbi Gubbi headpieces for infants, and to source kangaroo skins to give to babies at the Welcome Baby to Country ceremony. Local demand for the ceremony in the Moreton Bay area was so great that a second was held on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children's Day in August. As a result of this work, positive media stories were reported and a partnership resource was developed to support communities around Australia facilitate Welcome Baby To Country Ceremonies[9].

STAGE 4: ILLUMINATING FOR SUCCESS

It is difficult for anyone to see work based on a different paradigm. If people have noticed the work of First 1000 Days Australia, it is often characterized as an inspirational deviation from normal practice. It takes time and attention for people to see different approaches for what they are: examples of what the new world could be. First 1000 Days Australia has a website with all our publications, our training programs and conference presentations. We hold summits, host learning journeys and have built a program of activity on

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8   NAIDOC (National Aborigines and Islanders Day Observance Committee) Week is held across Australia each July to celebrate the history, culture and achievements of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. For more information go to: https://www.naidoc.org.au/about/naidoc-week.

9   The Welcome Baby to Country Resource Brochure is available from the First 1000 Days Australia website: http://www.first1000daysaustralia.org.au/sites/default/files/report_pdf/FTDA_WelcomeBaby_guidelines_FINAL.pdf

and with pioneers. First 1000 Days Australia work has been shared in local, regional, national and international forums; through social media and at community meetings. We facilitate culture led work; pioneer work with men and we develop resources on behalf of families and communities.

WHAT WE HAVE LEARNED: ESSENTIALS FOR SUCCESS

Emergence is an inherently complex-system construct. Rather than trying to create communities, what this model does is acknowledge pioneering efforts, then name them in ways that others can identify with, thereby allowing these pioneers to coalesce and connect. The First 1000 Days Australia model uses an ecological framework of social and family-based strategies and participatory research methods to provide a comprehensive, rigorous and consistent empirical evidence base. As an Indigenous-led, holistic initiative with interventions designed and implemented under the direction of community, our goal is to ensure that knowledge is returned to the community. Using social emergence as a principle and goal, we are engaging with young people and families and providing them with opportunities to strengthen their extended family and community networks according to their own aspirations.

The engagement of health care workers, community organisations and all levels of government is essential to address local and systemic-level issues contributing to the poor infant and family health in many of our communities. Additional care and support is needed to encourage service providers to act on evidence, to build their service and regional level capacity to respond to the aspirations of families, and to change their language from deficit discourse to strengths-based narrative. Regional social emergence implementers need to focus on population-level place-based approaches, capacity building and knowledge exchange, to utilise political and advocacy experience, and to support family-led solutions and enterprise as a strategy to shift welfarist thinking to deliberate and affirmative action.

In an Indigenous context, community governance is an essential ingredient of successful social emergence work, particularly when it is committed to developing networks and communities of practice informed by research, innovation and interventions. First 1000 Days Australia initiatives are led by Aboriginal regional implementation managers based at each lead agency. These managers have a key role in facilitating social emergence and work

predominantly to create networks that value the community as co-designers, co-implementers and co-knowledge translators of research and outcomes.

Lead agencies working towards establishing First 1000 Days Australia in their region are supported to build the capacity of staff and undertake a needs assessment to work out a program logic for developing and implementing First 1000 Days Australia strategies. Local governance processes determine the exact nature of appropriate, community-specific interventions and tailors capacity-building strategies to the aspirations of their community. In this way, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander families are empowered to take control of their destiny through identifying their own aspirations and strengths, and through having agency over the solutions they can utilise to meet them.

The First 1000 Days Australia model will continue to evolve with the ongoing engagement of families and the wider community in the emergence of a new system of influence. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities have been nurturing and raising strong children in culture for millennia. We are sharing the story of parenting with other First Nations people in Indonesia and Norway. We are building an evidence base informed by this culture, from which all families can benefit and give their children the best start in life.

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DECOLONISING THE CURRICULUM; DECOLONISING OURSELVES. WORKING TOWARDS RESTORATION THROUGH TEACHING, LEARNING AND PRACTICE

BY ANTONIA HENDRICK AND SUSAN YOUNG

ABSTRACT

Using the idea of 'Ally Work' as non-indigenous social work educators working predominantly with non-indigenous students, we have constructed a framework to assist our teaching and learning. The 'Ally' framework helps us to articulate some of the practices of recognition, reconciliation and restoration and to encourage their use by our non-indigenous students when they are working with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. This is part of a larger project of decolonising the curriculum in our separate institutions in Western Australia, and we illustrate these practices from our experiences inside and outside the classroom.

INTRODUCTION

We address this work directly to the concepts of recognition, reconciliation and restoration to frame the work we call 'Ally Work'. This application emerges from engagement at the Fourth Indigenous Voices Conference in Social Work held in Alta, Norway, in 2017 from which there has been interest in the practices associated with recognition, reconciliation and restoration. We acknowledge those who have gone before us, who have examined and worked with these concepts and practices, especially indigenous scholars and practitioners. We use these concepts to help us develop further the framework for our practice as social work educators

and practitioners at two different universities in Western Australia. Neither of us are indigenous people and we, along with our students, work with indigenous people, predominantly Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in Western Australia. We conceptualise this framework as ethical practice and describe how we understand its connection to the practices of recognition, reconciliation and restoration through our teaching and learning, particularly by identifying some of the outcomes we have witnessed in and outside of the classroom. We conclude with some reflections of how we consider Ally Work may help to contribute to an ongoing project of decolonisation of social work education.

ALLY WORK AS ETHICAL PRACTICE

We consider the practice of Ally Work to be informed by the inseparability of ethics as self-rule (Foucault in Bay, 2014, p.40) and a process of self-formation (Critchley in Bay, 2014, p.41). This we have framed in the following Figure 1. to illustrate the individual, relational and public action elements of Ally work which make ethical demands of us as individuals, in relationship with others and in the public societal sphere. So in this sense, this work has applicability across areas of practice not simply with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples – although the distinction and our duty is to act politically (with self-rule) to challenge broader systems of oppression since colonisation.
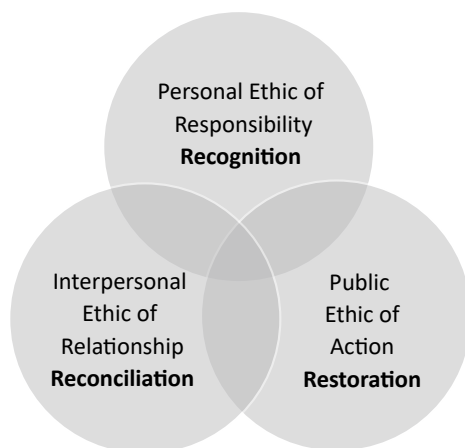

Figure 1. The ethics of Ally Work

Ethical enactment in the indigenous and colonised worlds requires that social work educators revisit previous formulations of how non-indigenous people engage with indigenous people using multiculturalist or postcolonial and/or decolonising theorising to ensure that the work that is done, is responsive to the needs and desires of indigenous people. We illustrate how we understand these ethical imperatives through an examination of conceptualisations of recognition, reconciliation and restoration.

CONCEPTUALISING RECOGNITION, RECONCILIATION AND RESTORATION FOR ALLY WORK

Recognition, reconciliation and restoration are concepts that are differentially defined and applied by authors and across contexts. Our purpose is not to examine these differences, but rather conceive of them as aspects of Ally work and ethical practice. Recognition, reconciliation and restoration, for us then, are larger than individual acts, and how individuals engage with them and their underpinning principles will contribute to their overall enactment in the public arena. Actions in the public sphere are no more than systematised or collective activities of individuals, often, but not only, imbued with formal roles, as in the case of policy making. Rather than reifying systems as somehow external to their human agents, or deflecting the personal responsibilities which should be considered in the important tasks of policy decision making and distancing them from the people making those decisions, the public sphere is a place or each of us to connect with and influence. Each of us has a role to play and these roles demand action in our individual, group, organisational and policy encounters. Hence we have conceptualised this work as the inter-linkages between the concepts as displayed above. We will provide examples of how these linkages are designed for and used in the teaching/learning environment later in the chapter. But here we present the principles underpinning them. We accept that the personal is the political and that *Recognition, Reconciliation* and *Restoration* are interconnected. We also reiterate that the policy and organisational settings are those in which individual actors occupy and act from formal roles. Our definition of Decoloniality (Hendrick & Young, 2018) following Maldonado-Torres (2016), offers us a way to expand Ally practices to examine how the project of recognition, reconciliation and restoration may be progressed as decolonial practice in teaching and learning.

RECOGNITION

Recognition is a foundational ethical principle which describes the 'process of social and political transformation that promotes a new ethics of relationality that is grounded in reparative practices of love towards the Other' (Zembylas, 2018). Citing Figueroa, Zembylas (2018) reminds us of how colonial violence dehumanises. The ethical project then includes recognition by the colonisers of the violence perpetrated against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. In a settler country such as Australia, all of us who are not indigenous benefit disproportionally from the colonising project. While we accept that identity is multifaceted, we also take the view that in Australia, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are the First Nations peoples who suffered the dispossession of their land and sovereignty on the landing of the British First Fleet. Only latterly did the fiction started then of Terra Nullius, or land belonging to no one, been reversed. But the colonial systems and structures largely remain. These are very familiar to those of us who have inherited our identities from Great Britain and we derive collective although not uniform benefits from their existence. As long as these structures and systems remain intact, even though they do not serve all people equally, especially many newcomers from culturally and linguistically diverse lands, they serve the First Nations people even less equally and equitably. As long ago as 1994 Bhabha (1994) criticised the binary of coloniser-colonised. The effects of a colonising project on a colonised people however continue, even while identities become more fluid and cultures hybrid. The complexities attendant on changing and merging identities and cultures in the context of the relationships between Australia's indigenous peoples and other Australians are themselves worthy of a separate chapter and will not be discussed here, save to note the problematics of binary allocations inherent in notions of the coloniser and the colonised. In adopting an Ally framework, we seek to apply Zembylas' principle of relationality while remaining cognisant that binaries will continue to lurk under even the most well intentioned aims.

Recognitive practice requires the individual, whether individual worker, manager or policy maker, to accept individual or personal responsibility for the following precepts: acknowledgment and adherence to ensuring that to work with indigenous knowledges, practices and culture, indigenous ownership is paramount. Permission must be sought for their use. Indigenous peoples have

the inalienable right to self-definition, and individuals need to resist appropriation, particularly of knowledge, but also of other cultural artefacts without permission. The acts of recognition include individual self-recognition, that is, the conscious investigation of and critical reflection of the 'self' who is doing the work, with its values, beliefs and experiences. Realisation of unearned privilege is a crucial step here. Relating with recognition is, among other considerations, to understand that definitions of self and the environment should not be imposed and that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have the right to define how they view their identity, their family and community structures and ways of being in the world.

Acting responsibly with recognition is to continue to advocate for inclusive or alternate policies and practices which do not, as often occurs, have the effect of exclusion. The low employment rate in certain workplaces, citing the lack of formal qualifications, is one example and a reason for the introduction of affirmative action strategies, against which, however, there continues to be opposition (see, for example Chow & Knowles, 2015). This example is illustrative here. An indigenous unit taught across practice disciplines in one of our universities, was initially taught by a local Aboriginal person, who happened to be one of very few local Aboriginal people with a PhD. When that lecturer left, the selected replacement sought was for a person, preferably Aboriginal, with a PhD. This excluded the many appropriate people with the cultural knowledge, skills and experiences who teach into the unit and support its existence in the wider community. Ultimately an indigenous lecturer took the role, but was unsupported and left some time later to work in a culturally supported academic role where there are more indigenous people. Constant attention to exclusionary, discriminatory and 'colour-blind' practices is needed. Another example is the tendency to construct indigenous people as clients only and not, say, managers. In the same unit mentioned above, some students from non-social work disciplines wondered why they were required to do the unit as they stated 'we are not going to work with Aboriginal people'. A lecturer in that unit pointed out to them that they may be working with Aboriginal people as colleagues – a proposition which surprised them.

The 1990s decade was a watershed in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander – non-indigenous relations in Australia; the recognitive process coincided with the release of the Aboriginal Deaths in Custody Report which reported on the deaths of 99 people across Australia in the 1980s. The discussion about a Treaty had concluded with the realisation that no Treaty was going to be

enacted, to the disappointment of many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples as well as the Prime Minister who championed it. The case *Mabo and others versus Queensland (2)* had been argued in the High Court to challenge the notion of Terra Nullius. Its lawyers this time were quietly confident, a confidence that was well-founded as shown by the decision the following year to reject the doctrine of Terra Nullius and accept Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' prior occupation of firstly the Mer Islands in the Torres Strait and subsequently the mainland. While a very conservative and contained decision, this was fiercely opposed at legislative and public levels, but led the way to increased Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander opportunities and inclusion. Much of this history is not known by students, to our surprise. Part of the teaching and learning activities therefore presents these events. Not only do the students themselves respond with some disbelief that they did not know this history, but also with some scepticism that it could not be as widespread or devastating as some of the works suggest. It is by listening to the lived experiences of people who had lived through that period as parents themselves or as removed children, that students start to realise the on-going effects of such events as the Stolen Generations, in which it was government policy, often enacted by social workers, to remove light-skinned children from their families in order to assimilate them into white society, a policy which has been subsequently termed 'cultural genocide' (Krieken, 1999) and a practice known as 'to smooth the dying pillow' (van den Berg, 2004, p.2). As Dudgeon and Pickett (2000, p.82) maintain 'At the very least, [reconciliation] is a reconciling to the past, which is not about just acknowledging the past history of invasion, settlement, and policies towards indigenous people, but recognising the impact of this history on indigenous people today.' Students learn directly from people who lived these experiences in person, preferably, and from podcasts and videos. This unit formed the background for the students in a later, more targeted project, which was highly valued by the small group of students who were able to participate.

Despite the many and continuing set-backs, there have been significant advances in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander – non-indigenous relations, with universities such as ours ensuring, for example and among other policy decisions, that all students are able to and in some cases required to be exposed to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledges and ways of being, doing and knowing. What this has meant in practice has been the employment and engagement, as staff and guest lecturers, of Aboriginal and Torres Strait

Islander peoples to ensure that cultural material is taught in culturally appropriate ways, even and especially when these staff do not meet the usual academic requirements for appointments.

Notwithstanding these developments, there is still an often tense and sometimes divisive policy debate as to how to recognise Australia's First Peoples. A recent example of many is the Recognise campaign, funded through the Reconciliation Council and defunded in 2017, without substantial progress towards Constitutional inclusion or even acknowledgement. How to recognise Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and their place in Australia meets fierce opposition, the likely result being that the hoped for inclusion or acknowledgement of Australia's First Peoples in the Constitution will not occur, in this generation at least.

Our ethical obligations as lecturers require that, for ourselves, we not only accept the precepts of individual responsibility for recognition, with all that entails, but that we walk alongside our students as they grapple with what recognition means in practice. Ensuring that they have the opportunities for meaningful engagement with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and that they understand what is required of them as practitioners is a course-long endeavour. To do this we try to provide a teaching and learning environment in which Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have a place and acknowledged status as expert knowledge holders; where we aspire to epistemological equality (Young, Zubrzycki, Bessarab, Green, Jones & Stratton, 2013) as best as is possible within the academy, using Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander pedagogies (Zubrzycki, Green, Jones, Stratton, Young & Bessarab, 2014) to enable students to experience and understand that knowledges and practices have cultural specificities and value; and to develop appropriate and relevant responses in their interactions with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.

RECONCILIATION

As with many others, we conceptualise *Reconciliation* as relational (Gavrielides & Artinopoulou, 2016; Lu, 2018; Nadler, 2012), rather than only in its structural form (Graeme & Mandawe, 2017). The restoration of friendly relationships, a common understanding of the term, assumes a relationship on those terms existed in the past, when for most indigenous peoples, the

practices and processes of colonisation were anything but. Another meaning refers to become accepting of one's fate, a perspective that is anathema to indigenous peoples. The advent around the world of Truth and Reconciliation Commissions brings new imperatives which require the oppressors to make some amends for the treatment meted out to those they oppressed, and includes the recognition referred to above, but at the same time requests that those oppressed peoples come to meet their oppressors half way (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 1998) – a step too far for some. Nevertheless, a reconciliatory purpose is to find ways of working together and this is the purpose in our teaching and practice.

Again, there are actions which are appropriate at individual, organisational and policy levels, the most easily recognised in Australia being the Reconciliation Council established in 2001 to replace the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation convened 10 years earlier. This process introduced the practice of Reconciliation Circles which introduced many Australians to previously unknown knowledge through structured interactions between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, and more importantly to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, even though doubts existed as to how meaningful or long lasting this engagement was (Riggs, 2005). Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people daily walk in two worlds. But they walk in the white world on our terms not theirs. Much of their experience of that world has engendered mistrust and there remains distrust and lack of human personal relationships. In one of the teaching and learning projects in one of our universities, learning to trust wadjellas (whitefellas) was a big step for one of the Elders, and to form relationships she described as friendship.

Practices of reconciliation in the classroom must redress the past. Included in, but not restricted to these practices, are the following. Attending to the lack of historical knowledge and understanding without engendering guilt and shame among the audience is one strategy. Inviting non-Indigenous students to reflect on the consequences of colonisation on people and critically reflect on not only the practical results, such as parents brought up in institutions not having learnt parenting skills for their own children, is another. Modelling relationships between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander lecturers and their non-indigenous colleagues in respectful but essentially reversed positions indicates to students that they too will need to stand in such positions with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. Ownership of knowledge and cultural authority is demonstrated as having been re-located from what pre-

viously was considered the norm. This reversal for students is important, as it indicates that the supposed 'expert' in the form of accepted Western knowledge (the Professor), is no expert in other epistemologies, but rather is repositioned as a learner. Repositioning Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples as experts also re-frames the usual pre-conception of them as only clients. Skills of communication across cultures may be demonstrated through these interactions, and importantly, also the skill of silence to closely listen and the skill of meticulous attention. We have both learnt to 'shut up and listen' from hard-won experience.

The ethical practices of reconciliation are essentially those of relationships and perhaps what Sandoval (2000) describes as 'decolonial love' to indicate non-indifference and responsibility. Maldonado-Torres (2008, p.187) invokes the notion of ally in his consideration of decolonnial love as alliances across difference. Yet not all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are willing to enter into or maintain relationships with non-indigenous people, with non-indigenous social workers in particular, or those from the academy, where there are still recollections of theft, appropriation and misrepresentation (Mulcock, 2007). Knowledge has been subjugated as well as contradictorily appropriated. Reconciliatory practice recognises that such theft, appropriation and misrepresentation has occurred and determines not to replicate it, instead committing to genuine relationships founded on trust and respect. These are not awarded lightly and we must earn them through our actions and interactions. Unlearning what we had previously taken as 'truth', seeking permission for access to knowledge, working with and not imposing external definitions of identity are all actions that are needed to be practiced. Offering to 'be' in relationships but at the same time understanding that these relationships may be refused is one of the more crucial lessons to be learned. Both Land (2015) and Bishop (2002) caution against expecting thanks for participation as an ally, noting that unity or friendship is not the goal. Indeed, actions of allies may be accepted, but ongoing relationships rejected.

RESTORATION

Closely aligned with reconciliation is the notion of restoration. As with reconciliation, *Restoration* has different conceptualisations and applications. Coupled with indigenous interests, restoration invokes an aim both to re(-)form rela-

tionships that have been severed (reconcile) and to pursue genuine invitations for inclusion and to redress injustices (Absolon, 2016). This requirement to provide redress is both present in reconciliation understandings (a main focus for the Truth and Reconciliation Commissions) but also importantly permits relationships to be created, fostered and maintained founded on the genuine acceptance of prior and continuing wrongs and the determination they shall not go un-acknowledged. A common application for redress is in relation to structural components: self rule, societal order, rights, languages, cultural processes, roles and responsibilities, land, etc. But the most common occurrence of variations of 'restoration' is used in conjunction with 'justice'. Restorative justice has its roots in indigenous traditions (Zehr, 2015, p.5), with Immarigeon & Daly (1997, p.2) linking its genesis to more widespread practice in the civil rights movements in the United States and concerns by Native and African Americans and feminists to redress imbalances in the justice system. Here we are less concerned with the specifics of restorative justice, although the principles of honouring, valuing and seeking to restore what has been displaced, are central to our work with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. However, even that purpose must be tempered by the acknowledgement that, while Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and other indigenous peoples do indeed have a right to have their ways of being, doing and knowing restored, they also should not be constructed as without agency in their own lives. There is a danger in, again, deflecting indigenous authority and capacity for their own development to that of supplicant or recipient of non-indigenous people's beneficence and good will. This somewhat reflects one of the founding realisations of critical race theory that 'the interest of blacks in achieving racial equality will be accommodated *only* when it converges with the interests of whites' (Bell, 1980, p.523 emphasis added). In our work with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, it is important for us to not impose our constructions of restoration and what that might include.

Restoration is not only giving back or redressing, and Fanon (1967) alerts us to his recurring theme of being human together as the essential ingredient. Maldonado-Torres interprets Fanon's Black Skin, White Masks, (2007, p.260) as describing restoration *as* decolonisation. Fanon's penultimate sentence is the call for what Maldonado-Torres conceptualises receptive generosity (2008), or the 'restoration of the logic of the gift' (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p.260). Fanon's own words invite reciprocity as the road to a decolonised future: 'At

the conclusion of this study, I want the world to recognize, with me, the open door of every consciousness' (Fanon, 1967, p.232).

The restorative purpose and practice, then, is where the activities and actions of recognition and reconciliation come together and where Ally Work may contribute. Restoration is present in the interpersonal as well as in the public spheres, starting for the individual as the politics of recognition. Ethical practice incorporates personal responsibilities and interpersonal relating in the public action of restoration. Being an ally is to engage in ethical essentials. These include: working with the definitions and purposes of Indigenous peoples at their direction; working on our own liberation; realising and working with the long term nature of the work; realising the importance of small actions; becoming involved in anti-racist activities; realising the importance of service and being a servant; and helping all non-Indigenous people 'pay the rent' (Land, 2015).

We now turn to the teaching and learning environment and describe some of the processes we use to try to encourage the next group of practitioners in their Ally Work.

TEACHING AND LEARNING FOR RESTORATIVE OUTCOMES

The different universities in which we teach have different approaches to presenting Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander content and materials, in order to satisfy the professional association's standards for accredited courses. In one university, there exists a stand-alone dedicated core unit on working with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. In the other a broad cross-disciplinary unit underpins and feeds into other offerings during the course. Both have their strengths and limitations, but in both, students have the opportunity to hear from and engage with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people as experts and knowledge holders.

One of the major drawbacks in presenting material to students is that there are so few Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people who are willing and have the capacity and resources to contribute to the learning of students. Most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have been touched in some way by the policies and practices of the past in what has now become known as intergenerational or transgenerational trauma (Atkinson, 2002). Reliving

past events in the classroom takes an emotional toll, which for some people is unacceptably high. Verging on voyeurism, rather than bearing witness to grief, the listening in class to others' pain can become spectatorship which itself draws emotionally on the teller. As an Indigenous person, Dion (2004, p.56) recognises the

> need for "tellings" that will disrupt the "taken for granted way of know-ing" about First Nations people that we see produced and reproduced in the school curriculum [at the same time that] … The stories reflect our (re)membered past and contribute to a discourse that affirms the humanity and agency of Aboriginal people and recognizes our work as active social agents resisting ongoing conditions of injustice.

Skill and vigilant attention is needed to tread that fine line between helping the not-knowers learn and understand and feeding the insatiability of wanting to know at the expense of the teller's mental wellbeing. Students value the testimonials, but educators need to ensure these are not produced at too great a cost.

However, the commonly stated adage 'nothing about us without us' must guide the work so that indigenous knowledge is foregrounded in all ways including in its presentation. For example, a university funded project run in one of our social work schools began with Aboriginal Elders designing, devel-oping and delivering each of its steps. Y*arning,* or storying, a common way of starting any engagement with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, is used to both model practices of engagement as well as provide the culturally safe space for Elders to share their knowledges in ways they choose. Elders in this project were very clear that they represented only the particular groups to which they belong and generalising their culture to all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander groups was inappropriate, which was another learning for the students about ownership and diversity.

An activity in one of the units at one university dedicated to learning about Social Work practice with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, is to construct a community profile. In the finding out about local Aboriginal presences, students often expressed surprise that there were Aboriginal people in places where they had neither expected or believed them to be, much less that there were significant and sacred sites in suburbia. Notions of constructed identity, and who is a 'real' Aboriginal person, coupled with contemporary

ways of being, surprised students and encouraged them to confront previous knowledge and expectations. Recognition here was of lack of knowledge of the history of policies and practices, but also the realisation that there existed in their experience an invisibility of a vibrant and continuing cultural life which shocked the students.

Lessons of recognition accrue to both non-indigenous teachers and students, for all of us are bade to look inward and recognise our own biases, seek means to address them and respond in more appropriate ways. Not only do students learn, so do the lecturers. 'A' recalls:

> The work and reflection on 'self' in this space was particularly important, challenging and very rewarding. Let me illustrate with an example. At times students and staff members would ask a question or make a comment at which I would cringe and feel a need to correct, protect and butt in to reverse what was said. The Elders, however, would gently, genuinely and warmly acknowledge the speaker, the message and connect with what was spoken in a way that the speaker was invited to consider a perspective offered from the lived experience of the Elder. This was done in such a natural way that often the lesson was for myself to pay attention to my self-righteousness. As one student said of the project at the end, "the Elders know what they want to teach us". My privileged positioning and power assigned to role of academic and project leader subliminally invokes an 'expert' knowing of something I'm not in a position to correct.

Acts of recognition also occur with knowing, learning what has not been known before, but now acknowledged as having validity and truth; the realisation of truth rather than it necessarily having previously been known. Such recognitive outcomes are themselves acknowledged by students, and ourselves, as adding to and stimulating a desire to know more, to engage in different ways and to continue a journey towards emancipation. In the words of social worker Lilla Watson:

> If you have come to help me you are wasting your time. But if your emancipation is tied to mine then let us work together (acknowledged as having various locational attribution in Young (Watson, 2004, p.118)

A Maori colleague phrases it such, citing Marley's Redemption Song:

> Emancipate yourselves from mental slavery; None but ourselves can free our minds. *(Marley, 1980)*

From recognition comes the possibilities for reconciliation. The project mentioned above enables relationships to be formed where previously there may have been hesitation on both sides, possible distrust from Aboriginal people who have not always been welcomed into academia and whose relationships with social workers have not always been constructive. Students too have not necessarily been exposed to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples as experts, but only as clients. Repositioning these relationships and engendering possibilities for trusting equal engagement is part of a reconciliatory purpose. The Elders reported that they felt respected and valued for their knowledge and sharing of culture by the ways in which staff worked with them and students responded to them. Elders were repositioned from that of Aboriginal person, to a cultural advisor and wisdom holder to be admired and respected. This being human together was a profound realisation for students.

Another unit taught at one of the universities includes school leaders as students. These managers were interested in improving their relationships with the Aboriginal families and Elders in their localities. Part of their chosen activities for the unit was therefore to design processes whereby they could consult with local people to undertake activities of importance to the Aboriginal people. Often these turned out to be Reconciliation Action Plans (RAPs) with some considerable and on-going success for the schools and the local communities.

Structural reconciliation also occurred in the above mentioned project, with the administrative structures in the university being made aware of the inequities of university systems. Elders' expertise is not academic and so does not immediately appear in the usual schedule of pay rates for work undertaken. The accounting systems also tend to work according to business procedures of monthly payment schedules. Neither of these are suited to the lives and experiences of people not in the formal and secure workforce. Advocating for changes to better acknowledge the life circumstances of the Elders resulted in changes to the university systems.

One of the critical outcomes of the project was for the Elders themselves. They reported, at the conclusion of the project, that they had gained confi-

dence in their interactions with other non-indigenous people and were more willing to initiate conversation with previously unknown people, ask questions of non-indigenous service providers such as general practitioners, and engage with students' own honest concerns without judgement or anger. Future relationships, previously not considered possible, began to become realistic. Confidence, too for the students, was increased. One student retold of approaching a stall at a festival staffed by Aboriginal people where previously discomfort would have prevented this interaction. The Elders had instilled this confidence in the student to start to pursue these types of interactions, out of which may come further relationships.

These outcomes from the opportunities offered in the teaching environment are also extended beyond into practice. One example is of a student who sought to undertake a placement in an Aboriginal agency because of the interest developed during the teaching in class. Following this successful placement, this student then enquired about undertaking a second placement in Aotearoa New Zealand specifically with indigenous people from that place. This placement too was a success, despite the student not having a background in Maori language and Treaty knowledge, expected of New Zealand students. Eventually the student was offered and accepted a position working in a Maori agency. The student found both placement agencies challenging and the work confronting but, without conceptualising it as such, epitomised what we would call Ally Work, itself recognised by the local indigenous people.

External practice may also occur while students are still students, with some returning to the classroom telling of experiences of challenging racism. One student witnessed young Aboriginal girls in a shopping centre having their bags checked by security guards, and asked whether the guards would routinely check the bags of non-Aboriginal teenagers. Another arranged a welcome to the country in a workplace, where previously this had not been done. Another told of an incident on placement where the supervisor spent more time than was expected at the home of an Aboriginal client and apologised for keeping the student after hours. The student responded with the understanding that this time was valuable in helping to build the relationships rather than meeting the deadlines set by the agency. From the learnings in class and interactions with Aboriginal people, students have been much more willing to embrace practices that acknowledge Aboriginal ways of being, doing and knowing. This bodes well for future practice.

Many students in both universities state that they want to continue to be involved, to keep up to date, to continue learning. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander colleagues tell us how impressed they are with the graduates and their engagement with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander matters, and particularly their ability to form good working relationships. We take this less as commendations of our teaching and more of the exposure we have been privileged to offer to students to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.
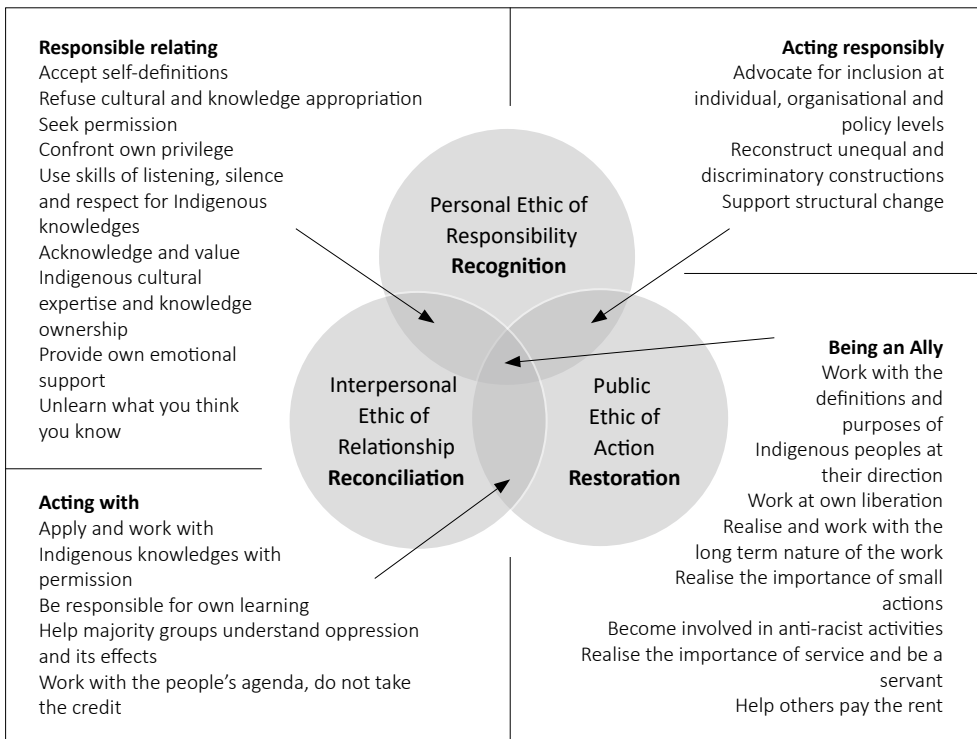
ALLY WORK IN SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION

The need for practitioners who are able to work effectively with Indigenous peoples and with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in Australia as a particular group of indigenous peoples, has been variously conceptualised as being able to be met through becoming culturally aware or sensitive (Hollinsworth, 1992), acquiring cultural competence (Herring, Spangaro, Lauw, & McNamara, 2013), providing cultural security (Downing, Kowal, & Paradies, 2011), and becoming culturally responsive (Young et. al., 2013). We add to these concepts by adapting Canadian Bishop's commendation to 'become an ally' (Bishop, 2002). Since then Land (2015), writing of the Australian experience, has discussed the dilemmas of being an ally and offered ways to resolve some of these. Both these works, as well as others, have informed our work and our framework for practice, presented here, in which we seek to be allies as well as encourage our students to develop their ways of working collaboratively and productively with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (in particular) peoples in whatever forms they consider appropriate for them.

The Ally Work framework is the latest iteration of our reflections on our practice inside and outside the social work classroom. It serves a current purpose of explaining what we do and how we consider our classroom activities, and their outcomes may serve the aims of contributing to reconciliation, in addition to also providing its theoretical underpinnings in other writing (Hendrick & Young, 2018). While this framework is a recent development, it has its genesis in experiences over some 40 and 20 years respectively, which indicate the need to attend more assiduously to what Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people were trying to tell service providers about how they wanted to be treated, pleas made through language and action, many of which were ignored or not understood. It took some years and many mistakes to fully

realise what was being communicated, and subsequent actions and statements by our students reinforced the imperative to try to be clear about what needed to be done and how. It is not claimed here that we have solved the issue of providing appropriate and relevant services to Indigenous peoples, for we have not. What we have done is to try to formulate a way that explains what we want to do and how, in order to encourage the development of more effective working in the 'third space' (Ikas & Wagner, 2008). It is this that we present to students to illustrate our work and to encourage them to frame their work in ways that is meaningful to them. Figure 2 summarises our conceptualisations of how this working in the 'third space' may be pictorially represented.

Figure 2. The practices of Ally Work

Responsible relating
Accept self-definitions
Refuse cultural and knowledge appropriation
Seek permission
Confront own privilege
Use skills of listening, silence and respect for Indigenous knowledges
Acknowledge and value Indigenous cultural expertise and knowledge ownership
Provide own emotional support
Unlearn what you think you know

Acting responsibly
Advocate for inclusion at individual, organisational and policy levels
Reconstruct unequal and discriminatory constructions
Support structural change

Personal Ethic of Responsibility
Recognition

Interpersonal Ethic of Relationship
Reconciliation

Public Ethic of Action
Restoration

Being an Ally
Work with the definitions and purposes of Indigenous peoples at their direction
Work at own liberation
Realise and work with the long term nature of the work
Realise the importance of small actions
Become involved in anti-racist activities
Realise the importance of service and be a servant
Help others pay the rent

Acting with
Apply and work with Indigenous knowledges with permission
Be responsible for own learning
Help majority groups understand oppression and its effects
Work with the people's agenda, do not take the credit

Based on the Ally Work Framework (Hendrick & Young, 2017)

We have explained above that a foundation for us is ethical practice of the self, and in relations with others both at an individual and public level. These relationships, responsibilities and actions bring together practices founded on principles that together contribute to working alongside Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in ways that draw on the skills and knowledges we possess, and on using these as resources rather than as imperatives and directives. There are some key principles, such as always seeking permission, and acknowledging the legitimacy of indigenous ways of knowing, being and doing, among others. There are also key actions and activities to be undertaken, such as using the skill of listening deeply in order to hear. A critical skill and activity for an ally is to be critically self-reflective and willing to confront the privilege that continues to impact on the relationships with indigenous peoples. Another important task is to assist members of the majority group, often our own, to themselves become allies, or to learn the skills and mechanisms of inclusion and anti-discrimination. All these practices are core elements of the social work curriculum, along with exposure to and development of skills and knowledges of social justice, human rights and commitment to social work values and ethics (IASSW, 2004). These are expected to be taught so that social work graduates may meet the required international standards. Even so, a study conducted in 2012/3 found that only a very few of the social work schools in Australia had staff who reported they felt confident and well equipped to teach Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander content and materials (Bessarab et. al., 2016). It is a continuing task for all social work educators in Australia, to which we offer this contribution.

Nevertheless, it is also recognised that this work is not without its challenges, amongst which is the potential for structural and interpersonal resistance, some of which are addressed above. Walter and Baltra-Ulloa (2019) describe the many other resistances that present in response to educators confronting what they, following DiAngelo (2018), characterise as white fragility. Ally work runs similar risks including less active resistances than those described by Walter and Baltra-Ulloa. White fatigue (Flynn, 2015), white discomfort (Zembylas, 2018) and the disconnected power-analysis frame (Jayakumar & Adamian, 2017) are just some of the recent ways authors seek to understand how students in particular react to educational strategies, encouraging them to engage in the very difficult endeavour of turning the spotlight away from the racial 'other' to the racial self (which represents the majority group), in this case the white Australian. Notwithstanding the very multi-

cultural composition of Australia, replicated in our classrooms, those who are Australian by birth or with several generations of inhabitancy and those from Culturally and Linguistically Diverse backgrounds, who do not identify as Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are standing on stolen land. The recognitive, reconciliary, restorative strategies incorporated in such frameworks as Ally work are directed towards redressing, in some way, the injuries of the past which indeed continue into the present. Imperfect and small scale as it may be, an Ally framework for us is one, but not the only, way forward.

The focus for our Ally work is not those people who themselves are not 'white', but those who are the First Nations of this land, which complicates the discussion about whiteness. This, nonetheless, implicates all those people who do not have Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander heritage. As discussed in the early pages of this chapter, identity and identifying are complex matters, threatening to descend into binaries resulting in the 'us' and 'them' of a racial divide. While this chapter does not seek to offer a definitive answer to both the problematic of the 'either-or' or the way to avoid the risks of presenting Ally work, some of our experiences described above and in other writings (Hendrick & Young, 2017: 2018) show how we have dealt with some of these resistances both at the interpersonal and the structural levels.

The structural embodiment of colonial heritage in Australia presents additional challenges, even at the same time as the University collectivity recognises the need for better engagement with and service toward Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples (Universities Australia, 2011). Bunda (2018) and Gilbey & McCormak (2017) describe these in the Australian setting. They catalogue, to some extent, similar instances of institutional resistances as we describe above, as well as some of the more extensive systemic intransigencies. These include failing to acknowledge different ways of knowing being and doing, failing to ensure the educational environment is a safe space for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students and lecturers, and effectively sidelining Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledges as legitimate and equal knowledge systems. Identifying these systems and practices as examples of White privilege, Walter and Baltra-Ulloa charge educators to 'unveil' Whiteness and commit to practices of race-visibility (Walter & Baltra-Ulloa, 2019). While practical matters such as altering the teaching/learning spaces with their fixed classrooms present difficulties, the less visible practices will need greater attention. We hope that Ally work is a small step towards race-visibility.

CONCLUSION

In a settler nation such as Australia, where the First Nations peoples will never comprise more than the non-indigenous population, and where they are sadly likely in the near term to at least be in the majority of the social work clientele, the teaching and learning environment will never be fully decolonised. In developing a framework for practice for ourselves, we hope to both continue to unsettle colonising practices and contribute to a structural and relational reconciliation which incorporates fully human relationships. We hope our students will continue their efforts to frame their work in productive, recognitive, reconciliatory and restorative ways. Through this and others' work, we hope for educative practices that are Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander designed, developed, and delivered. Despite the ongoing retreat on so many fronts by governments and social policy makers, the Academy should not replicate those nor relax vigilance. The restorative project is never more important than it is now.

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COMBATING RACISM: A NECESSARY FIRST STEP IN DEVELOPING PATHWAYS TO A DE-COLONIZED FUTURE IN AUSTRALIA

SUZANNE JENKINS

ABSTRACT

The colonization of 'racial' groups was a key feature of the expanding British Empire in the 18th Century. England's conquest of Australia resulted in the dispossession of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, marginalizing survivors on the fringes of colonial society while agents of British civilization actively sought to change and reshape their hearts and minds. To-day the question of race remains central to Australian politics, and therefore, to Australian life. For those who benefit, privilege is the norm, and as such lacks conscious scrutiny. For Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, Australia remains a country where crimes against their humanity and cultural integrity go unnoticed, unheard or unpunished on a daily basis. Colonization remains a living process. This chapter offers a brief history of colonization in Australia and a comparative study of colonization in Cuba. It highlights how racism was used effectively in both countries to legitimize social inequality as natural, permanent and inevitable prior to the Cuban revolution. Current realities in both countries will be discussed with a view to learning from the Cuban experience. An argument will be presented illustrating how the effectiveness of models for decolonization, such as the Burgess 'five-stage model', or frameworks addressing 'truth and reconciliation' and 'transitional justice', are wholly dependent on the cultural, social, political and economic context in which they are applied. The chapter highlights the author's view that to succeed, any process to combat racism and support decolonization must engage with and overcome capitalism and imperialism at every level.

THE COLONIZATION OF AUSTRALIA

The colonization of 'racial' groups was a key feature of the expanding British Empire in the 18th Century. The faith held by the English in their culture, religion and laws was aided by their popular belief in the 'Great Chain of Being', a philosophy which regarded the Christian God as residing at the top of the Chain and 'civilized' Englishmen in the most elevated human position, close to angels and far above their colonized peoples. The English belief in their own cultural superiority fuelled their need to order the world, assume their right to 'civilize', and regulate and control the colonized.

In 1770, Englishman, Lieutenant James Cook charted the Australian east coast in his ship the 'Endeavour'. Cook claimed the east coast for King George 111 on the 22nd August, 1770, at Possession Island, and (re)named eastern Australia 'New South Wales'. Nearly eighteen years later, Captain Arthur Philip, the first Governor of New South Wales, led the First Fleet, comprising 11 ships and approximately 1,350 people into Port Jackson on January 26th, 1788. Philip was under instruction to establish the first British colony in Australia. From 1788 until 1823 the colony of New South Wales was a penal settlement. Free 'settlers' started to arrive from 1793. The colonization of New South Wales led directly to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander dispossession, genocide, and forced assimilation.

The Australian landscape is unique. Differences in flora, fauna, and climate supported an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander understanding of the world that was fundamentally different to that held by the British invaders. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples communicated their understanding of their country through stories, rituals, art and spiritual beliefs. The mutual incomprehension that existed between the British colonizer and, the soon to be colonized peoples was vast. When Captain Cook first encountered Aboriginal people in 1770, he recorded in his diary that:

> They live in a tranquility which is not disturbed by the inequality of condition: the earth and sea of their own accord furnishes them with all things necessary for life; they covet not magnificent houses, household stuff etc., they live in a warm and fine climate, and enjoy a very wholesome air, so that they have very little need of clothing…They seemed to place no value upon anything we gave them…nor would

they part with anything of their own for any one article we could offer them. This in my opinion argues that they think themselves provided with all the necessaries of life, and that they have no superfluities (Gott, 2011, p.85).

Naturalists and botanists, including the renowned aristocratic Joseph Banks, accompanied Cook on his ship the 'Endeavour'. Cook had been warned by the President of the Royal Society in London that "shedding one drop of blood of these (native) people is a crime of the highest nature…they are the natural, and in the strictest sense of the word, the legal possessors of the several regions they inhabit" (Marr, 2012, p.357). Cook, however, was on a mission to claim lands for the British crown. Although he recorded how two Aboriginal men on the shoreline "seemed resolved to oppose our landing" (Gott, 2011, p.84), Cook declared the land 'terra nullius' 'empty land' or 'land belonging to no-one'. This remained the 'official' British/Australian position until it was overturned in the High Court of Australia in 1992. Sovereignty, however, has never been ceded by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples over their lands, nor has a treaty been negotiated, leaving the constitutional status of 'Australia', increasingly under question.

Almost two decades after Cook's landing, the first British ships bearing convicts made their landing. For nearly a hundred years Britain had been sending convicts to its American colonies, while it enriched its empire through the exploitation of convicts and slaves. During the onset of industrialization, colonial markets, colonial supplies and colonial profits underpinned the rise and dominance of the British Empire. Britain's involvement in the African slave trade provided much needed seed capital for the Industrial Revolution. As Marx (1847) reported, slavery was indispensable during the period he described as the 'primitive' accumulation of capital. Slavery, he believed, made the colonies valuable and enabled the growth of world trade – a necessary precondition for large scale industry. Blackburn (1988) estimates in 1770, profits from slavery contributed in the region of 20% to 55% to Britain's gross national income. The historical record claims that Britain abolished the slave trade in 1807 and slavery itself in 1833. The developing economic system, however, gave birth to the idea of 'scientific' racism. This new ideology, capitalizing on Darwin's work (On the Origin of Species, 1859), allowed 'racial inequality' to be viewed as genetically inherited, thus providing justification for British imperial dominance through conquest and discrimination.

With the loss of the American colonies, and faced with a fast growing urban population and high levels of unemployment resulting from the Industrial Revolution, Britain reached crisis point and needed to find an alternative location to transport its escalating number of convicts (Gott, 2011; Marr, 2012; Swiss, 2010). Joseph Banks was, at this time, a member of the King's Privy Council and the King's advisor on his Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew (Marr, 2012). When asked his advice for a suitable alternative location for a penal colony, he suggested Australia. On January 20. 1788, the First Fleet under the charge of Arthur Philip arrived in Australia with the first of 165,000 convicts. Philip was appointed to the first British Governor in New South Wales. Aboriginal hostility to Philip, his men and the convicts, was made as clear to Philip as it had been to Cook. Aboriginal attacks on the new arrivals were met with grim reprisals. Bonwick, a historian writing in the 1880s, (quoted in Gott, 2011, p.89) "described how 'a wholesale slaughter' became the usual mode of revenge adopted by the Christian strangers." Policies founded on racist ideology were used to justify the oppression and exploitation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples who were forced as bonded labour to work for pastoralists or build infrastructure for the new colonial economy.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, imperial nations were engaged in a frantic international land grab. Initially however, Britain was unsuccessful in persuading its citizens to establish homesteads in the new colonies in Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) and New South Wales. Advertisements designed to attract single women to a colony where men outnumbered women nine to one proved unsuccessful. The solution found to rectify this situation was to conscript a slave labour force using the Transportation Act (1718), which allowed convicts to be shipped anywhere in the world. Once the focus of the Act turned to procuring women, female petty thieves were targeted for arrest and prosecution. "Of the twenty-five thousand sent, fewer than 2 per cent had committed a violent crime, and 65 per cent were first offenders" (Swiss, 2010, p.13). The transportation of convicts to Australia continued until finally abolished in 1868, just before a far greater migration was to occur largely due to the Australian gold rush.

The declining number of convicts sent by Britain to Australia in the 1850's resulted in Australia importing indentured labour from China and kidnapping (black birding) Pacific Islanders to work in mines, sheep farms and sugar cane fields. Also in the 1850's, rapidly increasing numbers of Chinese immigrants appeared in Australia attracted by the prospect of mining for gold. The name

coined for these new migrates was the 'Yellow Peril'. During 1853 to 1857 this population rose from 2000 to 40,000 (London, 1970). The Chinese, regarded as being willing to work longer hours for lower wages than their (settler) Australian counterparts, were accused of stealing jobs belonging to white men. Racial hatred and fear of their comparative success in mining led to mobs of white miners driving Chinese miners off their stakes. Non-white workers were not allowed to join trade unions and were afforded little protection under the law.

CREATING WHITE PRIVILEGE

Those who come to dispossess and possess through violent force are often fearful they might fall victim themselves to the mantra of 'might is right'. One of the first laws passed by the newly established federal parliament of Australia in 1901 was the *Immigration Restriction Act* which banned 'non-white' immigration into Australia. This was known as the 'White Australia' policy, designed to create and maintain a uni-racial Australia. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples who were resident outside Australia (taken as trackers to the Boer War, taken to play cricket in England) when the Act passed into law, were not allowed to re-enter Australia. The White Australia Policy was officially dismantled in 1975 when laws were enacted to ban racial discrimination (Australian Government Department of Home Affairs; London, 1970). The Racial Discrimination Act (1975) made it illegal to "offend, insult, humiliate or intimidate" someone because of their race (Section 18C). The current Coalition Liberal federal government is seeking to amend this clause of the Act.

Racism is, by nature, oppressive. It creates an environment in which a particular group finds itself in a devalued, often stereotyped position. Racism both reflects and is perpetuated by historical, social, cultural, power or authority inequalities in society. Racism and oppression in Australia have been described clearly in terms of their pervasive and systematic interventions, both within a historical and ongoing context. Aboriginal peoples have lived in Australia for up to 120,000 years (Dudgeon, Wright, Paradies, Garvey, & Walker, 2014). Prior to colonization, the population was conservatively thought to be between 300,000 and 750,000, drawn across an estimated 500 clan groups, each having their own distinctive territory, history, language, dialect, and culture (Collard,

2000). By the turn of the 20th century, the population of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples was reduced to an estimated 75,000 (Dudgeon et. al., 2014). Analysis of the United Nations criteria for acts of genocide has found Australia historically qualifies on four distinct grounds:

- the well documented killings of Indigenous people by settlers and 'rogue police' in the 1800's;
- the forcible transfer of Aboriginal children away from their parents "… with the express intent that they *cease being Aboriginal*" (Tatz, 1999, p.6. Author's emphasis);
- the attempt to achieve "… the biological disappearance of those deemed 'half-caste Aborigines" (Tatz, 1999, p.6), and finally,
- the mental or physical suffering inflicted on Aboriginals under 'protective' Government policies (Tatz, 1999).

Hunter (1993) highlights the historical nature of racism and oppression when he describes how British structuring and control of Aboriginal societies began in 1788, and:

> has since influenced every facet of Aboriginal lifestyle, including language, clothing, settlement, housing, food, economy, work, religion, education, law and health. The imposition of non-Aboriginal social structures such as missions, stations, orphanages and the bureaucracies of adoption, has been largely utilitarian, facilitating either the control of Aboriginal access to resources, or the availability of Aborigines, themselves, as a resource (p. 258).

Paradies and Cunningham (2009) describe racism as occurring across three different dimensions: interpersonal, systemic and internalised. As long as the dominant view dictates how issues are defined and responded to, alternative voices are robbed of their opportunity to be heard. Prior to the 1967 Citizen Rights Referendum, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in Australia were not counted in the nation's population census, but were instead listed under the category 'Flora and Fauna'. Following the Referendum, repression of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander culture was enshrined in the application process for accessing citizenship. Those who were able to apply for citizenship were required to formerly relinquish their cultural identity (Dudgeon, 2000).

THE REALITIES OF LIVING IN A 'WHITE WORLD': PRIVILEGE VERSUS DISADVANTAGE

The study of 'whiteness' is an area of investigation, which concentrates attention upon the socially constructed nature of white identity and the impact of 'whiteness' upon relations with minority and Indigenous groups. Frankenberg (1993, p.236) defines 'whiteness' as "... the production and reproduction of dominance rather than subordination, normativity rather than marginality, and privilege rather than disadvantage." Vickers (2005, p.22) describes colonial, race-based societies as 'hierarchical' where "whiteness puts you at the top" and racial prejudice becomes "…the life blood of colonial rule and colonial society." Green & Sonn (2006) refer to 'whiteness' as "... the dominance and privilege that comes from being white in countries like Australia" (p.379). In the words of Smith (1999, p.80) "They Came, They Saw, They Named, They Claimed."

A 2013 report by Credit Suisse reported that Australians, for the second consecutive year, were the second richest people in the world. The mean wealth per adult was just over US $400,000, second only to Switzerland (Main, 2013). The Credit Suisse Global Wealth Report (2016, p.57) reported the average annual growth of wealth per adult in Australia, between 2000 and 2012, to be 12%. According to this report:

> Wealth inequality is relatively low in Australia, as reflected in a Gini coefficient of just 68% for wealth. Only 11% of Australians have net worth below USD 10,000. This compares to 22% in the UK and 35% in the USA. Average debt amounts to 21% of gross assets. The proportion of those with wealth above USD 100,000 at 55.8% is the fifth highest of any country, and almost seven times the world's average. With 1,688,000 people in the top 1% of global wealth-holders, Australia accounts for 3.5% of this top slice, despite being home to just 0.4% of the world's adult population.

If Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, who make up approximately 2.5-3% of the Australian population, were surveyed as a stand-alone population, however, Australia's world rating would drop to 122nd, reflecting that many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities languish in third-

world conditions despite Australia's wealth (Georgatos, 2013; Jenkins, 2015). In the 2018 Credit Suisse Global Wealth Report, Australia overtook Switzerland as the wealthiest country in the world with Australian billionaires increasing from 33 to 43, with a corresponding wealth increase of $36–160 billion.

In December 2017, an Australian Institute of Health report (2017) found that mortality and life expectancy gaps are actually widening between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and non-Indigenous Australians. Australia has the world's fourth highest life expectancy at 82 years. For Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, the gap can range between 10 to 30 years compared to non-Indigenous people. Mortality rates for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples of all ages are twice that of non-Indigenous people. Dickenson diseases remain rife. Australia is the only developed country not to have eradicated trachoma, a condition that continues to blind Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children. Australia has the lowest suicide rate of the world's top 10 nations, but Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians have the highest youth suicide rates in the world. Nationally, suicide death rates are twice that of non-Indigenous peoples. The educational experience of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children continues to reflect a picture of profound disadvantage in comparison to non-Indigenous children. An Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander child is 40 times more likely to be in custody than a non-Indigenous child. Proportionally, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians are the most incarcerated people on the planet. The removal of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families is now more widespread than at any time during the last hundred years, including the numbers of children forcibly removed during the 'Stolen Generations', deemed by the United Nations to be an act of genocide (Tatz, 1999). 90% of the homeless people in the Northern Territory are Indigenous (Dudgeon et al., 2014; Georgatos, 2013; Jenkins, 2015; McQuire, 2013; Pilger, 2014). The list highlighting appalling disadvantage goes on and on. Euphemisms such as 'reconciliation' and 'stronger futures' continue to camouflage plans for social engineering and reflect an enduring insidious racism within the political elite, the bureaucracy, and the wider Australian society (Pilger, 2014). The Australian 'nation state' is built on racial crimes. From the first days of colonization, Australia was established and maintained through bloodshed and violence. Racial prejudice remains the lifeblood of colonial rule and colonial society.

Acknowledging the explosive level of disadvantage suffered in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities, the Council of Australian Governments (COAG) in 2008 devised the 'Closing the Gap' strategy with a target to achieve life expectancy and health equality by 2030. The 'Close the Gap Statement of Intent' sought a compact between Australian governments and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, and embodied a human right to a health-based blueprint for achieving health equality.

The close the gap approach and the *Close the Gap Statement of Intent* is founded on an understanding that population health outcomes are fundamentally the result of underlying factors, such as social determinants, institutional racism, the quality of housing, and access to appropriate primary health care. If governments want to improve and sustain the health of any population over time, these elements must be addressed (Close the Gap Campaign Steering Committee for Indigenous Health Equality, 2018, p.3).

"IN 1967 WE WERE COUNTED, IN 2017 WE SEEK TO BE HEARD" (*ULURU STATEMENT FROM THE HEART, 2017*).

In May 2017, a historic First Nations National Constitutional Convention meeting at Uluru in Central Australia, led to a proposal known as the *Uluru Statement from the Heart*. This Convention was called following bi-partisan governmental agreement to seek the views of First Nation Peoples. The conversation at Uluru built on six months of discussions held around Australia where Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples considered five options presented to them. Among other objectives, the Uluru Statement sought to progress a *Closing the Gap* strategy which would be genuinely co-designed. The *Uluru Statement* made three core proposals:

1. An Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Voice enshrined in the Constitution;
2. A Makarrata (*the coming together after a struggle)* Commission to oversee agreement making between Governments and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples; and,
3. Truth-telling about our history, led by the Makarrata Commission (First Nation National Constitutional Convention, 2017).

These proposals have been summarily rejected by the Coalition Liberal federal government.

ARE THERE LESSONS TO BE LEARNED FROM CUBA?

Where in the world can we look for inspiration in dismantling racial prejudice? Does another country share a common history? Yes, many. Have any been able to address racial prejudice sufficiently to develop a radically different picture? Maybe lessons can be learned from Cuba?

Spanish colonists first landed in Cuba, in Baracoca on the north-west coast, in 1511. The Indigenous peoples there at that time called themselves Tainos. A Dominican priest who arrived with the conquerors, commanded by Velasquez, described them as having "…food in abundance… they had everything they needed for living" (Gott, 2004, p.12). Velasquez had orders to settle the island for the King of Spain, but his men were greeted with fierce resistance which lasted decades. Settlement followed conquest. The Tainos were expected to surrender their land and supply the new settlers, arriving regularly from Spain, with food and labour. Many were massacred or died at their own hand, others were worked to death, while some apparently disappeared into the hills. The Tainos were destroyed as a continuing civilization and culture, an obvious difference to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples who remain the longest continuous culture in the world (Collard, 2000). Replacements for the Tainos peoples were hunted from other neighbouring islands, but given the ever increasing demand for new labour, black slaves were eventually purchased from Africa. This was a trade that lasted over three centuries, and saw nearly a million Africans brought to the island. Like the Tainos before them, the African slaves were prone to rebellion which was ruthlessly crushed. Early fears of slave rebellion haunted the white settlers and led to deep divisions between black and white Cubans, such that racial prejudice was considered the greatest obstacle to securing Cuban independence from Spain. That is, until the emergence of Jose Marti, interim president of the Cuban Revolutionary Committee in exile. Marti was a hero of Cuban and Latin American history, and an outspoken advocate for racial equality (Gott, 2004). Marti was born in Havanna in 1853 to Spanish immigrants, who benefited from the 'white Cuba' program to 'whiten' the Cuban population through Spanish immigration. Marti offered strong leadership on the need for racial harmony. In a letter to Maceo, a military general in the anti-Spanish war, Marti states:

I have no time to tell you General, how in my eyes the Cuban problem needs, rather than a political solution, a social solution, and how the latter can-

not be achieved except through mutual love and forgiveness between the two races…For me, the person who whips up hatred in Cuba, or takes advantage of those hatreds already present, is a criminal. And the person who tries to put down the lawful aspirations to livelihood of a good and prudent race which has already seen enough misfortune, is another (Gott, 2004, p.87).

Tragically Marti was killed in an ambush in 1895, aged 42. Jose Marti, the hero of Cuban independence, became the principal source of inspiration for Fidel Castro who described him as "a remarkable, a singular talent… What thought, what resolve, what moral strength! He formulated a doctrine, he propounded a philosophy of independence and an exceptional humanistic philosophy" (Castro & Ramonet, 2006, p.146–147). Marti is honoured throughout the island of Cuba. Ironically the Castro family also benefited from migration from Spain after Angel Castro, Fidel and Raul's father, arrived in Cuba as a soldier from Galicia, the son of a poor farmer. Through his life, however, Angel Castro accumulated substantial wealth and land. This privileged background provides an interesting backdrop for the two Castro sons who would become world renowned revolutionaries. Following military success against the Batista regime on 2 January 1959, Fidel Castro announced, from a balcony in Santiago de Cuba, "The Revolution begins now," (Gott, 2004, p.165).

THE REVOLUTION DELIVERS

Castro's revolution had succeeded mainly through the efforts of white radicals. Black people were not very prominent, with a few notable exceptions, in the leadership of the revolutionary war. Cuba remained a country largely divided along racial lines. Slavery in Cuba had only been abolished for seventy-three years when the revolution succeeded in 1959. Recognising the need to address racial prejudice, Fidel made his first speech on the subject in March 1960, when he called for a campaign against racial discrimination. Whites-only facilities were opened to anyone or closed down, and equality was established under the law (Gott, 2004; Castro & Ramonet, 2006).

The Cuban revolutionary government carried out a number of far-ranging socio-economic transformations. Large US owned industries were nationalized, privileges were removed from absentee and big real-estate owners, free health and education were provided for all in both urban and rural areas, and a national literacy campaign was initiated. The new government's inventive

approach to addressing literacy on a countrywide basis with grassroots volunteer teachers, young and old, became a source of bonding among the Cuban people, and allowed Cuba to achieve and sustain a literacy success rating of 99%. Through large public meetings, Fidel addressed new policy directions, including a new structure for elections, with millions of Cubans in what August (2013, p.107) described as "…groundbreaking in the annals of revolution, whereby leaders publicly exchange with the people in mass meetings and a dialectic bond is created in order to make decisions." These meetings resulted in active grass roots participation in creating socio-economic transformation, and in Cuban people developing their own unique political systems. People started to organize committees in their local communities, an action that spread throughout the country and led to the creation of the Committee for the Defence of the Revolution and the Federation of Cuban Women. This network of neighbourhood committees enhanced the operation of community participation through social and political actions (August, 2013). The gains made by the Cuban revolution for the Cuban people are immense, startling even in the context of the crippling US blockade against Cuba, which continues to this day. To have such policies applied to Australia today would indeed seem miraculous.

IMPROVING ON THE BEST

The Revolution's treatment of race equality is certainly recognised as one of its greatest achievements. But, was the main architect satisfied with the level of equality achieved? Speaking in 2006, Fidel stated:

> There was no subjective discrimination. Because every revolutionary knows that among the cruelest sufferings that affect human society is racial discrimination….In this nation slavery was abolished 120 years ago, in 1886, although it was just in name, formally. Men and women subjected to that abominable system continued to live for almost another three-quarters of a century as *apparently* free labourers in run-down barracks and shacks in the country and in the city, too, places in which large families would have a single room to live in, without schools or teachers, doing the lowest paid labour…After the triumph of the Revolution, we were pretty ignorant about the phenomenon

of racial discrimination, because we thought all we had to do was establish equality under the law, and that it would be applied without discussion…we were naive enough to believe that decreeing total and absolute equality under the law would put an end to discrimination. Because there are two types of discrimination – one is subjective and the other is objective…the people have achieved full and complete legal equality and a level of revolutionary education that has done away with most of the subjective component of discrimination, (racial discrimination) still exists today in another form. I call it objective discrimination, a phenomenon associated with poverty and a historical monopoly on knowledge…Even though you built new houses, the phenomena that occurred in that place tended to continue to occur, unless a new culture arises on the basis of education…The Revolution, over and above the rights and guarantees achieved for all citizens of whatever ethnic background or origin, has not had the same success in its fight to eradicate the differences in social and financial status for the black population of the country….But I *am* satisfied with what we are doing in terms of discovering the root causes, which, if you don't make a determined effort to do something about them, tend to prolong people's marginalization down through subsequent generations (Castro & Ramonet, 2006, p.227–231).

The Revolution certainly created great social and economic improvement for the vast majority of Cuban people, but until a policy can successfully address profound discrimination and disadvantage, social and political gains remain unequal. According to Raul Castro in 2010 (quoted in August 2013, p.142–143), "…several errors were made namely, an "excessively paternalistic, idealistic and egalitarian approach instituted by the Revolution in the interest of social justice", and "the excessively centralized model characterizing our economy." The government's naivety in trusting a top down approach to end racial discrimination was compounded by its lack of a political program specifically aimed to attract a black constituency, and by its lack of support for established black societies with agency which promoted black and African consciousness and allowed for grass roots expression of cultural and social concerns (Gott, 2004). By comparison, women, who according to Fidel were "...terribly discriminated against, with access to only the most humiliating work" (Castro & Ramonet, 2006, p.235) were able to organize through the Federation of

Cuban Women to become 65% of the technical and scientific labour force by 2006, and enjoy 48.86% representation in the Cuban National Assembly following the 2013 national elections.

FRAMEWORKS AND MODELS FOR DECOLONIZATION

Discussion around Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander rights continues to invoke fear in white Australia, and is regarded as a threat to the security of many non-Indigenous Australians. A movement away from colonization will only occur when non-Indigenous Australians participate in a debate, which will allow them to question their own institutions and ways of seeing (Watson, 2007). Only then will they truly hear Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander voices and be able to relate to their experiences. The willingness of non-Indigenous people to engage in such a debate will inevitably lead to unsettling realizations, both historical and current. De Costa and Clark (2011, p.332) believe such debate should not be avoided as "the question of 'decentering' or 'unsettling' the settler within, may be the key…" to a decolonized future. We are all implicated in and through colonization. How we decolonize is connected to how exactly we are implicated. A decolonized future in Australia is not possible without commitment to change. It requires personal and collective commitment to social activism and revolutionary change. In preparing my presentation for the 4th International Indigenous Voices conference held in Alta, I realized I was being drawn towards notions of 'truth & reconciliation' with their strong, and possible dangerous, emphasis on trauma and healing, or 'transitional justice' – something familiar, a workable framework. Can transitional justice be incorporated into decolonization? Transitions can be rare periods of opportunity. Is it possible to develop a form of transitional justice that not only reveals and repairs past violence, but also develops new justice possibilities that fully recognize decolonization as central to the return of, and connection to, land? Addressing the legacy of past wrongs and challenging the continuation of current ones, needs optimal conditions and opportunities for sustainable healing. Burgess (cited in Muller, 2007) developed a five-stage model to support the process of decolonization. The stages are:

1. Rediscovery and recovery

This first stage is referred to by Muller (2007, p.6) as a "foundation phase". It offers an invitation to:

> …understand and acknowledge the process of colonization and to collaborate in the de-colonization process with Indigenous people. For those who profess social justice and human rights as central to the ethics of their profession, de-colonization offers a pathway to honouring these commitments and provides a framework of de-constructing the curse of colonization.

The past is always in the present. It is only by understanding the past that we become more able to critique the present and actively shape the future.

2. Mourning

The journey to decolonization will require a massive shift in understanding, and a new way of embracing both historic wrongs and unsavoury current realities. Past and current wrongs need to be addressed and issues relating to grief, loss, shame and anger acknowledged.

3. Dreaming

Dreaming involves imagining a better future for all Australians, and planning how this can be achieved. Through this process hope may be established, enabling progress to be made towards a more socially just society – one in which critique and possibility strengthen values of freedom and equality.

4. Commitment

Emerging from the dreaming phase provides the opportunity to move towards the type of society we wish to create. Change becomes possible when we accept who we are and commit to working towards achieving who we want to become.

5. Action.

In this stage the 'current picture' is transformed into the 'preferred picture' (Egan, 2010).

In 2014, Muller added a sixth stage 'healing and forgiveness' which she located between mourning and dreaming. In healing and forgiveness, Muller (2014) offered a space to reclaim wellbeing and harmony. She regarded this stage as both central to, and a goal of, decolonization. Other stages can be assessed from within this stage. "...it is possible to rediscover knowledge, mourn in safety, dream of a decolonized future, make commitments and take action from within Healing and Forgiveness" (Muller, 2014, p.231). Healing and forgiveness does not mean ignoring past wrongs or abandoning the right to justice, rather "…it is a stage where a person might find harmony within themselves and with others" (Muller, 2014, p.218).

In 2015, this author added a seventh stage 'acknowledging current realities', located before rediscovery and recovery. This stage involves highlighting how Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples suffer profound disadvantage and bear the burden of gross social, cultural, educational, health and employment inequality in Australia.

This (seven stage), model is neither linear nor sequential. It does not have rigid boundaries. The flexibility of the model allows it to be applied both on an individual and collective basis. The relative success of such a model, however, is wholly dependent on the cultural, social, political and economic context in which it is applied. Such frameworks and models do not engage directly with Indigenous resurgence and decolonization, so there remains a danger that the foundations, goals, and discourses of such practices may, in reality, become major impeding factors that block genuine decolonization and consolidate state power.

Decolonization is not an endpoint. The struggle for decolonization is a journey that is never ending. Any process of decolonization, however, must engage with capitalist imperialism and colonialism at every level. The Cuban revolution is a social project, based on the philosophy of socialism. Its aim is to provide for the economic and social wellbeing of the vast majority of Cuban people, not the unlimited accumulation of wealth for a few. Although Cuba may be considered an economically 'poor' country, a situation greatly exacerbated by the continuing blockade by the United States government, peoples' access to a voice through political participation and representation, free education and health care, and a literacy rate of 99% has effectively closed any 'gap' that existed along racial lines.

Racial harmony cannot be achieved without strong leadership creating the conditions that will lead to the end of discrimination and offer real equality. Nor can it be successful if those most affected by the ravages of racism, are not empowered to take their rightful place in their own country. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander voices must be respected and heard in Australia! Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledges, ways of knowing, being and doing, are essential to challenging material greed and developing culturally appropriate purposes of relationally, mutuality and connectivity (Jenkins, 2015; Muller, 2014). Decolonization involves a critical analysis of Western-informed ideological frameworks and as such, is a process that must focus on the mechanism of our neoliberal market forces and offer a class analysis. The Credit Suisse Global Wealth Report (2016) may have described wealth inequality in Australia as relatively low, but this situation is changing rapidly. Australia has developed a "…distinctive, localized version of neoliberalism….that supports markets and citizens who invest in them in preference to non-market welfare" (Redden, 2017, p.2). Neoliberal initiatives do not generate economic growth. Rather they transfer assets and wealth from the mass of the population to economic elites. In Australia, a clear trend of rising income inequality since the 1980's, can be discerned. "Real average hourly and whole of life earnings have declined and Australians recently attained the longest working hours in the world… Incomes for the top income decile, however, have risen faster than anywhere in the world" (Redden, 2017, p.3). Redden reports "…there have been no overall significant real-term increases in wealth in Australia since 2006, and virtually no real increases in incomes since 2009…the economy enters secular decline and the welfare state is faced with decimation by a literal thousand cuts…" (Redden, 2017, p.12).

The considerable costs in maintaining and growing the 'investor state' directly block the significant social spending essential to 'closing the gap'. So, what are the implications of depending on the state to protect Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander rights if the state itself constitutes the material embodiment of colonial, patriarchal power? Both patriarchy and colonialism demand passivity and meekness on the part of the oppressed, ensuring silence will lead to continued abuses. Looking to a capitalist system to solve the problems created by a capitalist system is utterly doomed. Capitalist accumulation remains dependent on colonial dispossession. The expansion of capitalism in Australia is contingent on the continued acquisition of land and resources?

CONCLUSION

In settler colonial states, indigenous rights and governances are at odds with the prevailing order. Settler colonialism continues to cause harm in the present. Decolonization in the settler colonial context involves action that disrupts settler colonization, works towards the repatriation of land, and recognizes how land has multiple layers of meaning. There is a need to decolonize the political and legislative structures of government and to decolonize knowledge and mindsets. Revolutionary change needs to be a permanent process, searching and seeking out solutions to problems in innovative ways, developing a model for change which is built through grass roots activity rather than legislated or decreed. As August (2013) noted, "A revolution or movement cannot be innovative if it is limited by *static* structures… structures fixed in time… can act as a detriment to the various daily interventions by the people at all levels… applied to all systems…in different ways" (August 2013, p.10–11). This author believes there are important lessons to be learned from Cuba. Constructive change lies in the active, conscious and ongoing participation of all the people at grass roots level. We need to explore the relationships and connections that may lead to continuous decolonization.

Decolonization demands an Indigenous framework and a centring of indigenous land, indigenous sovereignty, and indigenous ways of thinking and being. For all Australians to flourish, capitalism must be overcome. For this to happen we all need to actively participate in collective alternatives to our current systems.

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